

The
Nineteenth Century
Vol. — 14

1883

S. S.
Librarian

Uttarpara Joykrishna Public Library
Govt. of West Bengal

THE COMING OF THE FRIARS.

WHEN King Richard of England, whom men call the Lion-hearted, was wasting his time at Messina, after his boisterous fashion, in the winter of 1190, he heard of the fame of Abbot Joachim, and sent for that renowned personage, that he might hear from his own lips the words of prophecy and their interpretation.

Around the personality of Joachim there has gathered no small amount of *mythos*. He was, as appears, the inventor of that mystical method of Hermeneutics which has in our time received the name of 'the year-day theory,' and which, though now abandoned for the most part by sane men, however devout and superstitious, yet has still some advocates in the school of Dr. Cumming and kindred visionaries. Abbot Joachim proclaimed that a stupendous catastrophe was at hand. Opening the Book of the Revelation of St. John he read, pondered, and interpreted. A divine illumination opened out to him the dark things that were written in the sacred pages. The unenlightened could make nothing of 'a time, times, and half a time'; to them the terrors of the 1,260 days were an insoluble enigma long since given up as hopeless, whose answer would come only at the Day of Judgment. Abbot Joachim declared that the key to the mystery had been to him revealed. What could 'a time, times, and half a time' mean, but three years and a half? What could a year mean in the divine economy but the *lunar* year of 360 days? for was not the moon the symbol of the Church of God? What were those 1,260 but the sum of the days of three years and a half? Moreover, he had been with the prophet Ezekiel, to whom it was said, 'I appointed thee a day for a year,' so it must needs be with others who saw the visions of God. To them the 'day' was no brief prosaic day—to them too had been 'appointed a day for a year.' The 'time, times, and half a time' were the 1,260 days. These were 1,260 years, and the stupendous catastrophe, the day of Armageddon, the reign of Antichrist, the fall of heaven, the new earth, the slaughter and the resurrection of the dead, were all to be accomplished in these 1,260 years.

3. The sowing of the seed of a vast plantation in British tough trees of good origin, whose roots will stretch over the earth, and under whose branches may be nurtured generations, whose pride it will be to refer to their British descent, and who in times of dire necessity will be ready and anxious to give material proof of their loyalty to their parent.

WILLIAM FEILDING.

Though King Richard, in the strange interview of which contemporary historians have left us a curious narrative, exhibited much more of the spirit of the scoffer than of the convert, and evidently had no faith in Abbot Joachim's theories and his mission, it was otherwise with "the world at large." At the close of the twelfth century a very general belief, the result of a true instinct, pervaded all classes that European society was passing through a tremendous crisis, that the dawn of a new era or, as they phrased it, 'the end of all things,' was at hand.

The Abbot Joachim was only the spokesman of his age who was lucky enough to get a hearing. He spoke a language that was a jargon of rhapsody, but he spoke vaguely of terrors, and perils, and earthquakes, and thunderings, and the day of wrath; and because he spoke so darkly men listened all the more eagerly, for there was a vague anticipation of the breaking up of the great waters, and that things that had been heretofore could not continue as they were.

Verily when the thirteenth century opened, the times were evil, and no hope seemed anywhere on the horizon. The grasp of the infidel was tightened upon the Holy City, and what little force there ever had been among the rabble of Crusaders was gone now; the truculent ruffianism that pretended to be animated by the crusading spirit showed its real character in the hideous atrocities for which Simon de Montfort is answerable, and in the unparalleled enormities of the sack of Constantinople in 1204. For ten years (1198-1208) through the length and breadth of Germany there was ceaseless and sanguine ^{new}war. In the great Italian towns party warfare, never hesitating to resort to every kind of crime, had long been chronic. The history of Sicily is one long record of cruelty, tyranny, and wrong—committed, suffered, or revenged. Over the whole continent of Europe people seem to have had no homes; the merchant, the student, the soldier; the ecclesiastic were always on the move. Young men made no difficulty in crossing the Alps to attend lectures at Bologna, or crossing the Channel to or from Oxford and Paris. The soldier or the scholar was equally a free-lance, ready to take service wherever it offered, and to settle wherever there was bread to win or money to save. No one trusted in the stability of anything.

To a thoughtful man watching the signs of the times, it may well have seemed that the hope for the future of civilisation—the hope for any future whether of art, science, or religion—lay in the steady growth of the towns. It might be that the barrier of the Alps would always limit the influence of Italian cities to Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean; but for the great towns of Belgium and Germany what part might not be left for them to play in the history of the world? In England the towns were as insignificant compared with the country as the country was insignificant compared with the sea.

were communities, and they were beginning to assert themselves somewhat loudly while clinging to their chartered rights with jealous tenacity. Those rights, however, were eminently exclusive and selfish in their character. The corporate towns were ruled in all cases by an oligarchy. The increase in the population brought wealth to a class, the class of privileged traders, associated into guilds, who kept their several *mysteries* to themselves by vigilant measures of protection. Outside the well-guarded defences which these trades-unions constructed, there were the masses,—hewers of wood and drawers of water—standing to the skilled artisan of the thirteenth century almost precisely in the same relation as the bricklayer's labourer does to the mason in our own time. The *sediment* of the town population in the Middle Ages was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease, and dull despair, such as the worst slums of London, Paris, or Liverpool know nothing of. When we hear of the mortality among the townsmen during the periodical outbreaks of pestilence or famine, horror suggests that we should dismiss as incredible such stories as the imagination shrinks from dwelling on. What greatly added to the dreary wretchedness of the lower order in the towns was the fact that the ever-increasing throngs of beggars, outlaws, and ruffian runaways were simply left to shift for themselves. The civil authorities took no account of them as long as they quietly rotted and died; and, what was still more dreadful, the whole machinery of the Church polity had been formed and was adapted to deal with entirely different conditions of society from those which had now arisen.

The idea of the parish priest taking the oversight of his flock, and ministering to each member as the shepherd of the people, is a grand one, but it is an idea which can be realised, and then only approximately, in the village community. In the towns of the Middle Ages it was not even attempted. The other idea, of men and women weary of the hard struggle with sin and fleeing from the wrath to come, joining together to give themselves up to the higher life, out of the reach of temptation and safe from the witcheries of Mammon,—that too was a grand idea, and not unfrequently it had been carried out grandly. But the monk was nothing and did nothing for the townsman; he fled away to his solitude; the rapture of silent adoration was his joy and exceeding great reward; his nights and days might be spent in praise and prayer, sometimes in study and research, sometimes in battling with the powers of darkness and ignorance, sometimes in throwing himself heart and soul into art which it was easy to persuade himself he was doing only for the glory of God; but all this must go on far away from the busy haunts of men, certainly within earshot of the multitude. Moreover the monk was, by

with the upper classes. What

were the rabble to him? In return the rich burgher hated him cordially, as a supercilious aristocrat and Pharisee, with the guile and greed of the Scribe and lawyer superadded.

Upon the townsmen—whatever it may have been among the countrymen—the ministers of religion exercised the smallest possible restraint. Nay! It was only too evident that the bonds of ecclesiastical discipline which had so often exercised a salutary check upon the unruly had become seriously relaxed of late, both in town and country; they had been put to too great a strain and had snapped. By the suicidal methods of Excommunication and Interdict all ranks were schooled into doing without the rites of religion, the baptism of their children, or the blessing upon the marriage union. In the meantime it was notorious that even in high places there were instances not a few of Christians who had denied the faith and had given themselves up to strange beliefs, of which the creed of the Moslem was not the worst. Men must have received with a smile the doctrine that Marriage was a Sacrament when everybody knew that, among the upper classes at least, the bonds of matrimony were soluble almost at pleasure.² It seems hardly worth while to notice that the observance of Sunday was almost universally neglected, or that sermons had become so rare that when Eustace, Abbot of Flai, preached in various places in England in 1200, miracles were said to have ensued as the ordinary effects of his eloquence. Earnestness in such an age seemed in itself miraculous. Here and there men and women, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, raised their sobbing prayer to heaven that the Lord would shortly accomplish the number of his elect and hasten his coming, and Abbot Joachim's dreams were talked of and his vague mutterings made the sanguine hope for better days. Among those mutterings had there not been a speech of the two heavenly witnesses who were to do—ah! what were they not to do? When and where would they appear? And these heavenly witnesses, who were they?

¹ The 20th Article of the Assize of Clarendon is very significant. '*Prohibet dominus rex ne monachi . . . recipiant aliquem de minuto populo in monachum.*' — Stubbs' *Benedict Abbas*, Pref. p. cliv.

² Eleanor of Aquitaine, consort of Henry II., had been divorced by Louis France. Constance of Brittany, mother of Arthur—Shakspeare's idealiser—left her husband, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to unite herself with Conrad of Montferat divorced the daughter of Isaac Angelus, Emperor, to marry Isabella, daughter of Amalric, King of Jerusalem, leaving her husband Henfrid of Thouars. Philip II. of France married King of Denmark one day and divorced her the next; then married her, and returned to the repudiated Dane. King John in 1186 Countess of Gloucester, and took Isabella of France, who was vowed to be faithful to the emperor.

Eight years before King Richard was in Sicily a child had been born in the thriving town of Assisi, thirteen miles from Perugia, who was destined to be one of the great movers of the world. Giovanni Bernardone was the son of a wealthy merchant at Assisi, and from all that appears an only child. He was from infancy intended for a mercantile career, nor does he seem to have felt any dislike to it. One story—and it is as probable as the other—accounts for his name Francesco by assuring us that he earned it by his unusual familiarity with the French language, acquired during his residence in France while managing his father's business. The new name clung to him; the old baptismal name was dropped; posterity has almost forgotten that it was ever imposed. From the mass of tradition and personal recollections that have come down to us from so many different sources it is not always easy to decide when we are dealing with pure invention of pious fraud, and when with mere exaggeration of actual fact, but it scarcely admits of doubt that the young merchant of Assisi was engaged in trade and commerce till his twenty-fourth year, living in the main as others live, but perhaps early conspicuous for aiming at a loftier ideal than that of his everyday associates, and characterised by the devout and ardent temperament essential to the religious reformer. It was in the year 1206 that he became a changed man. He fell ill—he lay at Death's door. From the languor and delirium he recovered but slowly—when he did recover old things had passed away; behold! all things had become new. From this time Giovanni Bernardone passes out of sight, and from the ashes of a dead past, from the seed which has withered that the new life might germinate and fructify, Francis—why grudge to call him *Saint Francis*?—of Assisi rises.

Very early the young man had shown a taste for Church restoration. The material fabric of the houses of God in the land could not but exhibit the decay of living faith; the churches were falling into ruins. The little chapel of St. Mary and Angels at Assisi was in a scandalous condition of decay. It troubled the heart of the young pietist profoundly to see the Christian church squalid and tottering to its fall while within sight of it was the Roman temple which men had worshipped the idols. There it stood, as it had stood thousand years—as it stands to this day. Oh shame! that men should build so slightly while the heathen built so

little squalid ruin St. Francis came time and again, and heart, perplexed and sad; and there, we are told, God a voice said, 'Go, and build my church again.' It beyond his thought' and with the straightforward accepted the message in its literal sense and acted it. He began by as for the work.

His own resources exhausted, he applied for contributions to all who came in his way. His father became alarmed at his son's excessive liberality, and the consequences that might ensue from his strange recklessness; it is even said that he turned him out of doors; it seems that the commercial partnership was cancelled: it is certain that the son was compelled to make some great renunciation of wealth, and that his private means were seriously restricted. That a man of business should be blind to the preciousness of money was as sufficient a proof then, as now, that he must be mad.

O ye wary men of the world, bristling with the shrewdest of maxims, bursting with the lessons of experience, ye of the cool heads and the cold grey eyes, ye whom the statesman loves, and the tradesman trusts, cautious, sagacious, prudent; when the rumbling of the earthquake tells us that the foundations of the earth are out of course, we must look for deliverance to other than you. A grain of enthusiasm is of mightier force than a million tons of wisdom such as yours; then when the hour of the great upheaval has arrived, and things can no longer be kept going!—'Build up my church,' said the voice again to this gushing emaciated fanatic in the second-rate Italian town, this dismal bankrupt of twenty-four years of age, 'of lamentably low extraction,' whom no University claimed as her own, and whom the learned pundits pitied, and at last he understood the profounder meaning of the words. It was no temple made with hands, but the *living* Church that needed raising. The dust of corruption must be swept away, the dry bones be stirred; the breath of the divine Spirit blow and re-animate them. Did not the voice mean that? What remained but to obey?

In his journeyings through France it is hardly possible that St. Francis should not have heard of the poor men of Lyons whose peculiar tenets at this time were arousing very general attention. It is not improbable that he may have fallen in with one of those translations of the New Testament into the vernacular executed by Stephen de Emsa at the expense of Peter Waldo, and through his means widely circulated among all classes. Be it as it may, the words addressed by our Lord to the seventy, when he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of heaven, seemed to St. Francis to be written in letters of flame. They haunted him waking and sleeping. 'The lust of gain in the spirit of Cain!' what had it done for the world or the Church but saturate the one and the other with sordid greed? Mere wealth had not added to the sum of human happiness. Nay, misery was growing; kings fought, and the people bled at every pore. Merchants reared their palaces, and the masses were perishing. Where riches increased, there pride and ungodliness were rampant. What had corrupted the monks, whose lives should be so pure and exemplary? What but their vast possessions, bringing with them luxury and the paralysis of devotion and of all lofty endeavour? It

was openly maintained that the original Benedictine Rule could not be kept now as of yore. One attempt after another to bring back the old monastic discipline had failed deplorably. The Cluniac revival had been followed by the Cluniac laxity, splendour, and ostentation. The Cistercians, who for a generation had been the sour puritans of the cloister, had become the most potent religious corporation in Europe; but theirs was the power of the purse now. Where had the old strictness and the old fervour gone? Each man was lusting for all that was not his own; but free alms, where were they? and pity for the sad, and reverence for the stricken, and tenderness and sympathy? 'O gentle Jesus, where art Thou? and is there no love of Thee anywhere, nor any love for Thy lost sheep, Thou crucified Saviour of men?'

Knocking at his heart—not merely buzzing in his brain—the words kept smiting him, 'Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses, neither scrip for your journey, neither two coats, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat!' Once men had changed the face of the world with no other equipment. Faith then had removed mountains. Why not again? He threw away his staff and shoes; he went forth with literally a single garment; he was girt with a common rope round his loins. He no more doubted of his mission, he no more feared for the morrow than he feared for the young ravens that he loved and spake to in an ecstasy of joy.

Henceforth there was 'not a bird upon the tree but half forgave his being human;' the flowers of the field looked out at him with special greetings, the wolf of the mountains met him with no fierce glare in his eye. Great men smiled at the craze of the monomaniac. Old men shook their grey heads and remembered that they themselves had been young and foolish. Practical men would not waste their words upon the folly of the thing. Rich men, serenely confident of their position, affirmed that they knew of only one who could overcome the world—to wit, the veritable hero, he who holds the purse-strings. St. Francis did not speak to these. 'Oh ye miserable, helpless, and despairing; ye who find yourselves unutterably forlorn—so very, very far astray; ye lost souls whom Satan has bound through the long weary years; ye of the broken hearts, bowed down and crushed; ye with your wasted bodies loathsome to every sense, to whom life is torture and whom death will not deliver; ye whose very nearness by the wayside makes the traveller as he passes shudder with uncontrollable horror lest your breath should light upon his garments, look! I am poor as ye—I am one of yourselves. Christ, the very Christ of God, has sent me with a message to you. Listen!'

It is observable that we never hear of St. Francis that he was a sermon-maker. He had received no clerical or even academical train-

ing. Up to 1207 he had not even a licence to preach. It was only after this that he was—and apparently without desiring it—ordained a deacon. In its first beginnings, the Franciscan movement was essentially moral, not theological, still less intellectual. The absence of anything like dogma in the sermons of the early Minorites was their characteristic. One is tempted to say it was a mere accident that these men were not sectaries, so little in common had they with the ecclesiastics of the time, so entirely did they live and labour among the laity, of whom they were and with whom they so profoundly sympathised. The secret of the overwhelming, the irresistible attraction which St. Francis exercised is to be found in his matchless simplicity, in his sublime self-surrender. He removed mountains because he believed intensely in the infinite power of mere goodness. While from the writhing millions all over Europe, the millions ignorant, neglected, plague-stricken, despairing, an inarticulate wail was going up to God, St. Francis made it articulate. Then he boldly proclaimed: ‘God has heard your cry! It meant this and that. I am sent to you with the good God’s answer.’ There was less than a step between accepting him as the interpreter of their vague yearnings and embracing him as the ambassador of Heaven to themselves.

St. Francis was hardly twenty-eight years old when he set out for Rome, to lay himself at the feet of the great Pope Innocent the Third, and to ask from him some formal recognition. The pontiff, so the story goes, was walking in the garden of the Lateran when the momentous meeting took place. Startled by the sudden apparition of an emaciated young man, bare-headed, shoeless, half-clad, but—for all his gentleness—a beggar who would take no denial, Innocent hesitated. It was but for a brief hour, the next he was won. Francis returned to Assisi with the Papal sanction for what was, probably, a draught of his afterwards famous ‘Rule.’ He was met by the whole city, who received him with a frenzy of excitement. By this time his enthusiasm had kindled that of eleven other young men, all now aglow with the same divine fire. A twelfth soon was added—he, too, a layman of gentle blood and of knightly rank. All these had surrendered their claim to everything in the shape of property, and had resolved to follow their great leader’s example by stripping themselves of all worldly possessions, and suffering the loss of all things. They were beggars—literally barefooted beggars. The love of money was the root of all evil. They would not touch the accursed thing lest they should be defiled—no, not with the tips of their fingers. ‘Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.’ Beggars they were, but they were brethren—*Fratres* (*Frères*). We in England have got to call them *Friars*. Francis was never known in his lifetime as anything higher than *Brother Francis*, and his community he insisted should be called the community of the lesser brethren—

Fratres Minores—far none could be or should be less than they. Abbots and Priors, he would have none of them. ‘He that will be chief among you,’ he said, in Christ’s own words, ‘let him be your servant.’ The highest official among the *Minorites* was the *Minister*, the elect of all, the servant of all, and if not humble enough to serve, not fit to rule.

People talk of ‘Monks and Friars’ as if these were convertible terms. The truth is that the difference between the Monks and the Friars was almost one of kind. The Monk was supposed never to leave his cloister. The Friar in St. Francis’ first intention had no cloister to leave. Even when he had where to lay his head, his life-work was not to save his own soul, but first and foremost to save the bodies and souls of others. The Monk had nothing to do with ministering to others. At best his business was to be the salt of the earth, and it behoved him to be much more upon his guard that the salt should not lose his savour, than that the earth should be sweetened. The Friar was an itinerant evangelist, always on the move. He was a preacher of righteousness. ‘He lifted up his voice against sin and wrong.’ ‘Save yourselves from this untoward generation!’ he cried; ‘save yourselves from the wrath to come.’ The Monk, as has been said, was an aristocrat. The Friar belonged to the great unwashed!

Without the loss of a day the new apostles of poverty, of pity, of an all-embracing love, went forth by two and two to build up the ruined Church of God. Theology they were, from anything that appears, sublimely ignorant of. Except that they were masters of every phrase and word in the Gospels, their stock in trade was scarcely more than that of an average candidate for Anglican orders; but to each and all of them Christ was simply *everything*. If ever men have preached Christ, these men did; Christ, nothing but Christ, the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. They had no system, they had no views, they combated no opinions, they took no side. Let the dialecticians dispute about this nice distinction or that. There *could* be no doubt that Christ had died and risen, and was alive for evermore. There was no place for controversy or opinions when here was a mere simple, indisputable, but most awful fact. Did you want to wrangle about the aspect of the fact, the evidence, the what not? St. Francis had no mission to argue with you. The pearl of great price—will you have it or not? Whether or not, there are millions sighing for it, crying for it, dying for it. To the poor at any rate the Gospel shall be preached now as of old.

To the poor by the poor. Those masses, those dreadful masses, crawling, sweltering in the foul hovels, in many a southern town with never a roof to cover them, huddling in groups under a dry arch, alive with vermin; gibbering *cretins* with the ghastly wens; lepers by the hundred, too shocking for mothers to gaze at, and

therefore driven forth to curse and howl in the lazar-house outside the walls, there stretching out their bony hands to clutch the frightened almsgiver's dole, or, failing that, to pick up shreds of offal from the heaps of garbage—to these St. Francis came.

More wonderful still!—to these outcasts came those other twelve, so utterly had their leader's sublime self-surrender communicated itself to his converts. 'We are come,' they said, 'to live among you and be your servants, and wash your sores, and make your lot less hard than it is. We only want to do as Christ bids us do. We are beggars too, and we too have not where to lay our heads. Christ sent us to you. Yes. Christ the crucified, whose we are, and whose you are. Be not wroth with us, we will help you if we can.'

As they spoke, so they lived. They *were* less than the least, as St. Francis told them they must strive to be. Incredulous cynicism was put to silence. It was wonderful, it was inexplicable, it was disgusting, it was anything you please; but where there were outcasts, lepers, pariahs, there, there were these penniless Minorites tending the miserable sufferers with a cheerful look, and not seldom with a merry laugh. As one reads the stories of those earlier Franciscans, one is reminded every now and then of the extravagances of the Salvation Army.

The heroic example set by these men at first startled, and then fascinated, the upper classes. While labouring to save the lowest, they took captive the highest. The Brotherhood grew in numbers day by day; as it grew, new problems presented themselves. How to dispose of all the wealth renounced, how to employ the energies of all the crowds of brethren. Hardest of all, what to do with the earnest, highly-trained, and sometimes erudite convert who could not divest himself of the treasures of learning which he had amassed. 'Must I part with my books?' said the scholar, with a sinking heart. 'Carry nothing with you for your journey!' was the inexorable answer. 'Not a Breviary? not even the Psalms of David?' 'Get them into your heart of hearts, and provide yourself with a treasure in the heavens. Who ever heard of Christ reading books save when He opened the book in the synagogue, and *then closed* it and went forth to teach the world for ever?'

In 1215 the new Order held its first Chapter at the Church of the Portiuncula. The numbers of the Brotherhood and the area over which their labours extended had increased so vastly that it was already found necessary to nominate Provincial Ministers in France, Germany, and Spain.

While these things were going on in Italy, another notable reformer was vexing his righteous soul in Spain. St. Dominic was a very different man from the gentle and romantic young Italian. Of

high birth, which among the haughty Castilians has always counted for a great deal, he had passed his boyhood among ecclesiastics and academics. He was twelve years older than St. Francis. He studied theology for ten years at the University of Palencia, and before the twelfth century closed he was an Augustinian Canon. In 1203, while St. Francis was still poring over his father's ledgers, Dominic was associated with the Bishop of Osma in negotiating a marriage for Alphonso the Eighth, king of Castille. For the next ten years he was more or less concerned with the hideous atrocities of the Albigensian war. During that dark period of his career he was brought every day face to face with heresy and schism. From infancy he must have heard those around him talk with a savage intolerance of the Moors of the South and the stubborn Jews of Toledo nearer home. Now his eyes were open to the perils that beset the Church from sectaries who from within were for casting off her divine authority. Wretches who questioned the very creeds and rejected the Sacraments, yet perversely insisted that they were Christian men and women, with a clearer insight into Gospel mysteries than Bishops and Cardinals or the Holy Father himself. Here was heresy rampant, and immortal souls, all astray, beguiled by evil men and deceivers, 'whose word doth eat as doth a canker.' Dominic 'saw that there was no man, and marvelled that there was no intercessor.'

It was not ungodliness that Dominic, in the first instance, determined to war with, but ignorance and error. These were to him the monster evils, whose natural fruit was moral corruption. Get rid of them, and the depraved heart might be dealt with by-and-by. Dominic stood forth as the determined champion of orthodoxy. 'Preach the word in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort'—that was his panacea. His success at the first was but small. Preachers with the divine fervour, with the gift of utterance, with the power to drive truth home—are rare. They are not to be had for the asking; they are not trained in a day. Years passed, but little was achieved; Dominic was patient. He had, indeed, founded a small religious community of sixteen brethren at St. Rouain, near Toulouse—one of these, we are told, was an Englishman,—whose aim and object were to produce an effect through the agency of the pulpit, to confute the heretics and instruct the unlearned. The Order, if it deserved the name, was established on the old lines. A monastery was founded, a local habitation secured. The maintenance of the brotherhood was provided for by a sufficient endowment; the petty cares and anxieties of life were in the main guarded against; but when Innocent the Third gave his formal sanction to the new community, it was given to Dominic and his associates, on the 8th of October, 1215, as to a house of *Augustinian Canons*, who received permission to enjoy in their corporate capacity the endowments which had been bestowed upon them. In the following July Innocent died, and was

at once succeeded by Honorius the Third, Dominic set out for Rome, and on the 22nd of December he received from the new Pope a bare confirmation of what his predecessor had granted, with little more than a passing allusion to the fact that the new canons were to be emphatically *Preachers* of the faith. In the autumn of 1217 Dominic turned his back upon Languedoc for ever. He took up his residence at Rome, and at once rose high in the favour of the Pope. His eloquence, his earnestness, his absorbing enthusiasm, his matchless dialectic skill, his perfect scholastic training—all combined to attract precisely those cultured churchmen whose fastidious sense of the fitness of things revolted from the austerities of St. Francis and the enormous demands which the Minorites made upon their converts. While Francis was acting upon the masses from Assisi, Dominic was stirring the dry bones to a new vitality among scholars and ecclesiastics at Rome.

Thus far we have heard little or nothing of poverty among the more highly educated *Friars Preachers*, as they got to be called. That seems to have been quite an afterthought. So far as Dominic may be said to have accepted the Voluntary Principle and, renouncing all endowments, to have thrown himself and his followers for support upon the alms of the faithful, so far he was a disciple of St. Francis. The Champion of Orthodoxy was a convert to the Apostle of Poverty.

How soon the Dominicans gave in their adhesion to the distinctive tenet of the Minorites will never now be known, nor how far St. Francis himself adopted it from others; but a conviction that holiness of life had deteriorated in the Church and the cloister by reason of the excessive wealth of monks and ecclesiastics was prevalent everywhere, and a belief was growing that sanctity was attainable only by those who were ready to part with all their worldly possessions and give to such as needed. Even before St. Francis had applied to Innocent the Third, the poor men of Lyons had come to Rome begging for papal sanction to their missionary plans; they met with little favour, and vanished from the scene. But they too declaimed against endowments—they too were to live on alms. The Gospel of Poverty was *'in the air.'*

In 1219 the Franciscans held their second general Chapter. It was evident that they were taking the world by storm; evident, too, that their astonishing success was due less to their preaching than to their self-denying lives. It was abundantly plain that this vast army of fervent missionaries could live from day to day and work wonders in evangelising the masses without owning a rood of land, or having anything to depend upon but the perennial stream of bounty which flowed from the gratitude of their followers. If the Preaching Friars were to succeed at such a time as this, they could only hope to do so by exhibiting as sublime a faith as the Minorites displayed to the world. Accordingly, in the very year after the second Chapter of the

Franciscans was held at Assisi, a general Chapter of the Dominicans was held at Bologna, and there the profession of poverty was formally adopted, and the renunciation of all means of support, except such as might be offered from day to day, was insisted on. Henceforth the two orders were to labour side by side in magnificent rivalry—mendicants who went forth like Gideon's host with empty pitchers to fight the battles of the Lord, and whose desires, as far as the good things of this world went, were summed up in the simple petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread!'

Thus far the friars had scarcely been heard of in England. The Dominicans—trained men of education, addressing themselves mainly to the educated classes, and sure of being understood wherever Latin, the universal medium of communication among scholars, was in daily and hourly use—the Dominicans could have little or no difficulty in getting an audience such as they were qualified to address. It was otherwise with the Franciscans. If the world was to be divided between these two great bands, obviously the Minorites' sphere of labour must be mainly among the lowest, that of the Preaching Friars among the cultured classes. When the Minorites preached among Italians or Frenchmen they were received with tumultuous welcome. They spoke the language of the people; and in the vulgar speech of the people—rugged, plastic, and reckless of grammar—the message came as glad tidings of great joy. When they tried the same method in Germany, we are told, they signally failed. The gift of tongues, alas! had ceased. That, at any rate, was denied, even to such faith as theirs. They were met with ridicule. The rabble of Cologne or Bremen, hoarsely grumbling out their grating gutturals, were not to be moved by the most impassioned pleading of angels in human form, soft though their voices might be, and musical their tones. 'Ach Himmel! was sagt er?' growled one. And peradventure some well-meaning interpreter replied: 'Zu suchen und selig zu machen.' When the Italian tried to repeat the words his utterance, not his faith, collapsed! The German-speaking people must wait till a door should be opened. Must England wait too? Yes! For the Franciscan missionaries England too must wait a little while.

But England was exactly the land for the Dominican to turn to. Unhappy England! Dominic was born in the same year that Thomas Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral; Francis in the year before the judgment of the Most High began to fall upon the guilty King and his accursed progeny. Since then everything seemed to have gone wrong. The last six years of Henry the Second's reign were years of piteous misery, shame, and bitterness. His two

elder sons died in arms against their father, the one childless, the other, Geoffrey, with a baby boy never destined to arrive at manhood. The two youngest ones were Richard and John. History has no story more sad than that of the wretched king, hard at death's door, compelled to submit to the ferocious vindictiveness of the one son, and turning his face to the wall with a broken heart when he discovered the hateful treachery of the other. Ten years after this Richard died childless, and King John was crowned—the falsest, meanest, worst, and wickedest king that ever sat upon the throne of England. With him the dread Nemesis went on. How young Arthur perished we can but darkly suspect; and John's only remaining nephew, Otho, Emperor of Germany, practically came to an end after the fatal battle of Bouvines. His only surviving niece was consort of Louis the Eighth of France—that insolent who landed the last army of invasion upon our shores. And now John himself was dead; and 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!' for Henry the Third was crowned, a boy just nine years old.

If the Royal House had been stricken even to the verge of extinction, not less wofully had the land suffered. For eight years England had lain under the terrible interdict; for most of the time only a single bishop had remained in England. John had small need to tax the people: he lived upon the plunder of bishops and abbots. The churches were desolate; the worship of God in large districts almost came to an end. Only in the Cistercian monasteries, and in them only for a time, and to a very limited extent, were the rites of religion continued. It is hardly conceivable that the places of those clergy who died during the eight years of the interdict were supplied by fresh ordinations; and some excuse may have been found for the outrageous demands of the Pope to present to English benefices in the fact that many cures must have been vacant, and the supply of qualified Englishmen to succeed them had fallen short.

Strange to say, in the midst of all this religious famine, and while the Church was being ruthlessly pillaged and her ministers put to rebuke, there was more intellectual activity in the country than had existed for centuries. The schools at Oxford were attracting students from far and near; and when, in consequence of the disgraceful murder of three clerics in 1209, apparently at the instance of King John, the whole body of masters and scholars dispersed—some to Cambridge, others to Reading—it is said their number amounted to 3,000. These were for the most part youths hardly as old as the undergraduates in a Scotch university in our own time; but there was evidently an ample supply of competent teachers, or the reputation of Oxford could not have been maintained.

It was during the year after the Chapter of the Dominicans held at Bologna in 1220, that the first brethren of the order arrived in England. They were under the direction of one Gilbert de Fraxineto,

who was accompanied by twelve associates. They landed early in August, probably at Dover. They were at once received with cordiality by Archbishop Langton, who put their powers to the test by commanding one of their number to preach before him. The Primate took them into his favour, and sent them on their way. On the 10th of August they were preaching in London, and on the 15th they appeared in Oxford, and were welcomed as the bringers-in of new things. Their success was unequivocal. We hardly hear of their arrival before we learn that they were well established in their school and surrounded by eager disciples.

Be it remembered that any systematic training of young men to serve as evangelists—any attempt to educate them directly as preachers well furnished with arguments to confute the erring, and carefully taught to practise the graces of oratory—had never been made in England. These Dominicans were already the Sophists of their age, masters of the dialectic methods then in vogue, whereby disputation had been raised to the dignity of a science. Then a scholar was looked upon as a mere pretender who could not maintain a *thesis* against all comers before a crowded audience of sharp-eyed critics and eager partisans, not too nice in their expressions of dissent or approval. The exercises still kept up for the Doctor's degree in Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge are but the shadows of what was a reality in the past. Whether we have not lost much in the discontinuance of the old *Acts* and *Apponencies*, which at least assured that a young man should be required to stand up before a public audience to defend the reasonableness of his opinions, may fairly be doubted. The aim of the Dominican teachers was to turn out trained preachers furnished with all the tricks of dialectic fence, and practised to extempore speaking on the most momentous subjects. Unfortunately the historian, when he has told us of the arrival of his brethren, leaves us in the dark as to all their early struggles and difficulties, and passes on to other matters with which we are less concerned. What would we not give to know the history, say during only twenty years, of the labours of the Preaching Friars in England? Alas! it seems never to have been written. We are only told enough to awaken curiosity and disappoint it.

Happily, of the early labours of the Franciscan friars in England much fuller details have reached us, though the very existence of the records in which they were handed down was known to very few, and the wonderful story had been forgotten for centuries when the appearance of the *Monumenta Franciscana* in the series of chronicles published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls in 1858 may be said to have marked an event in literature. If the late Mr. Brewer had done no more than bring to light the remarkable series of documents which that volume contains, he would have won for himself the lasting gratitude of all seekers after truth.

The Dominicans had been settled in Oxford just two years when the first band of Franciscan brethren landed in England on the 11th of September 1224. They landed penniless; their passage over had been paid by the monks of Fécamp; they numbered in all nine persons, five were laymen, four were clerics. Of the latter three were Englishmen, the fourth was an Italian, Agnellus of Pisa by name. Agnellus had been some time previously destined by St. Francis as the first *Minister* for the province of England, not improbably because he had some familiarity with our language. He was about thirty years of age, and as yet only in deacon's orders. Indeed, of the whole company *only one was a priest*, a man of middle age who had made his mark and was famous as a preacher of rare gifts and deep earnestness. He was a Norfolk man born, Richard of Ingworth by name and presumably a priest of the diocese of Norwich. Of the five laymen one was a Lombard, who may have had some kinsfolk and friends in London, where he was allowed to remain as warden for some years, and one, Lawrence of Beauvais, was a personal and intimate friend of St. Francis, who on his death-bed gave him the habit which he himself had worn.

The whole party were hospitably entertained for two days at the Priory of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury. Then Brother Richard Ingworth, with another Richard—a Devonshire youth conspicuous for his ascetic fervour and devotion, but only old enough to be admitted to minor orders—set out for London, accompanied by the Lombard and another foreigner, leaving behind them Agnellus and the rest, among them William of Esseby, the third Englishman, enthusiastic and ardent as the others, but a mere youth and as yet a novice. He, too, I conjecture to have been a Norfolk or Suffolk man, whose birth-place, *Ashby*, in the East Anglian dialect, would be pronounced nearly as it is written in Eccleston's manuscript. It was arranged that Richard Ingworth should lose no time in trying to secure some place where they might all lay their heads, and from whence as a centre they might begin the great work they had in hand. The Canterbury party were received into the Priest's House and allowed to remain for a while. Soon they received permission to sleep in a building used as a school during the day-time, and while the boys were being taught the poor friars huddled together in a small room adjoining, where they were confined as if they had been prisoners. When the scholars went home the friars crept out, lit a fire and sat round it, boiled their porridge, and mixed their small beer, sour and thick as we are told it was, with water to make it go further, and each contributed some word of edification to the general stock, brought forward some homely illustration which might serve to brighten the next sermon when it should be preached, or told a pleasant tale, thought out during the day—a story with a moral. Of the five left behind at Canterbury it is to be observed that no one of them was qualified as yet to preach in the vernacular. William of Esseby was too young for the pulpit, though

he became a very effective preacher in a few years. He was, however, doing good service as interpreter, and doubtless as teacher of English to the rest.

Before long the cheerfulness, self-denial, and devout bearing of the little company at Canterbury gained for them the warm support and friendship of all classes. They had a very hard time of it. Sometimes a kind soul would bring them actually a dish of meat, sometimes even a bottle of wine, but as a rule their fare was bread—made up into *twists*, we hear, when it was specially excellent—wheat-bread, wholesome and palatable; but, alas! sometimes barley-bread, washed down with beer too sour to drink undiluted with water. Alexander, the master of the Priest's House at Canterbury, before long gave them a piece of ground and built them a temporary chapel, but when he was for presenting them with the building, he was told that they might not possess houses and lands, and the property was thereupon made over to the corporation of Canterbury to hold in honourable trust for their use, the friars *borrowing* it of the town. Simon Langton too, Archdeacon of Canterbury, the primate's brother, stood their friend, and one or two people of influence among the laity, as Sir Henry de Sandwich, a wealthy Kentish gentleman, and a lady whom Eccleston calls a 'noble countess,' one Inclusa de Baginton, warmly supported them and liberally supplied their necessities. It is worthy of notice that at Canterbury their first friends were among the wealthy, *i.e.* those among whom a command of English was not necessary.

While Agnellus and his brethren were waiting patiently at Canterbury, Ingworth and young Richard of Devon with the two Italians had made their way to London and had been received with enthusiasm. Their first entertainers were the Dominican friars who, though they had been only two years before them, yet had already got for themselves a house, in which they were able to entertain the new comers for a fortnight. At the end of that time they hired a plot of ground in Cornhill of John Travers, the Sheriff of London, and there they built for themselves a house, such as it was. Their cells were constructed like sheep-cotes, mere wattels with mouldy hay or straw between them. Their fare was of the meanest but they gained in estimation every day. In their humble quarters at Cornhill they remained preaching, visiting, nursing, begging their bread, but always gay and busy, till the summer of 1225, when a certain John Iwyn—again a name suspiciously like the phonetic representative of the common Norfolk name of *Ewing*—a mercer and citizen, offered them a more spacious and comfortable dwelling in the parish of St. Nicholas. As their brethren at Canterbury had done, so did they; they refused all houses and lands, and the house was made over to the corporation of London for their use. Not long after the worthy citizen assumed the Franciscan habit and renounced the world, to embrace poverty.

In the autumn of 1225 Ingworth and the younger Richard left London, Agnellus taking their place. He had not been idle at Canterbury, and his success in making converts had been remarkable. At Canterbury and London the Minorites had secured for themselves a firm footing. The Universities were next invaded. The two Richards reached Oxford about October 1225, and as before were received with great cordiality by the Dominicans and hospitably entertained for eight days. Before a week was out they had got the loan of a house or hall in the parish of St. Ebbs, and had started lectures and secured a large following. Here young Essey joined them, sent on it seems by Agnellus from London to assist in the work; a year or so older than when he first landed, and having shown in that time unmistakable signs of great capacity and entire devotion to the work. Essey was quite able to stand alone. Once more the two Richards moved on to Northampton, where an 'opening from the Lord' seemed to have presented itself. By this time the whole country was on the tip-toe of expectation and crowds of all classes had given in their adhesion to the new missionaries. No! it was *not* grandeur or riches or honour or learning that were wanted above all things—not these, but Goodness, Meekness, Simplicity, and Truth. The love of money *was* the root of all evil. The Minorites were right. When men with a divine fervour proclaim a truth, or even half a truth, which the world has forgotten, there is never any lack of enthusiasm in its acceptance. In five years from their first arrival the Friars had established themselves in almost every considerable town in England, and where one order settled the other came soon after, the two orders in their first beginning co-operating cordially. It was only when their faith and zeal began to wax cold that jealousy broke forth into bitter antagonism.

In no part of England were the Franciscans received with more enthusiasm than in Norfolk. They appear to have established themselves at Lynn, Yarmouth, and Norwich in 1226. Clergy and laity, rich and poor, united in offering to them a ready homage. To this day a certain grudging provincialism is observable in the East Anglian character. A Norfolk man distrusts the settler from 'the Shires' who comes in with new-fangled reforms. To this day the home of wisdom is supposed to be in the East. When it was understood that the virtual leader of this astonishing religious revival was a Norfolk man, the joy and pride of Norfolk knew no bounds. Nothing was too much to do for their own hero. But when it became known that Ingworth had been welcomed with open arms by Robert Grosseteste, the foremost scholar in Oxford—he a Suffolk man—and that Grosseteste's friend, Roger de Weseham, was their warm supporter, son of a Norfolk yeoman, whose brethren were to be seen any day in Lynn market—the ovation that the Franciscans met with was unparalleled. There was a general rush by some of the best men of the county into the order.

Already St. Francis had found it necessary to include in the fraternity a class of recognised associates who may be described as the *unattached*. These were the *Tertiaries*—laymen who were not prepared to embrace the vows of poverty and to surrender their all—but well-wishers pledged to support the Minorites, and to co-operate with them when called upon, showing their good-will sometimes in visiting the sick and needy, sometimes in engaging in the work of teaching, or accompanying the preachers when advisable, and bound by their engagement to set an example of sobriety and seriousness in their dress and manners. Up to this time the word *religious* had been applied only to such as were inmates of a cloister. Now the truth dawned upon men that it was possible to live the higher life even while pursuing one's ordinary vocation in the busy world. The tone of social morality must have gained enormously by the dissemination of this new doctrine, and its acceptance among high and low. It became the fashion in the upper classes to enrol oneself among the Tertiaries, and every new enrolment was an important accession to the stability, and, indeed, to the material resources of the Minorites; and when—apparently within a few days of one another—no less than five gentlemen of knightly rank, of whom at least one, Sir Giles de Merc, had only recently been employed as an envoy by the king to his brother Richard in Gascony, and another, Sir Henry de Walpole, was amongst the most considerable and wealthy men in the eastern counties, Henry the Third spoke out his mind and showed that he was not too well-pleased. Really these friars were going on too fast—turning men's heads! At Lynn the Franciscans were specially fortunate in their warden, whose austerity of life, gentle manners, and profoundly sympathetic temperament obtained for him unbounded influence. Among others Alexander de Basingbourne³—seneschal of Lynn for Pandulph, Bishop of Norwich, and, as such, a personage of importance, became his convert and joined the new order; but the number of Norfolk clergy and scholars who actually became friars must have been very large indeed; they were quite the picked men among the Franciscans in England. Of the first eighteen masters of Franciscan schools at Cambridge, at least ten were Norfolk men, while of the first five Divinity readers at Oxford whose names have been recorded, after those of Grosseteste and Roger de Weseham, four were unmistakably East Anglians. No one familiar with Norfolk topography could fail to be struck by this fact, and the queer spellings of some places, which puzzled even Mr. Brewer, are themselves suggestive.⁴

St. Francis died at Assisi on October 4, 1226. With his death

³ The name is again changed into *Bissingburne* by Eccleston, who writes it as he heard it from Norfolk people.

⁴ *E.g.* Turnham represents the Norfolk pronunciation of *Thornham*. Heddle is *Hadleigh*, in Suffolk spelt phonetically; Ravingham is *Raveningham*, Assewelle is *Ashwell* [cf. p. 93, Esseby for Ashby], Sloler is *Stoley*, Leveringfot is *Letheringset*.

troubles began. Brother Elias, who was chosen to succeed him as Minister General of the Order, had little of the great founder's spirit, and none of his genius. There was unseemly strife and rivalry, and on the Continent it would appear that the Minorites made but little way. Not so was it in England; there the supply of brethren animated by genuine enthusiasm and burning zeal for the cause they had espoused was unexampled. Perhaps there more than anywhere else such labourers were needed, perhaps too they had a fairer field. Certainly there they were truer to their first principles than elsewhere. Outside the city walls at Lynn and York and Bristol; in a filthy swamp at Norwich, through which the drainage of the city sluggishly trickled into the river, never a foot lower than its banks; in a mere barn-like structure, with walls of mud, at Shrewsbury, in the 'Stinking Alley' in London, the Minorites took up their abode, and there they lived on charity, doing for the lowest the most menial offices, speaking to the poorest the words of hope, preaching to learned and simple such sermons—short, homely, fervent, and emotional—as the world had not heard for many a day. How could such evangelists fail to win their way? Before Henry III.'s reign was half over the predominance of the Franciscans over Oxford was almost supreme. At Cambridge their influence was less dominant only because at Cambridge there was no commanding genius like Robert Grosseteste to favour and support them. St. Francis's hatred of book-learning was the one sentiment that he never was able to inspire among his followers. Almost from the first scholars, students, and men of learning were attracted by the irresistible charm of his wonderful moral persuasiveness; they gave in their adherence to him in a vague hope that by contact with his surpassing holiness virtue would go out of him, and that somehow the divine goodness which he magnified as the one thing needful would be communicated to them and supply that which was lacking in themselves; but they could not bring themselves to believe that culture and holiness were incompatible or that nearness to God was possible only to those who were ignorant and uninstructed. We should have expected learning among the Dominicans, but very soon the English Franciscans became the most learned body in Europe, and that character they never lost till the suppression of the monasteries swept them out of the land. Before Edward I. came to the throne, in less than fifty years after Richard Ingworth and his little band landed at Dover, Robert Kilwarby, a Franciscan friar, had been chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bonaventura, the General of the Order, had refused the Archbishopric of York. In 1281 Jerome of Ascoli, Bonaventura's successor as General, was elected Pope, assuming the name of Nicholas IV.

Meanwhile such giants as Alexander Hales and Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus among the Minorites—all Englishmen be it remembered—and Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus among the Dominicans,

had given to intellectual life that amazing lift into a higher region of thought, speculation, and inquiry which prepared the way for greater things by-and-by. It was at Assisi that Cimabue and Giotto received their most sublime inspiration and did their very best, breathing the air that St. Francis himself had breathed and listening day by day to traditions and memories of the saint, told peradventure by one or another who had seen him alive or even touched his garments in their childhood. It may even be that there Dante watched Giotto at his work while the painter got the poet's face by heart.

To write the history of the Mendicant Orders in England would be a task beyond my capacity, but no man can hope to understand the successes or the failures of any great party in Church or State until he has arrived at some comprehension, not only of the objects which it set itself to achieve, but of its *modus operandi* at the outset of its career.

The Friars were a great party in the Church, organised with a definite object, and pledged to carry out that object in simple reliance upon what we now call the *Voluntary Principle*. St. Francis saw, and saw much more clearly than even we of the nineteenth century see it, that the Parochial system is admirable, is a perfect system for the village, that it is unsuited for the town, that in the towns the attempt to work it had ended in a miserable and scandalous failure. The Friars came as helpers of the poor town clergy, just when those clergy had begun to give up their task as hopeless. They came as missionaries to those whom the town clergy had got to regard as mere *pariahs*. They came to strengthen the weak hands, and to labour in a new field. *St. Francis was the John Wesley of the thirteenth century, whom the Church did not cast out.*

Rome has never been afraid of fanaticism. She has always known how to utilise her enthusiasts fired by a new idea. The Church of England has never known how to deal with a man of genius. From Wicklif to Frederick Robertson, from Bishop Peacock to Dr. Rowland Williams, the clergyman who has been in danger of impressing his personality upon Anglicanism, where he has not been the object of relentless persecution, has at least been regarded with timid suspicion, has been shunned by all prudent men of low degree, and by those of high degree has been—forgotten. In the Church of England there has never been a time when the enthusiast has not been treated as a very *unsafe* man. Rome has found a place for the dreamiest mystic or the noisiest ranter—found a place and found a sphere of useful labour. We, with our insular prejudices, have been sticklers for the narrowest uniformity, and yet we have accepted, as a useful addition to the Creed of Christendom, one article which we have only not formulated because, perhaps, it came to us from a

Roman Bishop, the great sage Talleyrand—*Surtout pas trop de zèle!*

The Minorites were the Low Churchmen of the 13th century, the Dominicans the severely orthodox, among whom spiritual things were believed to be attainable only through the medium of significant form. Rome knew how to yoke the two together, Xanthos and Balios champing at the bit, but always held well in hand. At the outset the two orders were so deeply impressed by the magnitude of the evils they were to combat that they hardly knew there was anything in which they were at variance. Gradually—yes, and somewhat rapidly—each borrowed something from the other. The Minorites found they could not do without culture; the Dominicans renounced endowments; by-and-by they drew apart into separate camps, and discord proved that the old singleness of purpose and loyalty to a great cause had passed away. Imitators arose. Reformers they all professed to be, improvers of the original idea. Augustinian Friars, Carmelites, Bethlehemites, Bonhommes, and the rest. Friars they all called themselves—all pledged to the Voluntary Principle, all renouncing endowments, all professing to live on alms.

I have called St. Francis the John Wesley of the thirteenth century. The parallels might be drawn out into curious detail, if we compared the later history of the great movements originated by one and the other reformer. The new orders of Friars were to the old ones what the Separatists among the Wesleyan body are to the Old Connection. They had their grievances, real or imagined, they loudly protested against corruption and abuses, they professed themselves anxious only to go back to first principles. But Rome absorbed them all, they became the Church's great army of volunteers, perfectly disciplined, admirably handled; their very jealousies and rivalries turned to good account. When John Wesley offered to the Church of England precisely their successors, we would have no commerce with them; we did our best to turn them into a hostile and invading force.

The Friars were the Evangelisers of the towns in England for 300 years. When the spoliation of the religious houses was decided upon, the Friars were the first upon whom the blow fell—the first and the last.^a But when their property came to be looked into, there was no more to rob but the churches in which they worshipped, the libraries in which they studied, and the houses in which they passed their lives. Rob the county hospitals to-morrow through the length and breadth of the land, or make a general scramble for the possessions of the Wesleyan body, and how many broad acres would go to the hammer?

^a The king began with the Franciscan convent of Christ Church, London, in 1532; he bestowed the Dominican convent at Norwich upon the corporation of that city on the 25th of June, 1540.

Voluntaryism leaves little for the spoiler.

As with the later history of the Friars in England, so with the corruptions of the Mendicant orders—though they were as great as malice or ignorance may have represented them—I am not concerned. That the Minorites of the fourteenth century were very unlike the Minorites of the thirteenth I know; that the other Mendicant orders declined, I cannot doubt—

What keeps a spirit wholly true
To that ideal which he bears?
What record? Not the sinless years
That breathed beneath the Syrian blue.

The Rule of St. Francis was a glorious ideal; when it came to be carried into practice by creatures of flesh and blood, it proved to be something to dream of, not to live. And yet, even as it was, its effects upon the Church, nay upon the whole civilised world, were enormous. If, one after another, the Mendicant orders declined, if their zeal grew cold, their simplicity of life faded, and their discipline relaxed; if they became corrupted by that very world which they promised to purify and deliver from the dominion of Mammon—this is only what has happened again and again, what must happen as long as men are men. In every age the prophet has always asked for the unattainable, always pointed to a higher level than human nature could breathe in, always insisted on a measure of self-renunciation which saints in their prayers send forth the soul's lame hands to clutch—in their ecstasy of aspiration hope that they may some day arrive at. But, alas! they reached it—never. And yet the saint and the prophet do not live in vain. They send a thrill of noble emotion through the heart of their generation, and the divine tremor does not soon subside; they gather round them the pure and generous—the lofty souls which are not all of the earth earthy. In such, at any rate, a fire is kindled by the spark that has fallen from the altar. By-and-by it is the fuel that fails; then the old fire, after smouldering for a while, goes out, and by no stirring of the dead embers can you make them flame again. You may cry as loudly as you will, 'Pull down the chimney that will not draw, and set up another in its place!' That you may do if you please; another fire you may have, but the new will not be as the old.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

NEW GUINEA.

Now that we have recovered from the shock caused a few weeks ago by the laconic announcement of the annexation of New Guinea 'by a police magistrate,' it begins to occur to us how strangely little we know of this great island—the largest, indeed, in the world—surrounded by, or on the high road to, so many other lands with which we are comparatively familiar. It may be worth while then, in view of the important considerations suggested by this intelligence, to take stock of whatever knowledge we possess on the subject.

That New Guinea has so long remained a *terra incognita* is due, among other causes, to the fact that in the days of early European adventure in those seas it lay apart from the route of vessels approaching, or trading between, the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese possessions. Again, the jealous policy of the Dutch, when established in the Spice Islands, effectually prevented for a time all access from the west to the regions behind them. And, when that barrier began to break down, the stream of enterprise was beginning to flow towards the more temperate regions further south. Meanwhile, the inducements to approach New Guinea were few, and the drawbacks serious. The European craving for cloves and nutmegs—that small, but not least potent, among the causes which led to the discovery of a New World—was fairly supplied by the high-handed arrangements of the Dutch in the Moluccas, so that it was hardly worth the while of any 'interlopers,' though more than one gallant attempt was made by the servants of the old East India Company, to encounter the risks of exploration on the New Guinea coast. The very extent of the country was an obstacle—peopled, as it appeared to be, in unknown and unlimited numbers, by a fierce and warlike race, very different from the semi-civilised Malays of the neighbouring archipelago. As old Galvano wrote: 'The most of them eat man's flesh, and are witches, so given to devilishness that the devils walk among them as companions.' Its western coasts, too, for hundreds of miles, are for the most part too precipitous for cultivation, so that the people, when disposed for agriculture, cross over for that purpose to the low-lying uninhabited islands which fringe the shore.' Some of the inland tribes indeed cultivate a little, and bring down very good tobacco and

other produce to the coast; but the mountainous interior is generally covered with almost impenetrable forests, and the occasional creeks and rivers which run up into the country are difficult of access, intricate, and often very unhealthy. Such, roughly speaking, is the character of the western half of New Guinea (*i.e.* up to the 141° meridian E. from Greenwich), which the Dutch, when they felt their monopoly in those seas slipping away from them, annexed in 1828. But their few attempts to form a settlement have broken down, and their displays of sovereign power, after fifty-five years of possession, are limited to the occasional visits of surveying vessels, the commanders of which, along with a certain amount of good advice, distribute Dutch flags and other insignia to the chiefs, who have probably a very dim idea of their meaning. In fact, only a few Dutch missionaries are settled on the north-west coast, and the results of many years of arduous and devoted labour on their part have not been great. It is to be supposed, however, that when our Australian friends speak of 'annexing New Guinea,' they refer to the eastern half only. It would indeed, as the practice now stands, be a breach of international comity to do otherwise, at all events without full notice or some mutual understanding; but 'it is hard to see how, speaking abstractedly, such annexation can rest on any other sanction than a readiness on the part of the annexing power to defend its action against all comers. And even if any right can be thought to exist, it must manifestly lapse after a certain time. Our possessions would be still more numerous than they are were it not for certain lapses of this kind. To take the North Pacific alone, the Sandwich Islands were solemnly ceded to us, with a few Home Rule reservations, by King Kamehameha the First, in 1794. The Bonin Islands, again, were only the other day scientifically surveyed by the Japanese, no doubt on the assumption that they form part of their territory; yet these islands were annexed to England by Captain Beechey in 1827. And New Guinea, itself, curiously enough, was annexed, about 1793, by the Commanders of the East India Company's ships 'Cornwallis' and 'Hormuzer,' and Manaswari Island in Geelvink Bay on the north-west coast was occupied for several months by our troops. But the Dutch, properly enough, cared nothing for this in 1828 when they annexed half the island, and they probably now stand like Clive, astonished—and vexed—at their own moderation in not having annexed the whole. In like manner Lieutenant Yule, of H.M.S. 'Bramble,' thought as little of the feelings of the Dutch when he annexed New Guinea in 1846. And they on their part seem to have taken no official notice of this act, though they were very sore the other day when our Government, by granting a charter to the North Borneo Company, practically annexed the north-east portion of that island. Obviously each disputed question of this kind must be discussed on its own merits.

Eastwards from the Dutch frontier line, and opposite to the Australian coast, as far as the great Gulf of Papua, extends a swampy, half-drowned region, intersected by numerous creeks and streams which bring down the drainage from the high mountains of the interior, and may be found to provide a waterway thither for small vessels. One of these streams, indeed, the Fly River, was ascended by Signor D'Albertis, a distinguished Italian naturalist, in a steam launch lent him by the Government of Sydney, but he failed to reach the central mountain ranges, or even to emerge from the region of swamps; and his manner of dealing with the natives was not calculated to make the way easier for future explorers. From the Gulf of Papua to the eastern extremity of the island is a rolling hill country, with somewhat of an Australian and less exclusively tropical character, having some fertile tracts inland, and with a barrier reef within which are some good anchorages and harbours, in one of which a coaling station and entrepôt for trade might be established, and where Admiral Moresby would station the vessels that should guard the entrance to Torres Straits. In this district, among a people of a milder and more accessible type than the dark Papuans of the Western and Central coasts, a few English missionaries, some of them men of considerable ability, are slowly imbuing the natives with civilised ideas, and paving the way for further intercourse. Throughout this eastern part of New Guinea the hill-sides are in many places terraced, highly cultivated, and artificially irrigated. This is especially the case on the northern coast, where Mr. Wilfred Powell, the only traveller who has visited that part, reports a magnificent, well-watered country, rising in a succession of fertile plateaux, with a settled population, cultivating the soil apparently by means of slave labour.

Geologically, to judge from small specimens which have been sent home from both the northern and southern coasts, the interior of this eastern peninsula appears to be of the same Silurian formation as the gold-producing districts of New South Wales. There is, in fact, no doubt that gold exists there, but it by no means follows that it is abundant, or even in workable quantity. The forests contain valuable timber trees, fruits, gums, barks, and other products; there are splendid sugar-canes, and the sago palm grows wild in the swamps. The higher lands would probably maintain cattle in abundance, and possibly sheep. In short, there is a vast supply of wealth provided for the future, but it might be a great mistake to assume that it is immediately available. Apart from the difficulties of access, and of transport for produce through such a country, the natives, who seem fairly numerous, have a distinct sense of proprietorship in the soil. Even the more savage tribes who depend at certain seasons on the sago palm have each their own allotted district to which they betake themselves to collect it; and

certainly the agricultural tribes would be unwilling to alienate their lands, while the people generally would be averse from the steady labour necessary to develop any considerable trade in the productions of the country. But however this may be, there is no doubt that, as the world goes, it is to Australia, and the race which made Australia, that New Guinea must naturally fall; Queensland, indeed, already possesses the islands, some of them close to the New Guinea coast, which bridge over the distance between the two countries. At any moment a report of gold, or any other quest of wealth or adventure, may carry large bands of Englishmen across, and bring them into immediate contact with the natives. Now, without forgetting, or disbelieving in, the charming qualities with which the east coast people were credited in Captain Moresby's pleasant narrative, we may safely put down a large share of this to the admirable tact of that commander and the good discipline of his crew, and feel sure that under less discreet handling, and on closer and longer contact, matters would soon assume a different aspect.¹ And here comes in a problem which will task our ablest statesmanship. What the results of such contact must be we know only too well from past experience, and owing to the numbers that will be concerned, and the extent of the country, the consequent horrors will be on a larger scale than any that have occurred under similar circumstances. It is clear, however, that the collision must come, and that shortly. We can hardly escape the responsibility by declining to act; in fact we have already acknowledged such responsibility by the appointment of a 'High Commissioner for the Western Pacific,' who has jurisdiction over all British subjects in the independent islands: but besides that the limits of his jurisdiction in the direction of New Guinea are ill defined, his hands would need to be considerably strengthened, and the means and organisation at his disposal supplemented, if he is to cope with any emergency that may arise here. Possibly some such arrangements have been already made by the authorities. Certainly they ought to be prepared in advance, for admitting the immense difficulties in the way, it would be little to our credit if with our now abundant experience we failed, if not entirely to prevent, at all events greatly to mitigate, the evils threatened. It is useless to resist—or to discuss—the inevitable, and the occupation of the country by Europeans is inevitable, but we need not admit that the extermination of the natives is so. Even on mere economical grounds this would be a serious catastrophe, and seeing how limited, in such a country, must be the possible area of actual English colonisation, and how vast the extent over which

¹ Hitherto their behaviour to the gold prospectors has been extraordinarily good, feeding and bringing back stragglers who had lost their way. One of the few cases of violence, indeed, arose from a scientific experiment made by a chief with his spear, to ascertain whether white men, as he had heard, were really invulnerable.

natives alone could work or thrive, there seems special ground for hoping that it may be averted.

Some six years ago the prospectus of an amusingly impudent scheme was issued in London. The members of the association were all to be appointed justices of the peace for the island of New Guinea, there were to be doctors and chaplains in attendance, and no work was to be done on Sundays. The natives were to be invited to sell their lands, and so far all was well; but if the natives declined, it is not probable that the justices of the peace, and the chaplains, and the doctors would have all come peaceably home again! Another plan proposed that the chiefs dispossessed of their lands should be recompensed by a grant of the Company's 'fully paid-up shares'—the irony of civilisation. The former hopeful scheme was defeated mainly by a threat of the action of the High Commissioner, but it is not likely that bands of adventurers from Australia would be so easily turned aside. In any case, not only the regulation of intercourse between Europeans and the native races, but, in the event of annexation, the supreme control of the administration, should, while giving full weight to the opinions and advice of responsible people in Australia, be placed in Imperial and not in colonial hands. Besides that it is of the essence of an Imperial system that this should be so, there are special reasons which will commend themselves to thinking men both in Australia and at home. The question is no doubt one which primarily and more deeply affects Australia, but everything which so nearly concerns her must necessarily touch the interests, as it will command the sympathies, of the Empire at large. If then we examine the question from the Australian point of view, we must admit that in his desire to extend his borders the Australian is moved not only by a sentiment with which we can hardly afford to reproach him, but by a very sound political instinct. If we ask him (as has been suggested) why he cannot contemplate the prospect of a European power on the other side of Torres Straits as calmly as we look across the Channel, he might answer that our naval and military estimates, which are the price we pay for living in so good a neighbourhood, do not inspire him with enthusiasm. But in short the situation is fundamentally different. The great and rapidly growing wealth of Australia, when it ceases to find a vent for its energies in the interior of the continent, must look for it elsewhere. Expansion, and maritime dominion or influence throughout the Pacific, would seem the obvious eventual destiny both of Australia and New Zealand. Already an outlet begins to be needed, and we cannot blame the foresight of Australian statesmen who may wish to provide for the requirements of a not distant future. And if the nominal proprietorship of Holland over the western half of New Guinea has been tolerated for fifty-five years, it is surely reasonable that Australia, in view of her inevitable

expansion, should be allowed simply to, enter a *caveat* against the occupation by any foreign power of that remaining moiety of New Guinea which lies opposite her own shores. One advantage of this course would be that we could then adjourn, until the necessity arises, the formation of any elaborate scheme of government for the new possession. General principles for future action might and should be laid down, and a central authority, simply organised, but with extensive powers, established somewhere; but the actual administrative machinery need only be introduced gradually as it becomes needed, *i.e.* practically, as the influx of Europeans increases—thus minimising the expense.

At the same time a slight rectification of the Dutch frontier would not be unreasonable. The boundary officially claimed by them in 1828 was the 140th meridian. The local commander, however, extended this to the 141st, no doubt for the purpose of including the anchorage and a populous native settlement known as Humboldt Bay on the north coast. To this we need make no objection, but on the south coast this meridian may be thought to bring the boundary inconveniently near to Torres Straits. And as that particular part of the coast has probably never yet been seen by any Dutchman, its value to its possessors cannot be great. To ourselves the importance of Torres Straits lies in the large and increasing trade which now passes through it, and to which the occupation by another power of any point on the adjacent New Guinea coast would be a standing menace. The valuable pearl- and tortoise-shell fisheries along these shores, which are now in English hands, might also, if the coast passed into the hands of a foreign power, lead to various complications, such as we are too familiar with in Newfoundland. It has been suggested that all our interests would be sufficiently protected by occupying a few points along this southern coast; but there are other grave inconveniences, probable and even imminent, which nothing short of a general assertion of sovereignty would suffice to prevent. The influx of vagabonds of various nationalities, singly or in companies, either roaming over this extended territory or locating themselves at different points, may soon become an intolerable scandal. An assemblage of gold-seekers in New Guinea recently represented to a neighbouring Australian authority that, as they could not divest themselves of their allegiance to the Crown, so they had a right to demand that the Crown should establish and maintain order among them. The establishment, too, of any foreign convict settlement would in like manner be a serious injury and offence. It is an open secret that more than one European power has within the last few years desired to form such an establishment in New Guinea. If they have hitherto courteously yielded to our remonstrances, they cannot be expected to continue to do so while the country is unclaimed. And it might be difficult for such a power to refuse recognition even to an unauthorised settlement by her own subjects upon a

territory in this position. The entire question has certainly developed rapidly since the annexation was proposed, seven years ago, by the Government of Sydney. Lord Carnarvon was even then ready to entertain the proposal, but on the preliminary condition that, as a matter of principle, the colonies should contribute in part to the expenses of a policy undertaken mainly for their benefit. The Sydney Government, however, did not see the matter in that light, and it accordingly rested there, though it has never been entirely dropped, and the recently expressed willingness of Queensland to bear the cost herself, shows that in the opinion of her Government—founded no doubt on sufficient information of the nature above alluded to—the matter is now urgent. It will be interesting to learn the means by which this young and energetic community proposed to recoup the expense of administering so great an addition to its area. In this connection the opinions, just published, of Sir Arthur Gordon will be studied with the attention due to anything which falls from so distinguished an authority. It is satisfactory to learn that in his opinion the expense of administering the country would be trifling. As regards the small tribute which he would levy from the natives, it would be no doubt a cheap price for them to pay for efficient protection. Whether it would be willingly paid or easily raised, and therefore worth levying, is another question. A more promising source of revenue, I venture to think, might be found in the taxation which would be easily levied from the Chinese, who in the event of annexation would probably flock to New Guinea, attracted by the security of the British flag. Such immigration, indeed, must soon become an important factor in any problem dealing with the labour supply or colonisation of these regions. Whether the economic results of annexation would be immediately advantageous either to Government or to individuals may, I think, reasonably be doubted. The question must, however, be settled on much broader considerations, and, even if the arguments adduced by the Australians were less weighty than they are, it would be difficult for the Home Government to run counter to the general wishes of the colonies, backed as these are by considerable sympathy at home. We must feel for the position of Lord Derby, with his conviction that ‘the Queen has already black subjects enough,’ for the natives of New Guinea are very numerous, and they are certainly very black; but those who believe that the energies of England are already strained to the uttermost by similar tasks may reflect that such energy is now being abundantly generated yearly in Australia; and it is mainly on her abounding energies, and not on the mother country, that the strain will eventually fall. The whole subject points to a new and interesting phase in our colonial relations, and recalls the important scheme put forward a few years ago by Sir Julius Vogel, which would have given to New Zealand a commanding and metropolitan

position with respect to the Pacific groups to the north of her, and would, indirectly, have strengthened the position of Australia. The scheme fell through from want of appreciation and support at home, and the recent acquiescence of our Government in the annexation by the French, in defiance of their treaty with us, of the important position of Raiatea, is not encouraging, though they may perhaps fairly plead that their hands were not strengthened, as they might have been, by vigorous protests from those most nearly concerned. Meanwhile, to the geographer, the ethnologist, and the naturalist, the 'opening' of New Guinea holds out a prospect of extraordinary interest, and we must hope that a wise system of administration, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the colonists, may, by a successful handling of the native question, blot out, so far as may be, the memory of events which darken the early annals of Australia.

COUTTS TROTTER.

. THE SIRENS IN ANCIENT LITERATURE AND ART. .

It is common to the infancy of art in every nation to represent the unseen powers of the supernatural world by symbols and attributes. A tendency to allegorical representation was particularly strong among the nations of the Eastern world, as might be expected from the marked prominence of the imaginative faculty in Oriental nations. The monstrous forms in which Assyrian and Egyptian art delighted owe their origin to this tendency, and the artist saw no better way of representing a being possessed of the highest qualities of a different and even inconsistent nature than that of combining into one grotesque and monstrous form those portions of different animals in which peculiar excellence was supposed to reside. The Egyptians were especially skilful in conceiving these new and composite shapes, embodying the varied faculties of the animals which they held sacred. Of these the best known is the Sphinx, which the most sober and practical denizen of the North can hardly approach, even in this realistic age, without a mysterious feeling of admiration and awe. Parallels to the Sphinx are found in the human-headed lions and bulls, the eagle-headed gods of Assyria, the genii of Persia, and the 'four living creatures' of Ezekiel in Holy Writ. These last afford an excellent example of the symbolical character of mixed forms. They had 'the face of a man, and the face of a lion, and the face of an ox, and the face of an eagle,' representing respectively the reasoning intellect, the noble courage, the unwearied industry, and the strong upward flight of the animals of which they were composed. By such a combination of the different phases of the supremest created excellence the inspired writer sought to shadow forth the ineffable glory of the Godhead.¹

Nor was symbolism of the same kind unknown to the Greeks,

¹ To compare small things with great, we may point to the portrait of the trusty servant on the wall near the Kitchen of Winchester College, which shows that the tendency to symbolism is not confined to one age or nation. The inscription is well known:—

'A trusty servant's portrait would you see,
This emblematic figure well survey.
The porker's snout—not nice in diet shows;
The padlock shut—no secrets he'll disclose;

although it never entered largely, and only for a short period, into their artistic conceptions. The sense of truth and beauty, which is the guiding principle of Greek art, was antagonistic to those hybrid forms in which the laws of nature and of beauty are violated. In the infancy of their powers, as we see, the Greeks, too, followed the East in the bewildering mazes of symbolism and allegory; but they soon shook themselves free from all such trammels and leading strings, and sought to express their sense of the divine perfections in the idealised human form, rather than by an unnatural conglomeration of different parts of the lower animals. No doubt they derived their first ideas of art, through the Phœnicians, from the older civilisations of the Oriental world. The seed came from the East, but when planted in the soil of Hellas it soon produced a fruit which the parent tree would hardly recognise for its own offspring:

Exit ad cœlum raris felicibus arbos
Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.

We may say in fact that among the nations of the East, plastic art never attained the dignity of a *fine* art. Beginning, especially in Egypt, with the coarsest realism, it never became ideal or creative. Controlled and cramped at an early period of its existence by hieratic influences, its representations were seldom beautiful, but for the most part grotesque and terrible, and sometimes even ugly and revolting. Among the Greeks, on the other hand, the first of the nations of the old world which attained liberty, and with it the free and natural development of mind, the infancy of art was very brief, and quickly followed by a promising youth and a glorious manhood. In them a naturally vivid and glowing imagination was brought under the beneficent control of reason and *σωφροσύνη*, and its manifestations in literature and art restrained by the love of truth and the sense of fitness within the lines of harmony and beauty.

Yet the number of mixed forms which we find in Greek literature and art, partly derived from Oriental sources, and partly the offspring of Greek fancy, is by no means inconsiderable. The principal of these are the Chimæra, the Centaur, the Sphinx, the Harpy, the Siren, the various species of the Faun and Satyr, the marine monsters—the Tritons, Hippocamps, Sea Bulls, Sea Dragons, Sea Centaurs, &c.; the numerous winged animals, such as the winged Sow of Clazomenæ, the winged and horned Panthers, winged Horses (Pegasus), &c.

We have said that the peculiar genius of the Greek, with its close

Patient the ass his master's wrath will bear;
Swift in errand the stag's feet declare;
Loaded his left hand apt to labour saith;
The vest his neatness; open hand his faith;
Girt with his sword, his shield upon his arm,
Himself and master he'll protect from harm.

adherence to nature and truth, was naturally antagonistic to the mixed forms in which the Eastern mind delighted, and this is true. We observe, however, that when once such composite conceptions had been accepted by the Greek mind, they were seldom discarded altogether, but gradually and skilfully transformed by the grace-giving power of the Greek Muse in such a manner as to satisfy our sense of fitness and beauty, and to entitle them to a place in the fairy region of poetry and art. There is a difference, rather to be felt than expressed, between the monsters of Eastern and of Grecian myths. There is no doubt something mysterious and awe-inspiring in the Sphinx of Egypt, and in the winged and man-headed Bull of Nineveh; and, strange and grotesque as they are, they do not excite our ridicule. But our imagination finds it difficult to assimilate them, or to find a place for them in the ideal world in which so much of our lives is passed. They are not to us living sentient beings, they do not engage our affections, nor can we think of them as playing a part in the bygone history of the world. But we have no difficulty in imagining that the Centaurs still range over the hills of Thessaly, or in peopling the woods of Arcadia with Fauns and Satyrs; and, as we sail through the isles of Greece, we are disappointed at not hearing the strains of Sirens from 'flowery mead' and jagged rock, or seeing the forms of Tritons and Hippocamps, and 'all the train of Phorkos' gambolling with the Nereids in the summer sea.

Of the hybrid forms above mentioned, many of which play a considerable part in Greek art, not the least interesting, and at the same time the most enigmatical, are the Sirens, whom we propose to make the special theme of the present article.

Before entering into an inquiry as to the origin of these mysterious creations, and the successive changes which they underwent in the hands of mythographers and artists, we should endeavour to get a clear idea of their fundamental nature and their peculiar functions, as they presented themselves to the Greek mind in the earliest ages.

We owe our first acquaintance with the Sirens to the *Odyssey* of Homer, in which what we may call their true nature and character are most clearly indicated. It is desirable to keep his account of them clearly before our minds, because I shall endeavour to show that it contains the germs at least of almost all the very different and apparently contradictory shapes which the Siren myth assumed in poetry and art at a later period.

Among the first and most terrible of the dangers which awaited the faithful husband of Penelope in his passage from the arms of the 'fair-haired' Circe to those of the 'sweet-voiced' Calypso, was the enchanting song of the Sirens:—

The Lady Circe spake unto me (Odysseus) saying . . . To the Sirens first shalt thou come, who bewitch all men, whosoever shall come to them. Whoso draws nigh to them unwittingly, and hears the sound of the Sirens' voice, never doth

he see wife or babes stand by him on his return, nor have they joy at his coming; but the Sirens enchant him with their clear singing, where they sit in the mead, and all about is a great heap of bones of men, corrupt in death, and round the bones the skin is wasting. But do thou drive thy ship past, and knead honey-sweet wax, and anoint therewith the ears of thy company, lest any of them all hear the song; but if thou thyself art minded to hear, let them bind thee in the swift ship hand and foot, upright in the mast-stead, and from the mast let rope-ends be tied, that thou mayest have pleasure in the Sirens' voice. And, if thou shalt beseech thy company, and bid them loose thee, then let them bind thee with yet more bonds.²

Further on we read:—

'Meanwhile our good ship came to the island of the Sirens twain, for a gentle breeze sped her on her way. Then straightway the wind ceased, and lo! there was a windless calm. . . . But I with my sharp sword cleft in pieces a great circle of wax, and with my strong hands kneaded it. And soon the wax grew warm, for that my great might and the beam of the lord Helios, son of Hyperion, constrained it. . . . And when the ship was within the sound of a man's shout from the land, we fleeing swiftly on our way, the Sirens espied the swift ship speeding towards them, and they raised their clear-toned song:

'Hither come, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achæans, and stay thy bark, that thou mayest listen to the voice of us twain. For none hath ever driven by this way in his black ship till he hath heard from our lips the voice sweet as the honeycomb, and hath had joy thereof, and gone on his way the wiser. For lo! we know all things, all the travail that the Argives and Trojans bare by the gods' designs, and we know all that shall hereafter be upon the fruitful earth.'

The principal points to be noticed in the foregoing narrative are, first, the number of the Sirens—'listen to the voice of us twain'; secondly, the place in which they were sitting—a flowery mead; (*ἡμεναι ἐν λειμῶνι*); and, thirdly, that they only sing, without the accompaniment of any instrument. In all these points they differ from the Sirens of later mythology and art, in which they are generally, not always, three in number, dwelling in rocks, and playing on stringed and other instruments. It will be observed, moreover, that no reference is made to their bird-like form. But it would, I think, be wrong to conclude from Homer's silence on this point, as some have done, that the Sirens of the *Odyssey* were entirely human, as we see them on the Etruscan sarcophagus at Florence, the basaltic relief at Lansdowne House, &c. The Sirens were no new creation of the poet's fancy; he is evidently speaking of beings familiar to his hearers. Circe does not describe them as some strange, unheard-of monsters, but simply says, 'To the Sirens first shalt thou come,' and the name may have suggested the very form which we see on the earliest vases, i.e. that of a bird with the head of a virgin.

Concerning the etymology of the name Σειρῆνες we have nothing very satisfactory to offer; attempts have been made, without much success, to derive it from an Aryan root, but with these we shall not trouble the reader. Within the limits of the Greek language the more common opinion connects it with the word σείρα, a rope—a

² Hom. *Od.* xii. 36–54. I have used the faithful and beautiful translation of Messrs. Butcher and Lang.

type of that which draws, whether materially or by speech or song. Others refer it to the root of the verb *σερίω*, to be hot, and of *Σείριος*, the dog-star,³ the bringer of heat. This latter derivation, though, of course, extremely uncertain, is very consonant with the nature ascribed to them in the *Odyssey*, and with the locality to which they are especially assigned, viz. the south-west coast of Italy. In the first instance they probably represented the alluring but wasting and putrefying summer heat. They were the demons of sloth and corruption, the objects of fear and deprecatory worship to those who saw or felt the seductive but baleful influence of a benumbing languor, like that which is caused by the scirocco. The whole narrative breathes a sultry, sickly heat, such as many of us may have felt in the Bay of Naples, the home of the Sirens. They sat 'singing in a mead, and about them was a great heap of bones of men corrupt in death'—

πολύς δ' ἄμφ' ὀστεόφιν θίς
Ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων.⁴

No sooner does the ship of Odysseus near the island than 'straightway the wind ceased, and lo! there was a windless calm;' and hence it is that Hesiod, in a fragment preserved by Eustathius,⁵ ascribes to the Sirens the power of lulling the winds themselves to sleep.⁶ The wax quickly melts in the hands of Odysseus, 'for the beam of the lord Helios constrained it.' The same idea is expressed by Pausanias, who says that men 'rotted away' under the influence of the Sirens' song, and by Apollonius Rhodius, who forcibly expresses it by the words *τηκεδόνι φθινύθουσι*, 'they waste away with melting.'

Very nearly related to this view of their origin is another, still more popular, which regards the Sirens as typifying the glassy surface of the motionless summer sea, which hides the jagged rock and the engulfing quicksand. It is in this light that the poets love to view them. Thus Ovid calls them 'monsters of the sea,' and Claudian 'sweet monsters,' 'charming perils,' and 'pleasing terrors'—

³ In this connection we remember the line in the *Posthomerica* of Quintus Smyrnaeus, viii. 31 :

Σείριος ὅσπερ βροτοῖσι φέρει Πολυκηδέα γοῖσιν.

⁴ In Virgil (*Æn.* v. 864) the mead has become rocks :

Jamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat
Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos.

⁵ cxxxviii. 164.

⁶ Conf. Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii. sc. 1 :—

Oberon. My gentle Puck, come hither. Thou rememberest
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres
To hear the sea-maid's music.

Musica saxa frētis habitabant dulcia p̄onstra,
Blanda pericla maris, terror quōq̄ue gratus in undis.

For these creations of the popular imagination, to which a distinctive character and a local habitation had been given in the Homeric poems, it was necessary to find a parentage and a history. Euripides calls them daughters of the earth (παρθένοι χθονός), evidently regarding them in their chthonic character, of which we shall speak hereafter. Sophocles, in a fragment of his lost tragedy, *The Phæacians*, in which, probably, Odysseus is relating his adventures, makes them the daughters of Phorkos—

Σειρῆνας εἰσαφικόμεν
Φόρκου κόρας θροοῦντε τοὺς Αἴδου δόμους.

(I came to the Sirens, the daughters of Phorkos.) As Phorkos, like Poseidon himself, was probably a sea god of Phœnician origin, this passage confirms the opinion that the Siren myth was also derived from the East.

In Alexandrian times the prevailing theory connected the Sirens with the river god Achelous, whose lofty position in the watery realm reflects high honour on his reputed daughters. Achelous, eldest of the three thousand sons of Okeanos and Tethys, held the very highest rank among the river gods, as is testified by Homer, who, when speaking of the irresistible power of Zeus, says that 'even the lordly Achelous is no match for him.' This mightiest of rivers came into conflict with Herakles for the possession of the beautiful Deianeira, and, with the usual power of transformation possessed by water deities, assumed the form of a bull. In the heat of the struggle Herakles tore off one of the horns of Achelous, and the Sirens sprang from the blood which flowed from the wound.⁷ This is the oldest form of the Achelous myth; but the most common and the most pleasing form is that which makes the Sirens the daughters of the river god by no less a mother than Sterope, the Pleiad, daughter of Atlas, or by one of the Muses—Melpomene, Calliope, or Terpsichore. Hence the Sirens are commonly called 'Acheloïdes' by the poets and others, as in the *Argonautica*, Ovid, Pausanias, &c.

With regard to their abode, the various accounts agree in placing them in the south-west of Italy. According to Homer (*Od.* xii. 159), they dwelt in 'a flowery mead' between *Æëα*, the isle of Circe, 'the dancing-ground of the early dawn,' and the rocks of Scylla. The 'flowery mead' (λειμών ἀνθεμόεντα) of the *Odyssey* becomes in Hesiod⁸ 'the beautiful island, Anthemoessa, which the son of Kronos gave them.' In later writers they appear on Cape Pelorum, the north-east point of Sicily; in the Sirenusian Isles (*hœd.* 'li Galli') off Pæstum; in the island of Leukosia,⁹ called after one of their number; and, above all, in Naples (Parthenope), 'where the sepulchre

⁷ Lucian *de Saltatione*, cap. 50.

⁸ Schol. in Apollon. iv. 892.

⁹ Strabo, 252 c.

of the Siren Parthenope was shown, and where gymnastic contests were held in her honour, according to the direction of the oracle.¹⁰ In another passage Strabo says: 'We firmly believe that the abode of the Sirens was in the bay called by Eratosthenes "Cumæan," which the isles of Sirensæ form, and on the shores of which Naples (i.e. Parthenope) was founded. Other writers carry them to Ætolia,¹¹ and Pliny¹² even to India, as the classic land of the marvellous.

Homer, as we have seen, speaks of the Sirens in the dual number, and gives them no names, an omission which the scholiast thinks it necessary to supply, and calls them Aglaopheme and Thelxiepeia. Hedylos, in an epigram,¹³ Ausonius (*Idyll.* xi. 20), and others speak of them as three, and generally with the names Parthenope, Leucasia, and Ligeia; but they are also called Peisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepeia; Aglaopheme, Aglaonoe, and Thelxiepeia; and Thelxiope, Molpe, Aglaophonos. On a vase in the British Museum, of which we shall speak presently, we find a Siren with the inscription *Ἰμερόπα*.

The history of the Sirens begins, as we have said, with the *Odyssey*, in which all their leading characteristics are brought out with singular force and clearness. The seductive charm of their song is irresistible, and it is death to listen. They first allure, then ruthlessly destroy their victims, who are deprived not only of the power, but even of the wish, to escape; the deadly stroke was as pleasing as it was fatal.

Fæbat vox una ratem, nec tendere certum
Delectabat iter redivus, odiumque juvabat,
Nec dolor ullus erat, mortem dabat ipsa voluptas.

Odysseus was the first of mortal men to pass them unscathed.

Sirenas hilarem navigantium pœnam,
Blandasque mortes, gaudiumque crudele,
Quas nemo quondam deserebat auditas,
Fallax Ulysses dicitur reliquisse.¹⁴

And what a tribute to their power does the manner of even his escape afford! When Circe warns him of the perils which await him from the poisoned honey of their song, she does not seek to nerve him against temptation; she does not bid him oppose the strong will of a wise, prudent, and heroic soul to the allurements by which weaker natures are betrayed: to listen is to be lost. The ears of his companions must be closed; and though it is due to the character of the godlike hero that he should hear them, it must be put out of his own power to rush like a lunatic on self-destruction. He is bound to the mast of his own vessel by the hands of his own servants, and no sooner does he hear the enchanting strain than he struggles to be free.

We have here an early testimony to that peculiar susceptibility of

¹⁰ Strabo, 246 c.

¹¹ Seneca, *Herc. Oct.* 190.

¹² *N. H.* x. 136.

¹³ *Anthol. Pal.* v. 161.

¹⁴ Martial, iii. 64.

the Greeks to the influence of music, to which we find such frequent allusions in their poetry and their history, and even in their legislation. But it should be observed that the Sirens do not rely solely on the magic influence of their voices. They were wise as well as charming. They do not win his attention, as that of the vulgar herd, by a lay of love and passion. They flatter his pride by addressing him as 'the renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achæans;' and they appeal to 'the love of knowledge, characteristic of the favourite of Pallas. 'Hither come,' they said, 'and stay thy bark, that thou mayest listen to the voice of us twain. For lo! we know all things, all the travail that the Argives and the Trojans bare by the gods' designs; yea, and we know all things that shall hereafter be upon the fruitful earth.' 'Vidit Homerus,' says Cicero,¹⁵ 'probari fabulam non posse si cantuunculis tantus vir irretitus teneretur; scientiam pollicentur.'

The Sirens also play a prominent part in the myth of the Argonauts, but the story is evidently borrowed from the *Odyssey*, and only slightly modified. Unfortunately for them, the good ship Argo bore a still more skilful musician than themselves—Orpheus, the pupil of Apollo and the Muses. Instead of subjecting himself to bonds and stopping the ears of his crew, he meets them on their own ground, and comes off victorious:

Παρθενὴν δ' ἐνοπὴν ἐβίησατο φόρμιγξ.¹⁶

No sooner does the sound of that heavenly lyre, the gift of Apollo, reach their astounded ears, than they cast away 'the flute of lotus wood and the tortoise lyre;' the soft, entrancing music of their song gives place to a despairing death-wail, and, unable to survive defeat, they hurl their 'proud and stately forms' from the lofty rocks into the sea.

Δὴ τότε φορμίζοντος ἀπὸ σκοπέλου νιφύεντος
Σειρῆνες θάμβησαν, ἐὴν δ' ἄμπανσαν αἰοῖδην
καὶ ῥ' ἡ μὲν λωτοῦς, ἥ δ' αὖ χέλυν ἐκβαλε χειρῶν
Δεινὰ δ' ἀνεστονάχησαν ἐπεὶ πτόμος ἦτε λυγρὸς

Πέτρας δ' ἠλλάξαντο δέμας μόρφην θ' ὑπέροπλον.¹⁷

Yet even on this occasion the wondrous power of their magic strains was vindicated, for we read that the heart of one of the Argonauts (Butes) was so melted by the clear, sweet song that he threw himself into the waves, and was only saved by the intervention of Aphrodite.

Another striking and very popular incident in the history of the Sirens, the invention of which is probably not older than the time of Pausanias, was their famous contest with the Muses. The similarity of their powers brought them into close comparison, while the diffe-

¹⁵ *De Finibus*, v. 18, 49.

¹⁶ *Argonaut.* v. 902.

¹⁷ *Orph. Arg.* v. 1284.

rence in their aims and functions inspired them with mutual enmity, and led to an internecine conflict. The Muses were frequently compared with birds, although they did not assume their shape, and the Sirens could boast of their descent from a heavenly Muse. The Muses knew all things (*ἴστε τε πάντα*),¹⁸ and the Sirens professed at least to be equally wise and prophetic (*ἴδμεν δ' ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ*). And, above all, like the Muses, they possessed the faculty of all-subduing, all-entrancing music. But the points in which they differed were still more numerous and more vitally important. The Muses were immortal; the short and destructive career of the Sirens ended in defeat and death. The Muses were connected with the fresh springs and perennial fountains which give life and strength; the Sirens with the salt and barren sea which lures to destruction on its hidden rocks. As the daughters of Zeus and the chosen companions of Apollo, the Muses formed the Olympian choir at the banquets of the blessed gods;¹⁹ their song was elevating and ennobling, and filled the soul with hope and joy, and strength to perform the deeds by which mortal men 'attain the fiery citadels.' The Sirens, on the other hand, might be called the Muses of the lower world—they proclaimed the laws of Hades. Their song, though irresistibly sweet, was no less sad than sweet, and lapped both body and soul in a fatal lethargy, the forerunner of death and corruption.

The story of their contest with the Muses has its parallel in that between Apollo and the wretched Marsyas, and in that of the audacious Thamyris, who challenged both the Muses and the Sirens. In an evil hour the Sirens too, listening to the suggestions of Hera,²⁰ contended, in her presence, at Aptera in Crete, with the heavenly Muses. Nor did the latter disdain their rivalry:

Turpe quidem contendere erat, sed cedere visum
Turpius.

The issue of the contest was never doubtful. The Sirens were defeated, and, in spite of the pleading of Hera, they were cruelly punished for their presumption. The Muses signalised their victory by plucking off the feathers of the hapless Sirens, of which they formed a crown for their own heads,²¹ as we see in several works of ancient art.

We have referred above to the enigmatical character of the Sirens, and the great difficulty of reconciling the different aspects in which they are represented to us in ancient literature and art. At one time we see them alluring the hapless mariner to destruction, as in the paintings on Greek and Etruscan vases; at another, soothing

¹⁸ Hom. *Il.* ii. 484; Hesiod, *Theog.* 38.

¹⁹ Μουσῶν θ', αἱ ἔειδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὅππῃ καλῶ.—*Il.* i. 604.

²⁰ Pausan. ix. 34, 2.

²¹ Conf. Julian Imp. *Ep.* 41: Τί γὰρ δεῖ τὰς Σεργήνας λέγειν, ὧν ἔτι τὸ πτερόν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου φέρουσιν αἱ νικήσασαι;

the sorrows of the bereaved mourner, as in the reliefs of so many sepulchral stelæ. Plato assigns them a place in the circles of the universe, where they join with the Fates in producing the harmony of the spheres. To Plutarch the younger they seem nothing better than seductive and rapacious courtesans, who plunder the passing mariner. The sculptor Pythodorus placed them in the hand of Hera, probably to denote the bridal charms of the consort of Zeus; a Siren playing the double flute forms the ornament of Athene's shield on an extant Panathenaic vase; while other painters represent them as taking part in the wildest revelry of the train of Dionysos. In short, the most versatile actor never appeared in so many and such widely different parts, as the Sirens are made to play in Greek and Roman literature.

Yet we think that the germs of all these Protean variations of form are to be found in the narrative of the *Odyssey*, and that it was by dwelling almost exclusively on one or other of the many faculties which make up the Sirens of Homer, that later writers, who drew their inspiration from him, have caused the myth to assume such various and even contradictory phases as we have glanced at above.

In the first place they possessed in the highest possible degree *the faculty of sweet persuasive song*; and we should observe that this, their leading characteristic, is the only constant factor in every variety of the Sirens. We see that those who regarded and valued them chiefly for their wondrous power over the hearts of men, lost sight of the other qualities, to which Homer gives almost equal prominence, viz. their treachery and cruelty.

Suidas defines the Sirens as 'the enharmonic and musical powers of the soul.'²² Plato²³ in his vision of the universe assigns to them a prominent place in the heavenly choir.

The spindle [viz. that on which all the circles, into which the universe is divided, revolve] turns on the knees of Necessity, and on the upper surface of each circle is a Siren who goes round with them, hymning a single sound and note. The eight Sirens together form one harmony; and round about at equal intervals is another band, three in number, each sitting on a throne. These are the Fates, daughters of Necessity, who are clothed in white raiment, and have crowns of wool on their heads, Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, who accompany the harmony of the Sirens with their voices, Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present, and Atropos of the future.

We see that, for the moment at least, even Plato confounds the Sirens with the Muses. Nor did this want of discrimination escape the notice of the ancients; for Plutarch rebukes him, saying that 'in the eternal and divine circuits Plato has absurdly introduced, in the place of the Muses, the Sirens, who were by no means humane or benignant beings.'²⁴ Similar proofs of the forgetfulness of the baser attributes, for which in earlier times they were chiefly known, abound

²² *Σειρήνες, αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐναρμόνιοι καὶ μουσικαὶ δυνάμεις.*

²³ *Rep.* x. (Jowett's translation).

²⁴ *Quest. Conviv.* ix. 14, 5.

in Greek and Roman literature. Thus Homer himself is called an ‘ambrosial Siren,’²⁵ and Pausanias relates that when Sophocles—the purest and noblest of writers—died, the god Dionysos ordered the Athenians to worship him ‘as a new Siren;’ and that, in a dream about Sophocles, a Siren was seen, with the poet’s compositions in her hand. If we are right in regarding the so-called *Κηληδόνες* (charmers) as Sirens, they were thought worthy of a place in the roof of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, from which, according to Pindar, ‘the golden charmers sang.’²⁶ The poet Alcman, too, evidently regards Muse and Siren as equivalent terms:

ἡ Μῶσα κέκλαγ’, ἡ λίγεια Σειρήν.²⁷

So Cassandra is said to ‘have sighed forth’ the last melody of a Siren; and Erinna, the poetess, is called a Siren; and in an extant epitaph a woman (Petronia) is called ‘Musa et Siren;’²⁸ without the slightest intention of casting a slur upon their fame. The story of their ancient enmity must have been utterly forgotten when Columella²⁹ invoked the Sirens as ‘companions of the Muses’—

Nunc vos Pegasidum comites Acheloides—.

and when, as in a scarabæus at St. Petersburg, we find a Siren, instead of a Muse,³⁰ weeping at the death of Achilles.

Pausanias tells us that in his time ‘it was usual to compare poems and discourses replete with an alluring power to the song of a Siren,’ and we find many instances of this practice. Plutarch, speaking of Marius, says, ‘So great was the grace and Siren of his words’ (ἡ τῶν λόγων σειρήν καὶ χάρις.)³¹ When describing Aspasia, Ælian says that ‘she had a voice so sweet and gentle that you would think you heard a Siren speaking.’³² It is entirely in a good sense that Menander, in an inscription on a mutilated Herma (found near the Porta Trigemina at Rome, and now at Turin), is called *Σειρήνα θεάτρων*. In fact the word *Σειρήνες* was often used to mean ‘*enchanting speech*’ without any evil import.³³ In all these cases the Sirens are regarded solely as the sweet persuasive singers; all their other qualities are forgotten.

At other times their musical power is, indeed, acknowledged, but what is chiefly dwelt on is the treacherous use they make of it. Even Plato, who exalted them to the heavenly spheres, sometimes regards them in this unfavourable light. Alcibiades, in the *Convivium*,³⁴ after calling Socrates ‘a Marsyas’ on account of his entrancing eloquence, says: ‘By violence, therefore, restraining my ears, I depart

²⁵ *Certam. Hom. et Hesiod.* pp. 314–19, ed. Göttl.

²⁶ *Χρῆσται ἐξ ὑπερφύου λειδον Κηληδόνες.* *Fragm.* 30, ed. Bergk.

²⁷ *Fragm.* 7, Bergk, p. 634.

²⁸ *Stephani Tit. Græc.* P. iii. p. 3.

²⁹ *De re rust.* x. 263.

³⁰ *Hom. Il.* xxiv. 60; *Pind. Isthm.* viii. 57.

³¹ *Plut. Marius.* 44.

³² *Var. Hist.* xii. 1.

³³ *Dionys. Hal.*

³⁴ *Plato, Conv.* p. 216.

from him, flying as it were from the Sirens, lest I should sit with him till I become old.' So Euripides represents *Hermione* lamenting that she had ever listened to the clever mischievous Sirens, who 'by their varied chatter had inflated her mind with foolishness.'³⁵ In the same sense misleading and destructive doctrines are attributed to the inspiration of the Sirens, as, for example, when the tenets of Epicurus are called *δόγματα Σειρήνεια*. *Æschines* is furious with *Demosthenes* for comparing him to the Sirens. 'For he (*Demosthenes*) says that those who hear me are not soothed, but destroyed.'³⁶ So *Epictetus* speaks of those who forget the great object of all eloquence (viz. truth) in the charms and the tricks of oratory, 'just as a man might forget home and its duties in a pleasant hotel,' adding that such persons, idling away their time in sophistries, 'putrefy as among the Sirens.'³⁷ It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this kind, for the idea of treachery is the prevailing one in the 'Siren myth, and is well and fully expressed in the words of *Suidas*: 'Their song has in it the highest degree of pleasure, but brings no advantage, but only death.'

The combination of seductive allurements with treacherous cruelty in the character of the Sirens, as it is described in the *Odyssey*, naturally associates them with ideas of illicit love and meretricious falsehood and cruelty. The description of the 'strange woman' in the Proverbs might be used of Homer's Siren. 'Her lips drop as a honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil, but her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword. With her much fair speech she caused him to yield, with the flattering of her lips she forced him. He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter. Many strong men have been slain by her. Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death.' This view of their functions, which is rather indicated than expressed in the *Odyssey*, became the prevailing one at a later period. *Pythagoras*, at the end of the sixth century B.C., comes nearer to it when he compares base desires with 'the murderous songs of the Sirens.'³⁸ The rationalising mythographers regard them in the same light as the younger *Plutarch*, quoted above. *Fulgentius*,³⁹ speaking of the adventures of *Odysseus*, says: 'And lastly he heard and saw the Sirens, i.e. the allurements of love.' So *Heraclitus*⁴⁰ says plainly that they were 'fair *Hetairai*,' and *Servius*,⁴¹ that they were supposed to be partly birds and partly virgins, but 'were really harlots, who reduced the passing navigators to poverty,' which was figuratively called shipwreck. The poet *Patricius* represents the Siren in the train of *Venus*, leading *Voluptas* by the hand.

³⁵ *Androm.* 936:

Κἀγὼ κλύουσα τοῦσδε Σειρήνων λόγους,
Σοφῶν, πᾶνουργῶν, ποικίλων λαλημάτων.

³⁶ *Æsch. in Ctesiphon.* 229.

³⁷ *Porph. Vit. Pythag.* 39.

³⁸ *De Incred.* 14.

³⁹ *Epict. Diss.* ii. 23, 41.

⁴⁰ *Myth.* ii. 11.

⁴¹ *Ad Virgil. Æn.* v. 861.

Blanda manu *implexam* tenet hanc ducitque canendo
Ætherias Siren iterabile carmen ad auras.⁴²

In this light they are represented in many works of art with hair elaborately dressed, wearing bracelets and pearl necklaces, and holding a lute or a mirror in their hands—in short, provided with all the weapons of Love's warfare.

That they were closely connected in the minds of the ancients with the allurements, the disappointments, and the perils of illicit love, there can be no doubt. But modern inquirers seem to me to carry this point too far when they assume that 'the Siren is only a form of Aphrodite, who presides over graves and cemeteries, like the Aphrodite Epitymbia.'⁴³ The dove from Kameiros, with what is supposed to be the head of Aphrodite, is cited as a proof of this identity; but with all their similarity there is a difference between Aphrodite as the representative of sexual love, and the Siren, the embodied power of music, employed in bathing the soul in a sweet but enervating lethargy, destructive alike of thought and action.

As we have already seen the Siren in the train of Aphrodite, we are not surprised to find that she became also a follower of Dionysos. Her Dionysiac character is her last and worst development, and is a natural offshoot of her Aphrodisiac qualities. It is not only that we frequently see her depicted in works of art in Bacchanalian surroundings, but she is often invested, like a regular Bacchant, with all the attributes of the wine-god—the cantharus, the *πρόχους* (ewer), the bunch of grapes, the garlands, branches, and flowers, the thyrsus, the flaming torch, and the thymaterion (censer); and she sometimes wears the *calathus* on her head. In the Dionysiac character she is represented on an Apulian lekythos, and an Apulian phiale in the British Museum. In the latter vase she wears the *σφενδόνη* (the headband) and an ivy-wreath, and plays the double flute as an actor in the Bacchic theatre. On the other side of the same vase Sirens are again represented watching, with apparent satisfaction, the violent wooing of a nymph by a satyr. We see them here in the lowest state of degradation to which poets and artists have reduced them.

But the myth of the Sirens experienced another, a nobler and more deeply interesting, development, especially in Athens, which may also be traced back to the description of them in the *Odyssey*. Like so much of the best music of all countries and all ages, the song of the Sirens was not only sweet, but pathetic, and even sad. No lively music would make a man forget country, and home, and wife, and babes; and the flowery mead on which they stood was strewn with the bones of men 'corrupt in death.' What then could be more natural than to connect them with the funeral, the sepulchre, and the dusky realms of Hades and the gods who rule therein? And

⁴² *Epithal.* Amp. et Aell.

⁴³ Curtius, *Arch. Zeit. N. F.* iii. p. 10, and Gerhard, *Gr. Myth.* p. 553.

accordingly we find them at an early period regarded as chthonic beings, and invested with the *πόλος*, or *modius*, the symbol of the chthonic deities. They were the demons of decay and death, the Muses of the lower world. Euripides⁴⁴ refers to them as residing in Hades, when he makes Helen thus invoke them:—‘Ye Sirens, winged maidens, virgin daughters of the Earth, would that ye could come to my griefs, bringing with you the Libyan flute, and the pan-pipes, which might convey to Proserpine songs of woe, tears suited to my misfortunes . . . in order that she (Proserpine) may receive as a favour from me, with my tears, pæans to the departed dead in her gloomy palace below!’ We have already quoted a passage from a lost play of Sophocles, where they are called ‘daughters of Phorkos (himself a chthonic deity), who proclaim the laws of Hades.’ Plato, too, speaks of them as denizens of the lower world when he is enlarging on the power of Pluto’s eloquence:—‘And is not this the reason why no one who has been to him (Pluto) is willing to come back to us? Even the Sirens, like all the rest of the world, have been laid under his spells. Such a charm, I imagine, is the god able to infuse into his words.’ Their connection with Demeter and Persephone is frequently dwelt on by Alexandrian and Roman writers. Apollonius Rhodius⁴⁵ calls them ‘nurses of Persephone,’ and Ovid⁴⁶ says that they were among her companions when she gathered the vernal flowers before her abduction. They assisted the bereaved Demeter in her search for her lost child with such zeal that when they had sought her in vain over the whole earth they wished for wings that they might traverse the surface of the sea—a wish which the gods immediately realised:—

facilesque Deos habuistis, et artus
Vidistis vestros subitis flavescere pennis.

A different turn is given to this part of their history in the fables of Hyginus,⁴⁷ in which the Siren myth appears in its most complete and rounded form:—

They were (he says) the daughters of the River Achelous and the Muse Melpomene. In their wanderings after the rape of Proserpine they came to the land of Apollo, and there, by the desire of Ceres, because they had not afforded assistance to Proserpine, they became winged creatures. An answer was given them by the oracle that they should live as long as no one should pass by them while they sang. Ulysses proved fatal to them. For when he, by his cunning, had sailed past the rocks on which they lived, they threw themselves into the sea, and the place, which is between Sicily and Italy, is called Sirenes after them.

In their chthonic character they are naturally brought into connection with funeral rites and the sepulchres of the dead. One of their principal functions was that of *wailers*, and they were regarded as symbols of the funeral dirge. In this capacity, and as appropriate mourners for those who possessed like themselves the faculty

⁴⁴ *Helen*. 167, ed. Paley. ⁴⁵ *iv.* 396. ⁴⁶ *Met.* v. 554. ⁴⁷ *Hygini Fab.* cxli.

of song and eloquence, they were placed on the tombs of poets and orators—on that of Isocrates,⁴⁸ and probably on that of Sophocles, as the common reading, *χελιδόνα* (a swallow), is probably incorrect, and should be changed to *Κηληδόνα*.⁴⁹ There is a well-known epigram of Mnasekalas which adorned the tomb of the lovely Kleo, in which 'the very tearful forms of the marble Sirens' are referred to as the natural ornaments of the tomb:—

Κὰδ δὲ σ' ἀμυξάμεναι περιδάκρυες αὐδ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
Λῆες Σειρήνων ἔσταμες εἰδάλιμοι.⁵⁰

Colossal figures of mourning Sirens played a conspicuous part in the gorgeous obsequies of Hephæstion, the favourite of Alexander the Great. 'On the top of the magnificent pyre,' which the latter erected at Babylon, 'stood hollow Sirens, large enough to conceal men in them, who sang the funeral dirge for the dead.'⁵¹

In the character of wailers the operation of the Sirens is conceived as altogether kindly and consoling. As denizens of Hades, they approached the newly arrived shades of the departed, proclaimed to them the laws of the dusky realm, and by their soothing songs they steeped the soul in a sweet oblivion of past cares and sorrows, and filled it with the knowledge and the love of the divine and the immortal. In this lofty capacity they wear the modius of the chthonic deities, and sometimes even the diadem, as ruling powers; and they bear in their hands, as musical attributes, the double flute, the lyre, and the *τρίγωνον*. The full recognition by the ancients of their beneficent regard for the bereaved is testified by their attitude and bearing in many extant works of art. On a vase in Berlin (No. 26) there is a Siren on the tomb of Baukis, the disciple of Sappho and friend of Erinna, bitterly weeping for her loss. Sometimes they are represented as beating their breasts and tearing their hair in the very extremity of passionate grief, as in the lovely terracotta figure in the British Museum. Sometimes a pair of Sirens are represented on the akroterion of a sepulchral stele, with the flute and the lyre, looking down, as it were, on the departed with sympathy and love, and affording a pleasing image of consolation to the bereaved. It is not without considerable plausibility that the so-called 'Harpies' on the famous Lycian tomb in the British Museum have been supposed to be modifications of the chthonic Sirens. Like these they have the wings, tails, and legs of a bird, they wear a kind of diadem, they are evidently benevolent, and they seem to be consoling the souls which they are bearing away to their eternal rest in Hades.

We have still to speak of the various forms under which the Sirens were portrayed at different periods of the history of art.

⁴⁸ *δηλοῦντες, τὴν εὐμουσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός*.—*Vid. Isocr.* pp. 250-66, ed. West.

⁴⁹ *Huschiuss, Anal. Vit. Soph.* pp. 8 and 12.

⁵⁰ *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 491.

⁵¹ *Diod. Sic.* xvii. 115.

Homer is silent on this point; but, as we have already said, his silence is not sufficient proof that he thought of them as purely human in their form. He may very well have adopted the common tradition that they were *birds with the heads of virgins*. The bird-woman is as old as the Egyptian catacombs, and was in all probability introduced into Greece by the Phœnicians. The Greek poets and mythographers, of course, endeavoured to incorporate the Sirens into their own mythology, and to find a reason for a form for which their descent from the noblest of rivers and a Muse would not account. The theory of Eustathius,⁵² which suits ill with the popular view of their erotic character, obtained little currency. 'They were hated,' he says, 'by Aphrodite because they chose to remain virgins,' and were changed by the angry goddess into birds. Ovid, as we saw, relates that they received wings that they might search the surface of the sea for Kora; 'but that the exquisite melody of their voices, so well adapted to charm the ear, &c., might not be lost, the virgin's face and the human voice were left to them.'

Ne tamen ille canor mœrendas natus ad aures
Tantaque dos oris linguæ deperderet usum,
Virginei vultus, et vox humana remansit.

We have no evidence that statues of Sirens were executed by any of the ancient Greek sculptors whose names have been handed down to us, unless we except Pythodorus, who is said to have placed Sirens in the hand of his statue of Hera at Coronea.⁵³ They are rarely mentioned by the most ancient writers. We read indeed of 'a silver Siren' in the treasury of the Byzantians at Olympia,⁵⁴ but no description of its form is given. Yet we find them represented on Greek vases and in terra-cotta statuettes of an early period, and in later times on marble statues, reliefs, and wall-paintings, and on gems, coins, lamps, female ornaments, &c. The oldest form is that of the bird with the face of the virgin; but with the usual tendency of Greek art, the human element continually increased until at last the Sirens appear, as on a well-known sarcophagus at Florence, as stately women, completely dressed, and wearing a diadem and a veil.

The Sirens are depicted, of course, in every possible combination of bird and woman, but the representations of them have been conveniently classed under four heads:—

1. The most ancient, probably the Oriental form, that of a bird with the head and, rarely, with the arms of a virgin.⁵⁵ Sirens of this class are found in terra-cotta and in vase paintings of the oldest period, both with black figures on a red ground and red on a black ground.

⁵² *Schol. ad Hom. Od.* xii. 39.

⁵³ Pausan. ix. 34, 2.

⁵⁴ Νάξς Βυζαντίων, ἐν ᾧ Τρίτων κυριακίσσιμος, ἔχων κρατάνιον ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσεὴν ἀργυρῶν.—Athen. xi. 480 A.

⁵⁵ Ovid. *Met.* v. 552:—

'Vobis, Acheloides, unde

Pluma pedesque avium cum virginis ora geratis?'

2. Sirens in which the two elements are combined in about equal proportions, having the head, arms, and breast of a virgin, the thighs also human, but covered with feathers, and the wings, tail, and feet of a bird.⁵⁶ This form is followed in most of the statues of Sirens, in a few vases with black figures, but much more commonly in those with red or polychrome figures, of the 'perfect' period and of the period of decadence respectively.

3. Sirens in which the human form decidedly predominates. In these we often find nothing of the bird but the feet, or at most the tail and legs, which are not, however, allowed to interfere greatly with the fair lines of the female form.

4. Sirens represented as beautiful women, completely clothed, examples of which are rare, but may be seen on the sarcophagus⁵⁷ at Florence, in the reliefs of an Etruscan vase from Volterra,⁵⁸ in a basaltic relief in Lansdowne House,⁵⁹ and in other works.

Of the vast number of works of art of every kind in which Sirens are represented we can only notice a few, in illustration of the different types classified above and of the various incidents of the Siren myths.

Sirens of the first class, being without human hands, are naturally represented as singing only, in accordance with the Homeric description. These appear rather often as the ornaments of the most ancient Greek vases, in company with other forms both natural and monstrous. On a vase⁶⁰ found near Corinth, and probably dating from Ol. 50 (B.C. 580), a Siren is represented sitting between two panthers, but in no pictorial connection with them. On the neck of the famous Burgon vase—probably the oldest extant Panathenaic prize amphora—in the British Museum, we see a Siren of the same class. Archaic statues of this class are extremely rare. But there is one in the Museum in the Island of Mykonos, and another in Delos.

On another well-known amphora of the highest period of art in the British Museum, with red figures on a black ground, the adventure of Odysseus with the Sirens is admirably depicted. His ship is just passing through a narrow strait between two rocks, on each of which stands a Siren of the oldest type, but with long locks of hair and wearing a stephane, while a third is falling headlong into the water. Above one of those on the rocks the name of Himeropa ('lovely-voiced') is inscribed. In the ship are a steersman, four rowers, and Odysseus himself, bound to the mast, and distinguished

⁵⁶ Suidas, s. v.: εἶχον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ θήρακος καὶ ἔνθα εἶδος γυναικῶν, τὰ δὲ κάτω στρούθων. Conf. Eurip. *Fragm.* No. 903, ed. Nanck:

χρῦσαι δὲ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νῶτα
καὶ τὰ χειρῶν πτερύγεσσιν ἐπιδύλ' ἀρμόζεται.

⁵⁷ Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* part i. No. 16.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* part ii. No. 757.

⁵⁹ *Mon. d. I.* iv. 29.

⁶⁰ Müller, *Denkm.* i. No. 10; conf. Dodwell, *Class. Tour*, ii. p. 197.

from his followers by his heroic nudity. The presence of the third Siren, and her action, show that the artist is following some later myth than that of the *Odyssey*. Even one of the most essential features of Homer's account, viz. the binding of Odysseus to the mast, is omitted in some representations, as, for example, in the painting on a phiale by the vase painter Nikosthenes, in the 'Salle de Nikosthenes' of the Louvre.

Of the second type—half bird and half woman—we have an example in a statue of Pentelican marble found (1863) in the Hagia Trias at Athens, and now in the National Museum of that city. This figure, which probably stood on a sepulchral monument, bears a tortoiseshell lyre under the left arm, and the plektron in the right hand. Similar statues may be seen both in Athens and in the Louvre, and the latter contains several terra-cotta statuettes and reliefs of Sirens of the second class. This is also the prevailing form on the akroteria of Attic sepulchral stelæ, on which the Siren appears, now playing a funeral dirge on the lyre, now beating her breast and tearing her hair in an agony of grief, as on the stele of Kallias in the National Museum at Athens, and now tearing her hair with both hands, as in a stele in Lord Yarborough's Museum at Brocklesby Park. Sirens of this kind are also found on a few vases with black figures on a red ground, but much more frequently on those with red and polychrome figures. Some of these, both in sculpture and painting, are remarkable for the skill with which the fusion of the two natures is effected, and for the pleasing *ensemble* resulting from the graceful union of the bird and woman.

In Sirens of the third class decided preponderance is given to the human element, and nothing is left of the bird but the legs, or at most the tail and wings. They are, as far as I know, only found on one vase, an amphora in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, but they prevail on sepulchral monuments even of the third century. We possess, however, one very remarkable example of this class from the highest period of art, viz. the exquisite terra-cotta statuette in the British Museum. In this lovely work we see the Siren in her character as wailer, with her head pathetically inclined, and her long hair flowing down her back, beating her breasts and tearing her hair, with an expression of the deepest sorrow in her face. Sirens of this class may also be seen, in relief, on terra-cotta slabs of a much later period in the Salle de Terres Cuites in the Louvre, and on a gem in Berlin,⁶¹ in which three Sirens are represented standing on an island, with spurs on their legs like those of a cock, one playing the lyre, another the double flute, and the third singing from notes in her hand. It will be remembered that Euripides⁶² mentions the Libyan flute and the syrinx, or pan-pipes, as their appropriate instruments.

⁶¹ Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* No. 756.

⁶² *Hcl.* v. 171.

To the fourth class belong those representations in which the Sirens appear as beautiful women, partially or completely robed. They appear in this guise in the reliefs of the well-known sarcophagus in the Uffizi at Florence, in which their famous contest with the Muses is portrayed.⁶³ This trial of skill, in which three Sirens—one, playing the flute, another the lyre, and the third singing—contend with three Muses, is carried on in the presence of the Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Two of the Muses engaged are Euterpe and Terpsichore (or Erato?). Juno, as patroness of the Sirens, appears to turn in supplication to Jupiter, but of course in vain. All the Muses are present. Urania with her globe, and Melpomene with her mask, stand listening in the background. Three more, of whom Thalia, with the pedom, appears to be one, are inflicting chastisement on their defeated rivals. The last to the right, with the palm branch—perhaps the mother of the Sirens—seems to be interceding for a Siren who is clasping her knees. It is singular that the Muses already wear the crowns made, as was supposed, of the Sirens' feathers. The artist may, of course, have added this ornament in anticipation of the well-known result; but it is more probable that in the first instance the feather-crowns had a different meaning; for the Moiræ too are represented on a sarcophagus in the Louvre with the same decoration.⁶⁴ Examples of the purely human Siren may be also seen in the basaltic reliefs in Lansdowne House, and in those of an Etruscan sarcophagus from Volterra, which represent the adventures of Odysseus. In this work the three Sirens, long-robed graceful women, are sitting, not in a flowery mead, but on rocks in the sea, and playing the double flute, the lyre, and the syrinx (pan-pipes) respectively; Odysseus, who is bound to the mast, is struggling to free himself.⁶⁵

The form of the Siren in one or other of the modifications above described is found not only in statues, reliefs, and vase paintings, but on coins,⁶⁶ gems, lamps,⁶⁷ frescoes, bronzes, cistas, mirrors, and female ornaments, of which last the beautiful earring from the Crimea, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, is a notable specimen.

Like many other creations of heathen mythology, the Siren occurs in the symbolical and figurative language of Christian writers, and is employed in the decoration of Christian monuments. On a fragment of a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome, which was found in the catacombs of Calixtus, we see a representation of the adventures of Odysseus. The hero himself, in

⁶³ Müller, *Denkm.* No. 750.

⁶⁴ Clarac, 216, 768.

⁶⁵ Müller, *Denkm.* No. 757. For other examples conf. Millin Gall. *Myth.* 19, 63; Winckelmann, *Mon.* *ined.* 46.

⁶⁶ A Siren (Parthenope?) on coin of Naples. Garrucci, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* A. i. t. iv. n. 1-3; Mionnet, *Descr.* iii. p. 648, No. 527, and i. p. 221, No. 192; conf. Gold coins of Asia Min., Millingen, *Syll. of Anc. Coins*, pl. iii. 39.

⁶⁷ A lamp of Cortona, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. tav. 42.

chiton and pileus, is bound to the mast of his ship; on his right is a rower, and on his left another companion, with whom he appears to be talking. To the right of the vessel are two Sirens with wings and bird's legs, one of whom, clothed in a chlamys, holds a kind of mandoline in the left hand and a plectron in the right; the second is gathering up her wide robe with one hand, and holds a roll of paper in the other. To the left of the ship is a third nude Siren, holding a flute in each hand. De Rossi illustrates the meaning of such a *motif* on the tomb of a Christian by a passage from a homily of St. Maximus, *De Cruce Domini*:—

'Ex qua enim Christus Dominus religatus in cruce est, ex eo nos mundi illecebrosa discrimina, velut clausa aure, transimus; nec pernicioso sæculi detinemur auditu, nec cursu melioris vitæ deflectimus in scopulos voluptatis.'

This sarcophagus is supposed to bear the name of Tyranus, and Brunn suggests that the Sirens are intended *accennare la dolce suada dell' uomo posto dall' altra parte*.⁶⁸

In this and other cases the Sirens retain their classical form. But there was a later development of the myth, in which the combination is no longer one of virgin and bird, but of virgin and fish, and it is in this form, altogether unknown to classical antiquity, that they generally appear in the literature and art of the Middle Ages. They are accurately described by Haupt.⁶⁹—

Sirenæ sunt marinæ puellæ, quæ navigantes pulcherrima forma et cantus decipiunt dulcetudine, et a capite usque ad umbilicum sunt corpore virginali et humano generi simillimæ; squamosas tamen piscium caudas habent, quibus in gurgite semper latent.⁷⁰

The only work on which the Siren is represented with the tail of a fish, which makes any claim to antiquity, is the Roman lamp at Canterbury, bearing the stamp *C. Jun. Bit.*; but this, in all probability, is not older than the sixth century of our era, and is entirely isolated.

At a later date Sirens are frequently found as ornaments of capitals in Christian architecture, and always with the tails of fish. On the columns of the minster at Zürich lions and Sirens are represented devouring the bodies of men, symbolising respectively force and seduction. On one of the four groups of pillars in the choir of the minster at Basle (12th cent.), a Siren, intended to represent Eve, is suckling a child. Sometimes the Siren holds a fish, the symbol of the Saviour, as in the church of St. Germain-des-Prés (12th cent.) in Paris, and on chairs in the cathedral at Rouen.⁷¹ Poets and divines, too, of the Middle Ages generally describe them as having the tails of fish. Conrad of Würzburg (1280) sings of them in his invocation to the Virgin Mary:⁷²

⁶⁸ Vide *Die antiken Bildwerke des lat. ran. Museums* von Benndorf und Schöne.

⁶⁹ *Ind. lect. per sem. æstiv.*, 1863, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Apud Piper, *Mythol. u. Symbol. der christl. Kunst*, Th. i. 380-93, and Th. ii. 553.

⁷¹ *Die goldene Schmiede*, ed. Grimm.

Swaß diu Syrene trügesam
 Versenken wil der schiffe
 Mit suezzer doene griffe
 Diu leitëst, vrowe, dâ ze stade
 Diu helfe ûz tiefer sorgenbade
 Vil mangeln hât erlediget.

So our own Gower (A.D. 1320-1402) in the *Confessio Amantis* :—

Sirenes of a wonder kind
 Ben monstres as the bokes tellen,
 And in the great sea they dwellen :
 Of body both and of visage
 Like unto women of younge age
 Up fro' the navel on high they be,
 And down benethe, as men may see,
 They bene of fishes the figure.

Spenser⁷² also thinks of them as half fish, and as deriving their transformation from their contest with the Muses :—

They were faire ladies till they fondly strived
 With the Heliconian maits for maystery,
 Of whom they overcomen were deprived
 Of their proud beautie, and th'one moyity
 Transformed to fish for their bold surquedry.

Dante forms an exception in adhering to the classical form. The World comes to him in a dream in the shape of a Siren, 'distorted above the feet' and with 'dissevered hands' :—

Mi venne in sogno una femmina balba
 Negli occhi guercia e sopra i piè distorta,
 Con le man monche, e di colore scialba.

Cominciava a cantar, sì che con pena
 Da lei avrei mio intento rivolto.
 'Io son,' cantava, 'io son dolce Serena,
 Che i marinari in mezzo 'l mar dismago ;
 Tanto son di piacere a sentir piena.'⁷³

It is in this latest form—

ut turpiter atrum
 Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne—

that the Siren myth has come down to modern times. The Mermaid has hardly yet been banished by the cold harsh sentence of Science from the popular creed. The Nixe has, indeed, been driven by the steamboat from her whirlpools in the Rhine. The Lorelei disdains 'to comb her golden hair' upon a rock through which a tunnel passes, and her sweet entrancing song is replaced by the startling scream of the railway engine. But they live, and will live, in poetry; and the same alluring sweetness, the same irresistible

⁷² *Fairy Queen*, ii. canto-xii. 30.

⁷³ *Purgatorio*, xix. 1.

seductive charm which thrilled through the frame of the wise hero of the *Odyssey*, still breathes in the song of Goethe's 'feuchtes Weib' which lured the poor fisher-boy to his watery doom.

Das Wasser rauscht', das Wasser schwoll,
Netz' ihm den nackten Fuss;
Das Herz wuchs ihm so sehnuchtsvoll,
Wie bei der Liebsten Gruss.
Sie sprach zu ihm, sie sang zu ihm,
Da war's um ihn geschehn;
Halb zog sie ihn, halb sank er hin,
Und ward nicht mehr gesehn.

WALTER COPLAND PERRY.

WHY SEND MORE IRISH OUT OF IRELAND?

THE question which Mr. Goldwin Smith propounds in the June number of this Review touches a subject of no light interest at the present moment. "Irish" and "Ireland" we always say—Mr. Smith premises—"but let it never be forgotten that those names cover a fallacy. The Irish trouble has its seat in the Celtic provinces alone. Ulster—Teutonic, Protestant and thriving—is contented with the Union, though certain English politicians who hope to prosper by the revolution would fain persuade her that she is not."

'Irish' and 'Ireland,' 'Hungarians' and 'Hungary,' 'Canadians' and 'Canada,' 'Americans' and 'America,' we always say, and quite correctly. All Irishmen are not Celts; all Hungarians are not Magyars. Everyone knows that a large proportion of Canadians are French in race and language; and that in what we usually call 'America'—the United States—millions of French and Spanish descent in the South, and of Irish and Scotch in the North and West, constitute a fourth of the white population. These race theories, often quite fanciful, are generally very misleading. Ulster appears to supply a favourite refuge for adventurous doctrinaires who wish to escape from calling Irishmen 'Irish.' It is fully one-half Catholic; and, of all districts or divisions of Ireland, happens to be the least 'Teutonic,' Leinster and Munster being by comparison the most so. It may be questioned if any part of Ireland, Connaught included, is more exclusively and purely Celtic. The extreme north-eastern angle of the island has been, ever since the fifth century, in constant intercourse with Celtic Scotland. Down to the close of the sixteenth century it kept at bay, with marvellous success on the whole, those efforts of conquest and colonisation to which the rest of the kingdom, in the struggles of four hundred years, had more or less slowly been forced to yield. In the reign of James I. Ulster became shire-land, and exchanged the Brehon Code for British jurisprudence. Then first a plantation scheme in that province was carried out; but two remarkable features distinguished this project from the 'palatine' or other Anglo-Norman colonisations elsewhere

in Ireland. In the first place, the natives, instead of being outlawed, banished and extirpated, were retained as cultivators, though 'expropriated' as proprietors.¹ In the next place the imported colonists were Scottish Celts. Some English did come; but they quickly tired of the Ulster settlement, and sold out to the grip-holding Scots.² Into the Pale provinces, on the other hand—provinces the large cities and seaport towns of which were nearly all founded and peopled by the Norfmnen—there has poured from the twelfth century to the present day an almost continuous stream of Anglo-Norman or English settlers. Although they do not appear to have been either very loyal, very union-loving, or very law-abiding, I do not base any special theory on the fact. Many Englishmen have been struck by the circumstance or coincidence that, so far from the Irish trouble having its seat in the Celtic provinces alone, outrage and crime most largely prevailed in the Teutonised districts.³ This may have been so occasionally. The truth I hold to be that spasms or spells of agrarian disorder have disturbed every province in Ireland at one time or another. Wexford may fairly be said to occupy a position altogether unique; one that considerably baffles all those race and creed theories about Ireland. It is the most largely Teuton or least Celtic; it has always remained Catholic; it has usually been amongst the most free from serious crime or agrarian outrage; it is the most thriving and industrious of the agricultural counties; it has had the fewest 'clearances,' and is one of those most free from large farms, sheep-runs and bullock-ranges; it is the most intensely national, Parnellite, and anti-English—nay, indeed, when put to it, the most formidably rebellious—of the thirty-two counties of Ireland. In fine, one needs to be very careful in these matters to distinguish between what is mere coincidence or concurrence and what is really cause and effect. Races and creeds stand in Ulster to-day very much in the same proportion as they did in the days of Henry Joy McCracken; when that province—or rather the Protestants of that province—projected and organised the insurrection of 1798. To the politics of 1848 its Protestant sons contributed the most daring and devoted spirits. In 1874 it sent a typical 'Teutonic, Protestant and thriving' Belfast merchant to Mr. Parnell's side, in the person of Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar, member for an Ulster constituency.

'Irish,' therefore, I say, meaning the people of Ireland as a whole; and 'Ireland,' meaning as much of that country as one can see on a map of the world.

For some time past an uneasy feeling has been creeping over the

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)*, 1603-1606, p. 160; for 1606-1608, p. 263.

² See Pynnar's *Survey*. Carew, *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)*, 1603-1624.

³ 'Indeed in no part of Ireland is the ratio of crime so low as in the counties where the Celtic blood is unmixed.'—*Mr. Gladstone, House of Commons, February 15, 1870.*

public mind as to the wisdom of storing up on American soil further consignments of a disaffected Irish population. Already some of the Irish newspapers have been turning grim jokes on the fact that Her Majesty's Government is reported to be at one and the same moment deporting troublesome Irish subjects to America, and yet expressing much anxiety that America should extradite or send some of them 'back again.' It must not be forgotten, as to O'Donovan Rossa and other of the dynamite party whom it is now desired to bring within British jurisdiction, that he and they were forcibly put on board ship bound for America, and given their release on the express condition that they kept themselves beyond the confines of the United Kingdom. They were deposited on the shores of New York with full knowledge or belief that there or here they would be at mischief. The Government made its election. Just now it may be thought that, on the whole, it might have been safer to have such men, if they conspired at all, conspiring within reach of British law rather than beyond it; but the choice was made, and they were sent where they are able to plot dynamite outrages and propound kerosine conflagrations in a most advantageous position for such an occupation.

The same considerations present themselves in reference to the general question of Irish emigration, or reduction of the population, as a cure for disaffection. There are evils that, howsoever troublesome near at hand, are not likely to be more efficiently dealt with at long range. There are blazing or smouldering combustibles that are not quenched by merely flinging them out of sight. Reduction of the population as a cure for Irish poverty and disaffection is no new prescription. It is an expedient which is readily and easily caught up. It lies on the surface, as it were, and saves one the trouble or responsibility of search, study, or investigation. Various motives animate those who urge this emigration panacea. There is the school of genuine benevolence, represented at its best by Mr. Vere Foster, who however has never favoured or encouraged 'clearances.' There is the school of State policy and political expediency, represented in the present instance by Mr. Goldwin Smith. 'Surplus population' and 'congested districts' are pleaded. 'It will be better for those who go, and better for those who stay; better for Ireland, and for England too.' The one assumption which, beyond all others, accompanies or seems to suggest and warrant these 'clearance' prescriptions, is the idea that pasture or grazing ranges, if not well-managed scientifically-cultivated large farms, will take the place of the tillage plots of the evicted cottiers, with enormous improvement and extension of agriculture. Indeed this is the cardinal point, the fundamental doctrine, of all who espouse the expatriation policy. There was Lord Carlisle's famous dictum as to God's design that Ireland was to be 'the fruitful mother of flocks and herds.' Here is Mr. Goldwin Smith

referring us to 'districts which nature has intended for grazing-lands.' And again, more explicitly, 'What is wanted, is the clearance of districts, and the restoration of them when cleared to the purpose of grazing, to which alone they are adapted.' This grazing and pasturage idea runs through every speech, every letter, every newspaper article on the subject. Rich, verdant, and profitable sheep-runs and bullock-ranges will (it is assumed) supplant miserable patches of oats and potatoes; the productiveness of the land will be increased, and a more thriving, prosperous and loyal population will remain behind.

A truly singular conception of agriculture underlies this opinion. Persons whose acquaintance with 'grass lands' is derived from a residence in Onslow Square or a stroll through Hyde Park may be excused for assuming that pasturage will flourish, or grass grow without more ado, when a field is no longer tilled, or is once 'laid down.' But it is hard to think that writers and speakers of better knowledge on this subject can pretend to believe in such a state of things. Every man who really knows anything, either practically or theoretically, of agriculture knows that there is land—and everyone acquainted with Ireland knows that there are in that country thousands of acres of land—which, though fruitful under tillage, nothing but constant or recurrent cultivation by spade or plough will keep from running into waste. The one serious blunder with writers like Mr. Goldwin Smith, or rather the one fatal defect in their information, is their manifest unacquaintance with the fact that there can be seen in Ireland to-day tens of thousands of acres of land, once cultivated and cropped to the last inch, now relapsed into a state of nature. Twenty or thirty years ago the human occupants were ruthlessly cleared away, the farm-plots were consolidated and turned into grass. But ere long the unwelcome discovery was made that in grass the land would not permanently remain. The population being gone, the scarcity of labour made recurrent breaking-up and manuring too expensive, and so, acre by acre, the land went back into heath and 'moor.'

We have before us in the results and experiences of three decennial periods, between 1851 and 1881, abundant evidence on which to judge the loss and gain of this clearance and emigration policy. In 1846 the population of Ireland was over 9,000,000, in 1883 it is about 5,000,000. It was in the twelve years between 1849 and 1861 that the mania for clearances and consolidation of holdings may be said to have raged in Ireland. In a milder form it has continued ever since; but in those years Mr. Goldwin Smith's remedy was administered with a thoroughness and a determination that will never again be witnessed, because it would never again be tolerated. Has it banished Irish poverty or cured Irish disaffection? If this unparalleled feat of depopulation—the sweeping away of nearly five

millions of souls—has not effected a remedy, with what countenance can anyone discourse to us on the virtues of such a specific?

Before considering the political effects of this clearance or emigration policy—that is to say, its effects on Irish disaffection and English security and tranquillity—let us look at its economic results.

In 1841 there were 310,375 cottier holdings in Ireland; holdings under five acres. In 1861 there were 88,083; in 1880 there were but 64,292. Of the 246,083 small farms thus ‘consolidated,’ as well as in the case of the larger holdings up to twenty acres, which underwent a like process, many of course contained bits and patches of genuine pasture-land, or had been so thoroughly reclaimed by the outlay and labour of the dispossessed cottiers that the soil was made permanently arable. The majority of these five, ten, and twenty-acre farms were wrung from mountain and moor by the unaided industry of the occupiers, who were thus, year by year, and season by season, extending the area of productiveness.⁴ It now turns out that in the hour in which this much-abused class—this ‘surplus’ class—were swept away, a blow was struck at the progress of reclamation and improvement in Ireland. Even if it had not been so, it would still be a cold-blooded policy to sacrifice millions of population for an agricultural experiment. Nothing short of an absolute and overwhelming gain in the general and permanent productiveness of a country could at all palliate such a proceeding. A trivial or a tardy gain would leave the transaction unredeemed. A loss would stamp it as a gigantic crime.

It is only within the past fifteen years that the agricultural statistics of Ireland have been collected and arranged in anything approaching to a satisfactory manner; although at their worst they were in advance of anything of the same character relating to Great Britain for the same period. The Census Commissioners of 1841 collected some statistics, rather meagre and incomplete, giving the extent of ‘arable’ and ‘uncultivated’ land, and the live stock, and the crops of Ireland. Not until 1847 was the extent of tillage first recorded; and only in 1868 were any returns supplied thoroughly fit for comparative calculations. There is unfortunately no public return giving for 1846 (when the population was at its highest) the acreage of arable and of pasture or grazed lands, as compared with the absolutely waste. Until about fifteen years ago the phrases ‘waste’ and ‘pasturage’ were loosely used; inasmuch as small farmers grazed

⁴ ‘The landlords were unable or unwilling to make improvements. They allowed the tenants themselves to make the provision by building, and by reclaiming land from its original state of bog, or heather, or stony field. It is thus that many estates have been created, and almost all have been enlarged, by generation after generation of tenants, without assistance. It was the tenants who made the barony of Farney, originally worth 3,000*l.* a year, now worth 50,000*l.* a year.’—*Nasau-Senior*.

large tracts in the aggregate that were semi-waste, or capable of being returned under either head.* In 1851 the 'arable' land is returned at 14,802,581 acres; which must have included, with what the more recent returns call arable, the bulk, though scarcely the whole, of the grazed acreage. In the returns for 1871 we come upon figures dealing explicitly with a state of things which nearly ten years previously had called forth public uneasiness in Ireland. It was noticed in every county that the area of productive land was ruinously diminishing; and it was found that the average productiveness of the soil had fallen away. Except in such districts as Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, and others, the 'cleared' farms were, to an alarming extent, exhibiting signs of failure to hold in grass, and were gradually relapsing into waste or semi-waste. In the Registrar-General's Report for 1881 a glimpse of the dreadful truth is first discernible. Comparing the official figures of 1881 with those of 1871, the following facts are disclosed (plantations, cities, and towns omitted):—

	1871 Acres	1881 Acres
Under crops, including meadow and grass.	5,621,437	5,195,375
Grass or pasture	70,071,285	10,076,424
Bog, waste and water.	4,280,432	4,708,047

That is to say, in the ten years between 1871 and 1881, not less than 418,615 acres have gone back to waste; lost alike to pasture grass and tillage. The Official Report tells the dismal tale as follows:—

Land under grass in 1881 appears to have decreased from 50·4 per cent. of the total area in 1872 to 40·6 per cent. in 1881.

In crops a decrease on the ten years, of from 5,487,213 in 1872 to 5,195,375 in 1881, or from 27·0 to 25·6 per cent. of the total area.

In bog, waste, water, &c., an increase of from 20·9 to 23·1 per cent. of the total area.

Between 1870 and 1878, as is now only too well known, owing to the passing of the Land Act being followed by seven 'fat years,' there was an extravagant burst of agricultural activity in Ireland. Yet it is within this decade that the Parliamentary Report makes the exhibit above quoted. One year with another, from 1851 to 1860, the extent of arable land was 5,788,202 acres. In 1881 it was only 5,195,375; showing a loss of 592,827 acres; and the total is still falling. Between 1881 and 1882 it fell 114,327 acres.

The destruction of the small-farmer class has brought us face to face with some other unpleasant facts. We have been made to feel very sharply that the cottiers and small farmers were the class that most

* Even so recently as the present year, and in reference to the now greatly-improved returns as to pasturage and waste, the careful editor of Eason's Almanac alludes in warning words to 'the difficulty of distinguishing between permanent pasture and mountain land.'

largely supplied us with eggs, poultry, and young stock. In truth, at the present moment, so far as these products are concerned, it looks as if the scientific large farmers of England are being beaten in London markets by the three-acre farmers of Switzerland, France, Holland, and Belgium. The Irish small farms were not only the most productive, but they had proportionately the largest amount of capital in live stock. A careful calculation from the census returns of 1841 shows that,—

Farms of 100 acres and upwards held live stock to the value of 1*l.* 8*s.* per acre.

Farms of 22 acres and upwards to 100—2*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* per acre.

Farms of 10 acres and upwards to 22—2*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* per acre.

Farms of 3 acres and upwards to 10—3*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* per acre.

The value of stock in the hands of Irish small farmers—five acres and under—in 1841 was 4,771,483*l.* By 1846 it was probably 6,000,000. In 1851 the class had already been so far destroyed that 1,002,156*l.* represented all they held!

Let us examine whether in any way the agricultural products of Ireland, taken as a whole—live stock, cereals, and green crops—exhibit a compensation for the loss of five millions of population. The average yearly acreage under oats between 1851 and 1860 (within which period it had already considerably fallen) was 2,074,381. In 1881 it was only 1,392,365. Wheat acreage in the like period falls from 460,802 to 154,009; barley from 221,150 to 210,152; turnips from 378,482 to 340,097; potatoes from 1,039,921 to 854,294. Cabbage shows an increase of 313 acres, and flax of 20,969. Let us now see whether an untold wealth of live stock has rolled in on Ireland to compensate for all this. The average number of cattle in all Ireland, yearly throughout the period between 1851–60, was 3,480,623. In 1881 it was 3,954,479; an increase of 473,856. Sheep 3,297,971—3,258,583; a decrease of 39,388. Pigs 1,194,303—1,088,041; a decrease of 106,262. Horses 572,219—547,662; a decrease of 24,557.

This is the exhibit for all Ireland, and a portentous one it is; but when we come to the province where clearances and consolidation have been most largely resorted to (and which is now singled out for further operations in the same direction), namely, Connaught, it appears that the solitary item of increase in the above list—that of cattle—wholly disappears, and there is loss all along the line. In cattle the decrease has been 38,681; in sheep 318,251; in pigs 24,316. That is to say, in the province pre-eminently subjected for thirty-five years past to the improving process of emigration and consolidation, public statistics attest that the extent of productive land has considerably diminished; whole districts of the depopulated area have relapsed from productiveness to waste; there is a ruinous declension in the sum total of agricultural wealth or produce, cattle,

sheep, pigs, poultry, oats, wheat, barley, here, potatoes, turnips—all have gone down.

But there is great misery and distress in Connemara and Donegal. Ireland is not prosperous. True; but the point under discussion is whether further depopulation—not a better distribution of the population, but actual extirpation—is likely to be a cure for or an aggravation of the evil. Chronic misery may be caused by 'over-population'; but there are fifty other causes also from either one of which it might ensue. 'Over-population' is one of those loose phrases which are cheap and handy; but how much population is over-population? Is Surrey over-populated? Or Middlesex? Is England, France, Belgium? Two millions of inhabitants may starve under one set of circumstances in a country where under another ten millions might thrive. Twenty-five millions of people in England constitute a powerful, wealthy, and flourishing nation. Had Philip of Spain made good his purpose three hundred years ago, and had Spanish Ministers spent the interval in subduing, civilising, and catholicising England in Spanish style from Madrid, it is quite conceivable that ten millions of Englishmen might find it hard enough to live on English soil to-day. As for Ireland, famine and discontent prevailed when the population was under four millions; famine and disaffection when it was under three millions; famine and insurrection when it was under two millions. If we are to fly to depopulation every time Irish misery or Irish discontent grows troublesome, down to what point must we go to reach prosperity and peace by such a process? We have gone below five millions—four, three, two; and found them not. Query—is it certain that this is the process whereby they are to be reached at all? In Turkey—the richest soil and once the fairest garden of Europe, 'the teeming cradle of the human race'—a population of barely 120 souls per square mile are sunk in misery. France supports in thrifty comfort 180, Italy 225, Belgium 421, England and Wales 442, Flanders 718. Ireland is 'over-populated' with 161; though it has an arable acreage of 73 per cent. of its whole surface, an area of reclaimable land at least another 12 per cent., and a soil more fertile than that of England by 10 per cent.⁶

I put aside as not within the scope of these observations any examination of the enormous loss involved in the loss of 5,000,000 of a population. Even the most rudimentary acquaintance with such subjects will indicate that formidable item. In civilised communities man so lives on man, or rather men so prosper by one another, that very often those who go, instead of benefiting, make worse the chances of those who stay. I have seen the whole process in Ireland. Town-lands are 'cleared'; the contiguous hamlets soon disappear; then

⁶ Wakefield; Sir R. Kane; Mareau de Jannes. *British Quarterly* for January 1892.

the villages fade away; next the neighbouring towns, once bustling and fairly well to do, decay and sink into shabby villages; the county capital at last feels the paralysis. Only ports of entry like Dublin and Cork, busy with the export of Irish cattle and the import of English manufactures, thrive, by comparison; or a successful manufacturing centre like Belfast expands. The scores of once prosperous country towns, like Castlebar, Westport, Trim, Sligo, Tralee, Ennis, Tuam, Roscommon; and even cities like Kilkenny, Waterford, Galway, and Limerick, find that the source of their prosperity has been swept away. In not a few instances grass literally grows in market-place and street. The fortunate—if indeed fortunate—circumstance that, soon after the great clearances began, an extraordinary rise in the price of meat and butter set in, and continued up to 1878, threw a glow of what was called ‘prosperity’ over Ireland for the time, and sufficed to conceal from superficial observers how precarious was the situation. The lost soil was not missed; the lost population not regretted. But if meat-prices should ever fall! Ah! The mere check of 1879 created a panic. In the day—not very far distant—when the progress of scientific discoveries and of transport facilities brings American and Australian meat thoroughly into our markets, a terrible Nemesis awaits the man-hunting and bullock-worshipping policy in these islands. The brave and hardy Highlanders of Scotland, and the kindly and hospitable peasantry of Ireland, will be wept when all too late.

Is it any wonder that Irishmen, in view of the public statistics and irrefragable facts above adduced, refuse to believe that English proposals of depopulation are for the good of Ireland? Behind the often flimsy excuse of ‘greater room for those that remain,’ ‘good for those that go and those that stay,’ ‘districts which nature has intended for grazing land,’ and so forth, a more ruthless policy is discerned. Mr. Goldwin Smith scarcely affects to conceal it. The Irish are illiterate; they are poor; they are uncivilised, unthrifty, violent, vengeful, lawless, against government wherever they go. ‘Their fatal influence threatens with ruin every Anglo-Saxon polity and every Anglo-Saxon civilisation throughout the world.’ This is a terrible picture of a people England has been ruling, managing, civilising, educating, converting, training, and teaching, for centuries and centuries. I am afraid that, though offensively exaggerated, it is not wholly untrue. Laws that forbade schools or schoolmasters through eleven reigns of Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian dynasties, have unquestionably done their work, though the Irish tried hard to break or baffle them, and get some schooling contraband. Edicts that banished the native race from walled towns and civilised life, that made it a high crime to teach them trades, and drove them to live like hunted game on mountain and moor, have left their mark in the furtiveness of Irish peasant character, and in the rude and barbarous squalor of their dwellings.

A land-system which, as has been tardily confessed by the Imperial Legislature, even in the present century penalised their industry, systematically confiscated their property, and so kept them in chronic insecurity and wretchedness, has unfortunately helped them but little to habits of thrift and comfort. Long excluded from political rights of any kind, and still forbidden to learn at home the moderation and steadiness which the responsibilities of self-government bring to a people, they are badly qualified for the duties of citizenship in New York or Toronto, in America or elsewhere. Yet, conceding all this as a sad truth, who is the culprit?

This Irish misery is no mysterious problem. Irish poverty is created and manufactured before our eyes by a process as simple and direct as the scuttling of a ship. The real wonder would be if Irish farmers as a class were ever much above starvation level. For fifty years past the charge has been specifically urged on their behalf that for time out of mind extortionate rents left them no means of subsistence much above that of cattle. Since Sharman Crawford's time it has been explicitly charged that an excess of 5,000,000*l.* a year has been wrung from them. For eighteen months past this charge has been under investigation in the Queen's Courts by Land Commissioners. In the result, so far, it is judicially declared that the rents have been unfair or extortionate, on an average, to the extent of about 27 per cent. per annum. The rental of Ireland for thirty years past is estimated at fifteen or sixteen millions sterling; so that, at this rate, after allowing a margin for properties fairly rented, a yearly sum of at least 3,500,000*l.*, or more than 100,000,000*l.* since 1851, has been wrongfully squeezed out of Irish farmers. Ay, wrung out of them by a process as agonising as the courbash. 100,000,000*l.*! How many tragedies of humble life darken the background of those figures! How much of unrequited toil; how much of cruel injustice, of heart-sinking and hopelessness; of hunger and privation! If this hundred millions of money, or even half the amount, were in hand just now for settling Connemara cottiers on depopulated or reclaimable Irish land elsewhere, they would need no help from Mr. Tuke. The lowest computation I have ever seen, but which I have not tested, fixes at another 100,000,000*l.* the net loss—the direct and actual loss—to Ireland in the same period on the disastrous agricultural statistics already cited; while, as if to render inevitable the pauperisation of the country, within the same period the imperial taxation imposed on and drawn from Ireland has been increased from the yearly amount of 4,006,711*l.* in 1851, to 7,086,593*l.* in 1871. And this was on a falling population. The imperial taxation of Ireland stood at 12*s.* 2*d.* per head of population in 1851. It stood at 1*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* per head in 1871—the last year for which parliamentary figures are forthcoming—an increase of 14*s.* per head per year. Within the same period the burden on rich and prosperous Great Britain, with an increasing

population, has been lightened by a reduction of 3s. 3d. per head per annum.⁷

But the Irish in Ireland are not only a nuisance with their chronic poverty; they are a danger with their chronic disaffection. Even if this also be granted, the question is whether 'Begone elsewhere' is the true remedy. Oh yes, by all means, urges Mr. Goldwin Smith; only not to America, leastways not to New York, where there are newspapers and politicians. Up away there in the vacant North-West perhaps they might do no harm. Indeed, there is a fine opening for them, say, at the North Pole, or thereabouts. 'Canada shudders at the thought of receiving them,' yet, strange to say, pays emigration agents for trying to coax them thither, and sends a gentleman all the way to London with an offer to repay five millions sterling if spent in sending them to her territory.

There are few subjects more worthy of serious attention than that which calls forth Mr. Smith's alarm. Irish emigrants—not merely the fugitives of despair, but those deported wholly or partly by State 'benevolence'—do not lose but rather increase their hostility to British power in the process of transplantation. Formerly it was fancied this would die out. Of the group of dynamite conspirators who stood in the dock at Newgate the other day—men whose frightful purpose was to bury London in ruins—not one was born on Irish soil. All were the sons or grandsons of men swept away from 'congested districts,' and sent or driven to America 'for the good of those who went, and of those who were left behind.' Whoever has recently travelled in America must have been struck with the fact that animosity towards England often displays itself more strongly in the second and third generations of Irish Americans than in the men who were actually driven forth. As long as this feeling took shape merely in impossible schemes for invading Ireland, and setting up 'the Irish Republic now virtually established,' it might have been very annoying, but was never likely to become dangerous to this country, unless in the almost inconceivable contingency of a war between England and the United States. America may give free rein to Irish, French, German, Polish, or Russian refugees, in their conspiracies of vengeance, up to a certain point; but never will the Washington Cabinet in time of peace allow an armed expedition to quit American waters on purpose of invasion bent. Within the past four years, however, a truly noteworthy change has come over the plans and purposes of the Irish abroad. Enterprises like the Fenian conspiracy, though enthusiastically sustained by the humbler classes of Irish settlers, never fully called forth the co-operation of the hundreds of thousands of well-to-do prosperous and influential men of Irish birth

⁷ See the Parliamentary returns quoted in *The Case of Ireland plainly Stated*, by Sir Joseph N. McKenna, M.P.; who effectually disposes of the sophisms whereby this state of things is sometimes defended.

or blood in America, Canada, and Australia. 'Although abused by the extreme nationalists for what was called selfish, sordid, and unpatriotic abstention, these men at heart hated the English system of rule in Ireland as bitterly as the rest. They simply did not believe in the military enterprise of fighting the British empire; and were rather repelled by some of the tactics and doctrines of the revolutionists. Scarcely, however, had the project of carrying the Irish national struggle in constitutional form but thoroughly combative spirit into the citadel of British legislation attracted attention, when the millions in America, rich Irish and poor Irish alike, grasped, sprang at, a new revelation. Here was a scheme they thoroughly believed in. They could endow this new movement with the only element of power wanted to constitute it the most formidable combination effected in Irish politics since the days of Rinuccini. The cry arose that if the Irish at home would be resolute, the Irish abroad would supply the sinews of war. No corner of the earth was too remote, no Irish exile was too poor or too wealthy, for the purposes of co-operation in a vast and world-wide co-partnership of this character. The idea was embraced with an enthusiasm and a steady perseverance truly remarkable, and Mr. Goldwin Smith cannot now find a spot on the surface of the habitable globe where he can stow away expatriated Irishmen beyond the possibility of their bearing a part in what he calls 'the trouble' in unforgotten Ireland. The United States alone will supply Mr. Parnell with funds to an extent no Irish leader ever before possessed. Canada and Australia proportionately will not be far behind. It was the moral effect of the 150,000*l.* sent hither for the Land League that made Irish farmers—previously a most timid and selfish class—throw in their lot so absolutely and daringly with the member for Cork. I express my belief, formed after some study of the situation last autumn in America, that with the resources certain to be placed at his command by the Irish in that country, Canada, and Australia, united as they never were before, he can carry from sixty to eighty seats in Ireland, again and again, and maintain their representatives during active service in the field. One can hardly realise the extent to which this co-operative scheme has taken possession of the Irish across the Atlantic. It explains the striking spectacle of that Convention two months ago at Philadelphia. There 1,272 delegates from States, dominions, countries and cities as wide apart, some of them, as California and New Brunswick, New Orleans and Ottawa—exhibiting considerable parliamentary aptitude and ability, and disappointing anticipations of disunion, disorder or violence—pledged the moral and material support of probably 6,000,000 of the Irish race abroad to the men and the movement at home. What their moral support may count for, we may judge from a fact which supplies a curious commentary on Mr.

Smith's report of Canadian opinion. The Dominion Legislature the other day formally appealed to the Imperial Government to grant Ireland the precious liberties which Canada enjoys. 'The Irish vote!' Mr. Goldwin Smith exclaims. Probably. Why not? If the House of Commons pass a Liberal measure, it is the force of the Liberal vote that does it. If a temperance measure, the temperance vote. The Nonconformist vote is a recognised power in England, yet who discredits any measure in sympathy with Nonconformist feeling by crying out that the Liberals are 'coquetting' with the 'Nonconformist vote'? The 'negro vote,' as it was called, eventually enabled Wilberforce to win. If there is an 'Irish vote' so strong in the United States as to cause Mr. Parnell to be invited to address the Congress at Washington, and so powerful in Canada as to cause the Dominion Legislature to demand Home Rule for Ireland, it surely indicates the existence of political forces that must be taken into account. It is a holy and wholesome fact that every day the solidarity of humanity, the public opinion of a world, is extending a corrective and humanising influence to which rulers and governments cannot long remain insensible. Through my life I have believed in the coming victory of that influence; in the disaster that attends upon these doctrines of hatred and hostility implacable between races and peoples. If in dealing with a plea—and such a plea—for further 'clearance' of the Irish peasantry I have tried to encounter it with the force of fact rather than the vehemence of feeling, it has been to me somewhat of a struggle. I cannot write of these things or think of them without some emotion. I regard Mr. Smith's accusations and proposals with much indignation for their injustice,* but with greater sorrow for the mischief they must do. Not by insulting taunts about 'the master race' (whichever one that may be) driving the other to somewhere or another; nor yet by cries for expatriation of Irishmen to some No-man's-land as a worthless, dangerous, or criminal race, can Irish hatred of England be allayed, or the inevitable reconciliation of these countries hastened in our day. If Irish agriculture be injured, not benefited—if Irish prosperity be repressed, not advanced—if Irish disaffection be increased and intensified, not weakened or qualified—by the policy of clearance

* In the dark catalogue of vices and crimes laid to the charge of 'the Irish' by Mr. Smith is one of barbarity towards 'the Negro, whose cruel and insolent oppressor the Irishman has always been.' Always! Call William Wilberforce to produce his Diary:—'All the princes of the blood-royal went canvassing through the lobbies against the abolition of the slave trade'—'All the Irish members voting along with us.' Call Daniel O'Connell, who, in the name of the Irish national movement in 1843—most offensively and unwisely, as I think—publicly declined, and returned the subscriptions from slave-holding States. Call the Irish millionaire slave-owners in the Southern States, like Maunsell White and Patrick McDonough of New Orleans, who, in a time when abolition was a crime with 'Teutonic' Legrees, gifted away princely fortunes in manumitting their slaves, and in endowing free schools, free hospitals, and free asylums for the poor of every race and clime.

and depopulation, it surely is time to turn round. The real question for all true friends of England and of Ireland is not merely 'Why send more Irish to America?' but 'Why send more Irish out of Ireland?' Why not tackle the problem of making Ireland as prosperous and populous, as thrifty and industrious, as law-abiding and loyal, as either Flanders or Belgium?

A. M. SULLIVAN.

CHEAP FISH FOR LONDON.

IN discussing the subject of the fish supply of London, it will occur to most that the 'sine qua non' of any improvement in the present unsatisfactory condition of the trade must be the establishment of additional market accommodation. We may then with advantage consider the following questions:—

1. (a) What is a market? (b) What should it be? (c) What should it not be?

2. What is the best mode of distribution?

3. Whence come our supplies? and

4. Can they be augmented without our having to pass through a transition period of high prices?

Many people's idea of a market is, that it should be a palatial structure, or that it should be a structure at any rate of some kind. My own opinion is, that it is a congregation of the buyers and sellers, and not either the building or the place, and this view seems to be the popular one in two-thirds of the market towns in England. For whereas, if you ask them on any day in the week (not being market day) where such and such person is, the answer will be that he is in the market-place; but if you ask them the same question on the day on which the market is held, they will tell you that he is in the market. But whilst we keep it well in mind that the concourse of buyers and sellers constitutes the market, it must be obvious that, in this uncertain climate, it is well, if possible, that this concourse of people, and the commodity in which they deal, should be protected from the weather, though this is not essential, as witness Nottingham, York, Peterborough, Salisbury, and a great number of other places, the 'market-place' of which is an unroofed hollow square in the centre of the town.

We have assumed that to augment the supply of fish to London, and to secure a better distribution of it, more markets are necessary, and it will therefore become our business to inquire what kind of accommodation is best suited for such a market or markets; but before doing so, let us consider the present arrangements for the supply of London with fish, and for its distribution. All the fish sent to London by sea, and nearly all the fish brought to London by railway,

is at present consigned to the market at Billingsgate. The limited area of this market, however, of necessity limits also the number of the salesmen through whom alone fish can be sold. The Market Committee seem to manage the market solely with the view of obtaining the maximum possible amount of rent for it. In other respects, also, the arrangements of the market by the Corporation contrast most strongly with its arrangements in former times, as witness the following order, which was issued in 1707 by the then Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Beddingfield. Sir Richard's order states that certain people buy up large quantities of fish, and

sell the same again in the city market, which practice tends greatly to the enhancing of the prices of fish . . . for the protection whereof it is now ordered by this Court that none but fishermen, their wives, apprentices, or servants, be permitted to stand, stay, or remain there to sell fish taken and brought to the city market; so that the citizens may have fish at the first hand for their own use, according to the true meaning of the law.

Maitland, in his *History of London*, vol. ii. page 791, says :

Touching the ancient customs of this Billingsgate, I have not read, saith Stow, in any record more than that, in the reign of Edward III., every great ship landing there paid for standage, twopence; every little ship with orelocks, a penny; the less boat, called a battle, a halfpenny.

He also says :

An Act of Parliament was made (10 and 11 of William III.) to make Billingsgate a free market for the sale of fish, wherein it was enacted, 'that after the tenth of May, 1699, Billingsgate Market should be, every day in the week except Sunday, a free and open market for all sorts of fish, and that it should be lawful for any person to buy or sell any sort of fish without disturbance.

The same Act of Parliament also says :

And that from and after the tenth of May, that person that should take or demand any toll or sample, or any imposition or set price of sea-fish of English catching, should forfeit the sum of ten pounds, the one half to his Majesty and the other half to him that will sue for the same.

The preamble of this Act reads as follows :

Whereas the public wealth, honour, and safety of this kingdom, as well as the maintenance of trade and support of navigation, as in many other respects, depend on the improvement and encouragement of the fishery, and Billingsgate having time out of mind been a free market for all manner of floating and salt fish, as also for all manner of lobsters and shellfish, nevertheless, divers abuses evidently destructive to that trade have been of late years practised by raising impositions and tolls, and by forestalling of the markets and other methods used by the fishmongers, in not permitting the fisherwomen and others to buy the said fish of the said fishermen, to sell them again in London and elsewhere, by which means the fishermen are obliged to sell their fish to the said fishmongers at their own rates, to the great discouragement of the said fishermen. For remedy whereof, 'Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the tenth day of

May, which shall be in the year 1699, Billingsgate Market, within the said City of London, shall be every day in the week (except Sundays) a free and open market for all sorts of fish whatsoever, and that it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons to buy or sell any sort of fish in the said market without any disturbance or molestation whatsoever.'

It will be seen that the object of both the Parliament and the Corporation at that time was the safeguard of the interests of the public, the consumers of the fish, and that the amounts of toll or rent were altogether a secondary consideration.

It is, I think, desirable that the Corporation should revert to the principles of conduct that guided Sir Richard Beddingfield, and that the interests of consumers of fish should receive primary consideration. Billingsgate, however (however well managed), is wholly insufficient as a wholesale market for the population of London as it now exists, and any person or company seeking to supplement it by the establishment of other markets would do well, I think, to examine as many existing markets as they possibly can, in order to see what to imitate and what to avoid.

Let us make Billingsgate Market our first study. I have attended that market, not once but many times, and shall condense into a description of one visit the knowledge acquired in several.

Paying my cabman, then, on Fish Street Hill as the clock was striking 3 A.M., I walked down into Thames Street, and found myself, as I had hoped, the first comer. I was not long alone, however, for a porter soon approached smoking; he was soon joined by others. Then a man came, who unlocked the gates of the market, after which he looked about him; then was heard the quick trot of a pair of heavy horses drawing a railway company's street trolley, on which was a long and very heavy box. The box, which is called by many names, as 'van,' 'machine,' 'tank,' 'trunk,' &c., measured 15 feet in length by 5 feet 6 inches in breadth, and it was 2 feet 6 inches deep, all outside dimensions. The full width of the trolley on which it was borne was eight feet, and the length of the whole from the horse's nose to the tail end of the trolley was 23 feet 6 inches.

This box was divided by three internal vertical partitions into four compartments of equal size; each compartment was secured by a separate lid and locked, each was lined with lead, and each contained half a ton of haddocks.

(A few of these compartments arrive with cod and other fish, but the great bulk consists of haddocks.)

The trolley drew up near the market on the south side. It was soon followed by others, twos and threes, until there was a continuous line of them, reaching from the front of the market nearly to Tower Hill, and again from the market upwards to the subway under London Bridge. The haddocks were not otherwise packed, but were loose in each compartment.

As Thames Street is very narrow, there was only room for one stream of traffic between these conveyances and the footpath on the opposite side of the street. The footpaths also are very narrow,

These conveyances remain in Thames Street a very long time; they are simply treated as warehouses by the salesmen. The railway companies, last year, timed the arrival and departure over a long period of each of them. The average detention in this narrow street was 4 hours and 49 minutes, and as this observation covered the vans containing the prime fish also, it follows that the average detention of the haddock-carrying vans would be longer, probably not less than six hours. These vans contain only what are called Kit Haddocks, which are not bought by fishmongers at all—they are bought by curers and smokers who want nothing else. If it is asked why these vans are allowed to remain so long in the street, when a costermonger if he stops even a few minutes in the City thoroughfares is promptly pulled up, fined, and lectured into the bargain, the reply is made that Colonel Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of the Police of the City, has made repeated efforts to abate the nuisance, but without avail. Summonses have been issued; they have been heard before the Lord Mayor and the magistrates (every Alderman of the City is a magistrate), but the decision was unfavourable to the abatement of the nuisance. The matter was heard again on appeal to the quarter sessions, where the same magistrates sit, and on this occasion the Recorder decided that not only was Billingsgate the market, but that all the streets converging towards it were a part of the market, and that the police had no authority therefore to interfere. This astonishing decision is now being acted upon.

Upon this Colonel Fraser promptly withdrew the police from Billingsgate and the neighbourhood, saying that if the police had no authority in these streets, he could not allow the men to remain there. Hereupon the pressure and inconvenience, before so great, became intolerable. There was no one to attempt even to marshal the traffic, and the Billingsgate people waited upon him and earnestly begged him to send his men again. He firmly refused, and told them that all that he could do was to furnish them with men, as is done to theatres, &c., and to charge them with the men's wages. This was done, and seven men were then and are now in the pay of the authorities of the Billingsgate Market, and the streets are handed over to them absolutely. The uniform of the men is very serviceable; it gives the impression that they are there under the control and direction of the police authorities.

Let the reader try to picture to himself what would happen if this sort of thing were attempted in Sheffield, or Manchester, or Bradford, or in Leeds. Market Street in Manchester is very wide, so is the Briggate in Leeds, the pathways, too, are four times as wide as they are in

Thames Street, and in neither of them is the property more valuable, or even as valuable as it is in Thames Street. Fancy a dozen only long railway trollies drawing up by the kerb in either of the two streets I have named, each containing two tons of loose haddocks, and standing there six hours, whilst salesmen were endeavouring to sell the fish, buyers climbing upon the bushes and spokes of the wheels, driving their bare arms deep down into the fish to examine them, and dropping back abruptly amongst the passengers, and finally, porters coming with large baskets for the fish, which is handed out by men kneeling on the trucks, fish by fish, and carrying the baskets to a distance of a quarter of a mile to be weighed, and another, often a greater distance, to empty the baskets into hand-carts and vans! Why, it would not be tolerated for a day. A dozen, a score of summonses would be taken out by the indignant occupiers of the premises fronting the nuisance; and if it were possible to conceive of their magistrates failing to deal summarily and sharply with the evil, or of a Recorder giving such a decision as the Recorder of London gave, they would not lose a day in clubbing their resources and taking the matter by appeal into a higher court, and having the preposterous ruling set aside.

What possible objection can be urged against such a state of things in Market Street, Manchester, which does not apply with equal, indeed with greater force, to Thames Street? Is it urged that it would be a great obstruction to the other traffic of the street? Surely, the obstruction is more grievous in a street only 18 feet wide, than it could be in one of 70 feet wide. Is it that the buyers and sellers would obstruct the footpath? Surely, again, that is worse where the footpath is 4 feet wide than it could be in Manchester, where it is 15 in some places, and in every place much wider than 4 feet.

Is it that such a nuisance would seriously depreciate the price of the property in Market Street, which is very valuable? The property in Thames Street is still more valuable.

Is it that it would be dreadfully out of place to have such a thing going on opposite the Manchester Infirmary, which is a fine building and very valuable? Surely, the Customs House of the largest city in the world is, in consideration, as it is in fact, as important and extensive a building as Manchester Infirmary.

There is absolutely no reason, no objection, which could be urged against the infliction of such a scandalous nuisance upon the people of Manchester, that does not apply with even greater force to the existing state of things in London.

But then, the men of the North can help themselves, whilst the public of London are the most helpless community in the United Kingdom. They resemble, in matters like this, the mild Hindoo or the fatalist Mahomedan. One reads of people who, after taking opium for a long time in continually though slowly increasing doses, can take daily with impunity as much as would kill at

once half a dozen healthy men, and this nuisance has grown so gradually that the people affected by it are in the same condition as the Queen of Sheba, of whom it is written, 'there was no more spirit in her.'

To return, however, to our visit to the market. As we are here before the crush begins, let us spend a few moments in an examination of the building, before the buyers and sellers come and make that utterly impossible. Looking at the entrance to the market from the opposite side of the street, you see a massive portico supported on columns, on which a word by-and-by. There is a large basement intended for the sale of shellfish, a ground floor used for fresh fish, but not exclusively, and a gallery, or upper storey, intended for dried fish.

It was found, however, that the basement and the first floor or gallery were practically useless; the buyers would neither descend into the one nor climb to the other, and so a little room has been squeezed out of the ground floor for them.

At my first visit the entrances into the basement were closed by vertical boarding at the bottom of the steps leading to it. Since then I have found that the descending staircases have been boarded over horizontally level with the ground floor, and so a little more space has been secured. The first or upper floor or gallery was unused, unless you can call it used when it is occupied with empty packing boxes. There was one man who had sought this solitude to get his breakfast in peace, that was all.

One could not help thinking what a good thing for the market it would have been had this gallery never been built, for it is reached by no less than four very wide stone stairways, two of which cover a space 20 feet by 46 feet of the priceless ground floor to no purpose.

The unused basement also seriously curtails the very limited area of the ground floor, for there are spaces surrounded by iron railing and covered over with talc or thick glass to give light below.

The large area of the ornamental brick columns (for they would not be wanted if the arches for this had not been built), also, 2 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches each, still further diminishes the space, and the two public-houses in the market contribute their demands upon the market space.

The result is to make the crushing and crowding very much greater than it need have been even with the present site.

Reaching the river-front of the market, one sees, if the tide is low, far out in the stream one or two steamers, from and to which two streams of men are passing along planks over intervening barges and pontoons, these planks being unprotected by side-rails. The men can only approach the market in single file, even if more than one steamer be unloading, and the distance being great, and a considerable ascent being necessary, with the boxes of fish, each of which weighs about 112 lbs., the payment is necessarily high, 3d. per box

I was told, including the return to the pontoon of the empty boxes, 3*d.* per dozen would pay the men equally well under better conditions.

One wonders, too, why the very broad space between the river-front of the building and the place where the steamers lie has not been utilised. It could all be used without diminishing the waterway or impeding navigation more than the area of three or four iron piers, similar to those upon which the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars is supported, as the level of the ground floor of the market is sufficiently elevated to allow barges to pass under the proposed platform freely at any state of the tide. Half a dozen whip-cranes at the end of this platform would, being directly over the hatchways, pull up these boxes with great rapidity, as they are of uniform size and weight, the latter being 1 cwt. only.

The removal of the unused gallery and its staircases, of the portico and its columns (the shops on each side the floor, and the iron columns supporting the roof need not be touched of course), of the iron palisades enclosing the needless spaces in the area, and the extension riverwards high over the waterway, like the reach, for instance, of the Cannon Street Railway Station over the river, would not cost more than 20,000*l.*, and would rather more than double the space now available for salesmen's stands.

When it is borne in mind that the rent of stall space is 9*d.* per foot per week, 17*l.* 11*s.* per yard per annum, that the area of one of the columns alone would readily let for 40*l.* a year, one is at first sight struck with wonder that such obvious and simple remedies have not been adopted long ago. If these things were done, Billingsgate would be more than equal to all demands upon it for generations, and if the vans bringing the raw material for curers and smokers of haddocks were sent elsewhere, Thames Street would need no widening at all.

Why, then, is this not done? I think that if some member of the Corporation were to move for the preparation of a map of the property the Corporation is now and has been long vehemently urged to acquire for widening Thames Street, and cutting a new street &c., and that all the property which belonged to persons interested in any way were coloured red on such plan, they would find that it would throw a flood of light upon this clamour and the clamourers. The crowding is artificial. The present market was rebuilt only some ten years ago, and if it were limited to the legitimate, that is fishmongers' business, is amply sufficient.

It will not be questioned that we have learnt a good deal from our inspection of Billingsgate Market, for in qualifying to design an important structure it is needful to learn what to avoid, as well as to learn what to adopt.

Let us now take the market at Grimsby into consideration. An amount of business is transacted here daily which is really wonderful. As this article was not contemplated when I visited Grimsby I did not obtain statistics, but it seems to me to be much greater than that done at Billingsgate, and yet, so well designed is the market, and so simple, there was not a fourth of the confusion or crowding which is the most prominent characteristic of Billingsgate. The market, or pontoon, as it is called there, is simply a long roofed platform, having the dock on one side and railway sidings upon the other. The height of the platform from the ground is just the height of the floor of a railway waggon from the rails. It is, I should think, nearly a quarter of a mile long, but the boats that come alongside are so many that they are made fast end-on to the platform. The latter is about 25 feet broad (it would be better if it were broader, I think). The fish, as it is landed, is rapidly sold by Dutch auction as to the trawlers, by ordinary auction as to the more valuable kinds of fish. After it is sold it is put (with ice) loose into the machines for London, and that which is for inland towns, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds &c., in boxes and hampers, in which cases on its arrival it is easy of manipulation, and the great delays which would occur in its removal at those towns if it were sent loose in tanks or machines, is thus avoided altogether. They would not tolerate for a week in any of the towns in the North what is patiently borne in London. Catch Yorkshiremen, or Lancashiremen either, tolerating one of the so-called 'machines' standing, not six hours, but even one hour, in their streets. The occupiers, and owners too, of all the adjoining property would make short work of them. But then they are men with public spirit and courage, and they think that the trade, and the police, and even the corporations too, exist for the public, and not the public for them.

Once on board the railway trucks it is speedily on its way to its destination. My visits to Grimsby paid me well. I learnt there that a prodigious trade can be done, and done without any great discomfort or confusion, in a very plain and inexpensive structure; room, light, free passage for air, and protection from the weather seem all that is wanted. Nevertheless, I think that if the roof of the platform were ten or twelve feet higher it would be better. The roof itself, also, in my opinion, should be a 'lean-to' roof, and not a ridged one, with leaves drooping to each other. There would then be no need of skylights, allowing the sunshine to fall upon the fish, and if the upper edge of the 'lean-to' pointed to the north they would get the light without sunshine. If it projected also on light ornamental brackets, so as to keep the rain from the fish during the loading of the railway wagons, it would be a further improvement, as sunshine and rain are both prejudicial to fish in a high degree. There are no cellars in this market.

The Manchester market was the next visited, and a very excellent market it is, or rather, I ought to say they are, for there are two fish markets, one wholesale and one retail. The wholesale market is well adapted for its purpose, though here, as in Billingsgate, it has been found in practice that the cellars are useless. They were intended to keep fish in, but it is found that it keeps better on the ground floor in a current of air than below, and the cellars are only now used for stowing away empty and broken boxes &c.

They have not here, however, made the blunder of erecting an upper floor.

The retail market is not quite so good, as the purchasers go down the centre of the hall between two rows of good stalls, but the fish to supply these stalls is also brought down this aisle, and in consequence, though well flagged, it is very wet and sloppy. It seems to me that the two rows of stalls should have gone down the middle back to back, with a four-foot passage between them for fish only, and two clean, wide, and dry passages, for customers only, down each side next the wall.

We now come to Birkenhead, a very commodious market, quite open on all four sides, that is to say, it occupies a square. The passages from end to end are 15 feet wide, and give excellent means of getting about the market; there are also cross passages of equal width. But the roof is faulty, it lets in the sunshine, which is prejudicial to fish, and even, though in a less degree, to fruit and vegetables, after they are removed from the ground. And they have likewise spent an immense sum in making vaults, which are unused by the market people, and have been let to bitter beer brewers at very low rents—rents which cannot give more than 1 or 1½ per cent. on their cost. For myself, too, I think that the outer row of shops or stalls would have an immense advantage if they had had a frontage to the streets outside as well as one looking inwards into the market.

I visited also the fish markets at Bordeaux, Paris, Boulogne, Brussels, Marseilles, and many others, both at home and abroad, but as a detailed account of each would unduly prolong this part of my subject, I will content myself with noticing only those of Paris and Brussels. The market at Paris is very good indeed, and, thanks to Sir Charles Dilke's letter of introduction, I and the civil engineer I took with me were afforded every facility for a thorough examination of it. They transact the business in three ways here. There is, first, 'Vente à la criée,' sale by auction as at Billingsgate; second, 'Vente à l'amiable,' a private bargain; and lastly, 'Les Ventes au détail,' which is simply the retailing by stallkeepers.

Those who sell by auction are called the 'facteurs,' and they sell much as in Billingsgate. Those who sell 'à l'amiable' (private bargain) are called 'commissionnaires.' They stand in a row with

their goods in lots (mostly wholesale), which are placed on large flat baskets, very shallow. These flat baskets are all behind a line indented on the floor; the buyers are outside. On making a purchase the seller pushes it outside the indented line, and the buyer places on the top fish a brass label stamped with his name. When the buyer has made all his purchases he gives to one of the 160 'forts,' or porters, a master label, who then collects and removes to the cart or van waiting outside all parcels with a similar label, wherever he may find them.

The other sellers 'au détail' are just the keepers of the stalls who retail fish all day.

But here there was a most elaborate system of vaults under the market. I should think there was as much money spent under the floor of the market as the whole of the superstructure had cost. This is also true of Brussels market; but in neither was the underground storey used as was intended, they were simply used, and that to a very small extent, as receptacles for empty and broken packages, except in one where a box cart was placed below a grating to receive the refuse, after the close of the market, and so save the trouble of shovelling it up before it was carted away.

By far the best market of all, however, was the one at Brussels; it beats Paris, as Paris does London, and anyone who wants to see what Billingsgate is, should go at 3 A.M., and stop till late in the day, and then he will understand something about it.

At Brussels the auctioneer's rostrum stands against the middle of the end wall, and it is constructed on the same plan as that introduced at Manchester by Mr. Page to save room. On his right is a large entrance, on his left an equally large exit. The railway vans draw up at the former; they are unloaded with great rapidity (indeed, immense quantities are unloaded during the night). A low bench is in front of and below him, and further off a crescent-shaped stand or platform, graduated like a flower-stand in a greenhouse; upon the four tiers of this the buyers stand. The 'forts,' or porters, bring up the panniers of fish and empty them into a large flat basket, about 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, which stands on the low bench, so that every buyer can see all the fish well (and the Sanitary Inspectors, too, who stand by). The lot is knocked down to some one almost as soon as it is emptied. Other porters, with hooks, draw the basket off on to a two-wheeled barrow of the same height as the bench, and as they do it, others in charge of the barrow away with it to the customer's van outside, or to one of the numerous stalls in the market. These are in double rows, back to back. Between the backs is a narrow passage about one foot wider than the barrows. Arrived at the stall, it is pushed off the barrow (which has no sides) on to the customer's ground and away again. Between the fronts of the stalls are wider passages for the townspeople (these are kept

very clean and very dry underfoot), who visit the market in great numbers, and in comfort and cleanliness make their purchases.

The order, precision, efficiency, and great rapidity with which the wholesale business is conducted is simply admirable. The empties are removed at once and carried away by the second door spoken of.

The conclusion arrived at was that it was not needful to spend a large amount of money to make a good market building; that a good situation alike for collecting and distributing supplies, plenty of room, light without sunshine, air and water, easy access, protection from the weather, and due regard to facilities for manipulation, were all that was wanted, and that overhead and underground structures were a mere waste of money.

Now let us take for examination the best mode of distribution.

In any place but London you would have little difficulty here. You would open your markets, supplies would flow in, buyers would come; but all that is very different in London. 'Trade agglomerates in a few hands, in a certain place, and all concerned make common cause against any change, like the watersellers in Lisbon and in Barcelona, whose combinations against the Waterworks recently introduced in those cities became so serious that they had to be bought off. So here, it is not only the salesmen in Billingsgate who resist, by all means in their power, any and all change, but even the fishmongers, who suffer so much, are found arrayed against change, unless a fish salesman is mistaken who assured me that 'the fishmongers didn't want it to be easy to get to Billingsgate; people would get to know too much about the prices they gave for their stuff.'

Well, I can readily believe this, for Mr. Hewitt, a large salesman, said, in evidence, that his company, which sells in one year over 20,000 (I am not sure that it was not over 30,000) tons of fish of all kinds at Billingsgate, only realised a penny and a third of a penny per pound for the whole. We all know at what prices the fishmongers sell it.

It is not a little suggestive, too, that when the Corporation ordered an inquiry into the causes of the high prices of fish in London in 1881, the Chairman, in his opening speech, said that they meant to call witnesses from, 1st, catchers and senders; 2nd, from carriers; 3rd, from salesmen; and 4th, from fishmongers. Now what was the fact? Their report, presented August 9, 1881, shows they called 22 catchers and senders, 14 carriers, 9 salesmen, and one fishmonger.

There was some amusing evidence given before this Committee (which sat in 1881), illustrative of the results of limiting the trade to a few hands, as is inevitable while Billingsgate is the only market. One witness cheerfully put upon record in his evidence that 'I never think proper to have a partner. I am very generous to my children,

but I have no partner;’ that as to Billingsgate smells, ‘I love its smells and all its other things. To give you an idea of the intensity of that smell, a short time ago I went to the Theatre and sat behind several ladies, and in about half an hour I heard, “Dear me, what a strong smell of sprats!” I knew vey well what it was, I went outside directly.’ He also spoke of costermongers and offal fish. ‘We do not want the offal fish, we could not sell it. When those poor fellows come down, I myself have taken as much as from 800*l.* to 1,000*l.* in the morning solely in ready cash from these poor men.’ Of his income, income from business, he says, ‘I and my sons, who are very successful and prosperous men, perhaps we are in receipt of from 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a year probably. I went into the market a poor boy without a penny.’ He then went on to say to the Committee: ‘I must say, gentlemen, that we feel in Billingsgate very much hurt, we feel very much grieved and very sore to think that . . . members of the Corporation should pay any attention to any absurd, frivolous charge that may be brought against us.’ And further on: ‘There is really no fault to be found. I believe Billingsgate, and the habitués and the parties who do business in Billingsgate, to be almost immaculate.’ He seems to be a lineal descendant of Little Jack Horner.

One more extract from this amusing old fellow’s evidence, and we part with him. ‘Every gentleman who knows the country at all, and the fishings, must know that thousands and thousands and thousands and thousands of tons of sprats and herrings are used as manure. Good fish! it will not pay half the cost of bringing and sending to London. What is the use of expecting it?’

I merely add to this, that the railway companies bring coal to London from Yorkshire for 4*s.* and some odd pence per ton, which presumably pays them.

Still, fortunately now for the London public, the monopoly has been so overdone that a careful examination seems to show that even here ‘the resources of civilisation’ are not all exhausted.

South London, the bulk of whose population is poor, could not pay the high prices demanded for fish, and although it contains one and three-quarter million of people, there are scarcely any fish shops at all south of the River, until you reach the distant suburbs. For example, I drove with a companion from the Elephant and Castle to London Bridge in an open carriage. My companion was to count the fish shops on the one side, and I on the other. We afterwards drove between Southwark Bridge and the Elephant and Castle, taking the main road, of course, in each case; then from the Elephant and Castle to Blackfriars Bridge. Then between the Elephant and Castle and Waterloo Bridge; afterwards from the same point to Westminster Bridge; and then from the same point to Lambeth Bridge. The main thoroughfares and streets traversed will not be less than five miles, probably nearer six than five miles. We only found two shops in the

whole of these roads which sold fish exclusively, and one which was partly a fish and partly a greengrocer's shop. None of them sold fish of the more expensive kinds. I do not count the fish shop at Waterloo Station and the one at London Bridge, for the obvious reason that they are not for the supply of fish to the inhabitants around, but only for the accommodation of gentlemen living out of town and going by railway, and yet the London population south of the River amounts to one million and three-quarters, or three times as many people as live in Manchester. They have practically had no fish at all, and we may therefore begin in this district with a clean slate.

I have suggested, for the accommodation of people who may wish to go into the trade as fishmongers, that a system of delivery should be organised at very low rates, say 2*d.* per cwt. within a radius of one mile of the market, and another 2*d.* within a radius of two miles, in no case for the delivery to the shops north of the River; the minimum charge to be 3*d.* Thus it would be possible for a shop-keeper to go into business with a capital of a few pounds only, as he would neither want horse nor cart, nor stable, nor yard to put them in, nor two men to take care of them (one to remain with the horse and van and one to go into the market); he or she would be able to come to market at a reasonable hour in the morning, make purchases without being crowded or inconvenienced, and find them at his shop door in many cases when he got back. At present a man cannot become a fishmonger without an expenditure of some hundreds of pounds. By the system suggested, a man could enter upon it well with 10*l.* or 12*l.* This system established, I imagine that where it was adopted it would create a new group of fishmongers, as it is well known to those who have studied the social life of London, that the wives of many warehousemen and clerks employed in the City open shops in some inexpensive neighbourhood for the sale of stationery or fancy goods, or hosiery, millinery, or other matters of that kind, in the hope of supplementing their husbands' scanty earnings in the City. These laudable efforts at self-help in a vast number of cases result in a severe loss, and in many, in disaster. Not so with the suggestion I have made. Arrangements could be devised for greatly facilitating the business of the costermongers—a most useful class of people in distributing supplies of food at the houses of the poor. At present the costermonger attending Billingsgate Market has to wait for hours before he can get a chance of making a purchase at all, and then has to buy a box of one quality of fish. There are some who can take two boxes or more, and thus secure a little variety, but the costermonger of small means who has only got 5*s.* or 6*s.* to lay out in all, is obliged to go to the bummaree and pay greatly enhanced prices for his limited purchase. At any new market, benches should be reserved for the accommodation of this class of buyers. Upon these would be laid out a quantity of fish of all kinds, beginning with

a few tons per day, which would be offered to them at wholesale prices, and they could pass their barrows along the front of these benches, select what sorts, and just as much or as little as they wanted, and get away with it. At present the costermonger buying this fish in boxes at Billingsgate has to travel from two to four miles with it before he can unpack it or wash it, so as to prepare it for sale. Ample accommodation should be provided at a new market for doing this before he leaves the premises, so that, having bought his goods, he can commence selling as soon as he gets outside the gates. A further scheme is possible, but ought not to be put into operation unless absolutely necessary, for fear of placing temptation in the way of boys whose moral principle might not be strong enough to bear it, and it would be but a poor result of our labours, if, while trying to cheapen the food of the poor, we found we were breaking down the moral restraints in young people just entering life. The scheme, however, was as follows.

Stevenson Blackwood, Esq., C.B., Secretary of the Post Office, was applied to some months ago, and kindly assented to a proposal to have all the rounds or 'beats' of the men engaged in delivering letters 'mapped out' and coloured on a large map of London, six inches to the mile. This has been done, and, if other means failed of securing the sale and distribution amongst the people of the better supply of fish, a 'Fisher Boys' Brigade' would be formed. Two postmen's beats would be taken as one 'round' for a boy, and the whole of the boys would be furnished with barrows, on the principle of perambulators, consisting of a shallow tray 3 feet by 4 feet, placed upon three wheels, with springs, and which is easily movable by a boy, with 150 to 200 pounds of fish upon it. It will thus be seen that, although at some considerable trouble in organising the plan, it would be possible to cover the whole of London with these barrows every day. The number of men engaged in delivering the morning mail in London is about 2,700. It has been calculated that 1,350 barrows at about 2*l.* each, and uniforms for the boys, could be provided at an expense, all told, not exceeding 4,000*l.*

Lastly, very ample space should be set apart in any new market for retailing fish. It should be laid out on the plan of the market at Brussels, which leaves a narrow passage between each double row of stalls for the fish to be brought to the stalls, and a much wider space in front of these stalls for the buyers, and this space can be kept quite dry and clean. The market should be kept open as long as anybody wishes to remain to sell, and should only be closed on Saturday night at half-past eleven, and kept closed till one A.M. on Monday.

We now come to the fourth and last topic—that is, the best means of obtaining supplies of fish.

In the first place, a very considerable number (nearly a third) of the boats are either the property of fish salesmen and fishmongers, or

they have a lien upon them in the shape of mortgage. One condition of this mortgage (which is rigorously enforced) is that all fish caught in that boat should be consigned to that particular salesman or mortgagee, by the mortgagor, for sale. The boatmen seem to have had, from all I can hear, a hard time of it in this matter. The interest now charged is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Until very recently nothing was lent under 10 per cent., the amount advanced seldom exceeding three-fifths of the cost of the boat, and very often much less. The mortgagor is obliged to insure his boat for the security of the mortgagee, and the policy is deposited with the mortgagee. The commission on the sale of the catch of the trawler averages not less than 40% per annum. It is easy to see what a 'good thing' the mortgagee has of it; but this is not all. The mortgagee frequently combines the business of a ship's husband or ship's chandler with that of money-lending and fish-selling. In this case he requires the mortgagor to buy the whole of his provisions (beef, pork, bread, &c.) of him. He must also buy of him sails, cordage, fish tackle, and even sea-boots, jerseys, and other clothing which he and his apprentices wear. The unfortunate mortgagor is 'worked,' as it is called, 'up hill and down dale,' and in some few cases the whole of the profits earned by the boat are netted by the mortgagee. Such, however, is the abundance of fish in the North Sea, that, notwithstanding these very onerous conditions, the smack-owners, as a class, thrive, and the man of one boat speedily obtains a second and a third out of savings; the man who has two or three, speedily obtains six or seven; and it may be said, with perfect truth, that the far greater portion of boats now fishing in the North Sea have been bought and paid for by the earnings and profits of smack-owners made in the trade. Two courses are open to merchants—either to buy at the ports supplies of fish sufficient for their purpose, or to purchase and equip boats and catch the fish themselves.

I was a good deal surprised, during the time which I have spent at the various ports, to find that the fishermen had to pay so high interest for their money. The security is unimpeachable, because, if the boat is lost at sea, the mortgagee's risk is fully covered by the policy which he holds. I can only account for the high rates charged by the fact that so many are competing for loanable capital, and it is not much known outside the ports themselves how profitably money can be employed in this way. The mortgage deed is simplicity itself, costing next to nothing, as indeed all documents affecting shipping are. The sums advanced being small—from 300% to 400%, and 500% to 600% in each case—probably renders this class of business not worth the notice of large capitalists, excepting those who are in the fish trade, and who are unwilling, of course, to accept a lower rate of interest when they can get a high one, though they are now obliged to accept $7\frac{1}{2}$, whereas, only very recently, 10 per cent. was the recognised rate of

interest charged. I know a case of one fishmonger who, in addition to employing a person at one of the north-east ports to purchase supplies of fish for him, has another whose sole occupation is to lend money on mortgage to boat-owners. Of course it is necessary for this purpose to have some one acquainted with the value of the boats, and a person resident in the port knows almost every boat that sails by name, date of launching, as also everything else connected with the trade, so that he can thoroughly protect his principal from loss. That it would pay a company to enter upon this class of business with a large capital and by means of steam carriers to bring the fish to London, there can be no doubt. I am told, and I believe it to be true, that one large company engaged in the fishing trade transacted business last year with the following results. They debited their fleet with the full amount of insurance which would have been charged to them had they been insured outside; nearly the whole of this was profit. They added a considerable sum to a depreciation fund, they bought and paid for a new steamer out of the revenue, and they divided 15 per cent. A corporation so formed would not merely secure, with almost absolute certainty, very high dividends, but would also serve the equally important purpose of supplying food, good, wholesome, and cheap, to the much-enduring inhabitants of this large city, since it is quite clear that the fish at least have no particular preference for the nets of those now engaged in the trade—they are as accessible to the new comer as they are to those who are now in the trade; and it is quite certain that the population of London would gratefully appreciate the commodity when brought to London. A company starting this business now would enjoy unusual facilities in London for the disposal of their goods, without encountering the opposition of those engaged in the trade. It will have been observed by thoughtful men who have watched the course of trade in London for the last twenty years, that owing to the increasingly crowded state of the navigation of the Thames, docks are being built lower and lower down the river. I believe, but am not quite sure, that it is contemplated to construct docks as low down as Tilbury, opposite Gravesend. Any portion of the banks of the river connected with London by railway is practically now part of London itself, just as much as St. Katherine's Dock was. The London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company have recently established a continental service of trains, and opened a new route to the Continent by way of Queenborough, on the Isle of Sheppey, at the mouth of the Thames, and Flushing; for the accommodation of this traffic they have constructed a short branch from their main line to Queenborough, and have there erected a jetty alongside of which large steamers can come at any state of the tide. The trains from Queenborough to Ludgate Hill take exactly one hour and thirty minutes for the journey. Let us suppose, therefore, that such a company as I

have glanced at had a fleet of boats fishing in the North Sea and three or four steam carriers collecting fish from them for conveyance to London. If they run to Queenborough instead of Billingsgate it is pretty clear that they would make four trips to and from the fishing grounds, for three which they can make if they come up sixty miles of river navigation to Billingsgate. They would also escape the continual accidents, which occur to boats coming and going in the river, and which, I am told, in some form or other, inflict or receive some trifling damage one trip in five, where the trouble of adjusting the claims for damages is out of all proportion to the amount of money involved. I have carefully examined the ground at Queenborough, consulted the managing director of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company on the subject, and he answers for the perfect willingness of the company to lay out at once whatever may be required should further facilities be needed for the reception and accommodation of this traffic, and that the company will also be prepared to quote a moderate rate for fish brought by this route into London. The boats would escape from the delays arising from fog, and from getting the men together when once they have got ashore. They would be free from pilotage dues, tolls at Billingsgate, and a great number of other charges, such, for instance, as the 3*d.* a box which is charged for landing the goods, and a further charge (varying from 4*d.* to 6*d.*, and more) which is charged in Billingsgate for carrying it from the auctioneer's stand to the cart of the buyer, and, in point of fact, of the numerous expenses connected with landing and selling fish at that market. There would be a very considerable pecuniary advantage in adopting this particular route; but even supposing this were not so, and it was found at any time in the future that the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company raised the rates unduly, they would still have access to Billingsgate, and also to any other river markets which may be made; and I have stated what the company already engaged in this business is earning, even under present circumstances. This is one of the few cases in which supplies can be augmented, nay doubled, without going through a long preliminary period of high or higher prices. For example, coal gets dear, as in 1872, 1873, and 1874, and capital is at length, though very slowly, attracted to its production. Here, however, a much less period of time would suffice.

Few who see a smoked haddock on their table know what an extent of capital and labour are engaged in the production of smoked haddock, or how rapidly a great, steady, and almost inexhaustible supply was obtained from the North Sea as soon as a demand for it arose. This fish when caught is used for two different purposes. The greater part is used for smoking, and the rest is used fresh for the table. The former portion, that for smoking, is probably not less than fifty times as much as the latter. When caught, the haddocks

intended for smoking are immediately eviscerated and (together with a quantity of ice) are either stowed away in bulk in 'pound' (the pounds are like the stalls in a stable, in the hold of the ship), or in boxes holding about six stones of fish each; the boxes themselves weigh $22\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. each.

The fish intended for the table are not eviscerated, hence they are called 'round' haddocks to distinguish them from the others, which are called 'kit' haddocks.

Of course there are sometimes a few soles, or a few turbot, plaice, and other fish in the trawl when it is lifted, and these are also packed in boxes which are called boxes of 'mixed.'

As haddocks are used for two distinct purposes, so the fishing for them itself is conducted in two distinct ways. The boats are said to be 'fleeting' or they are said to be 'single boating.' When they are 'fleeting' there are from 100 to 120 boats (worth on an average 1,200*l.* apiece) fishing in company. They are in command of an admiral who receives, in addition to his pay as skipper, threepence for each boat every time her fish is taken out of her by the steam carrier (generally daily). Four steam carriers are attached to each fleet. These fleets remain at sea from six to eight months, either on or near the Dogger Bank, if fishing for offal and cod; off the Dutch coast, on the Horn Reef, or on the Silt, for 'prime' generally, and on the Silver Pits for soles.

When 'fleeting' the catch is always packed in boxes with ice. When 'single boating' it is generally packed in the 'pounds' I have described. As it will keep fresh longer in large bulk with ice than it will in the boxes, this obviates the necessity of returning to port so often as would otherwise be needful. The 'fleeting' boats have their catch collected at sea as nearly as possible daily by the steam carrier, which immediately makes the best of its way to port.

Owing to the fact that Grimsby and Hull are so much nearer the fishing ground than London is, by far the larger portion is carried into those ports, and thence sent off by night trains to London.

The more valuable kinds of fish on being landed are packed into large boxes or hampers, but the 'kit' haddocks are put loose into what are called machines. These machines are long boxes lined with lead, some 15 feet long by 5 feet 6 inches broad and 2 feet 6 inches deep, which are divided internally into four equal spaces each of which holds half a ton of fish, and the machine is carried on the railway on a railway truck or waggon with low sides. On arriving at London these machines are lifted bodily from the railway waggon by a powerful hydraulic crane, lowered on to a strong street trolley and drawn by horses into Thames Street, where they form a long line, sometimes a quarter of a mile long, and these are the things (and these only, as anyone may see any day by going into Thames Street) that cause the obstruction and overcrowding, as, containing

the less valuable fish, they wait until the vans containing the prime, which is sold first, are unloaded. The detention is sometimes for eight or nine hours (the average over a long period was found to be 4 hours and 49 minutes), so that the average detention of the tanks containing offal is probably not under six hours. Some cod and other kinds of prime are carried in these tanks or machines, but the quantity is very small indeed compared with that of the 'kit' haddocks, the great bulk of cod &c. being packed in boxes and hampers.

The quantity of 'kit' haddocks or haddocks for smoking brought to London daily per railway is about sixty tons. The greater part of the people who smoke it live and carry on their business in the Borough and in Lock's Fields near the Walworth Road. The names and addresses of all the buyers attending the Sunday market were taken for me one morning; there were nine of them north of the Thames and nineteen south of it. The larger buyers also are on the south side.

As more than 1,500 fishing-smacks from the Humber alone are fishing continuously for months, it follows that every tide which flows brings some part of them (or steam carriers from them) into port. The perishable nature of their cargo brooks no delay in dealing with it; so, as Billingsgate is closed altogether on Sundays and as the ordinary business of the railway goods department is also closed on that day, it came about that consignees went to King's Cross to release their goods on Sunday mornings, and there is now a market there early every Sunday morning. On the day I went, there were twenty-seven railway truckloads for sale; the sale was speedily effected, without crowding, inconvenience, or wrangling. On two days when I sent my servants there were twenty-four and twenty-six respectively; the average I was told was twenty-six, and, what seemed strange to me, I was told that the prices realised on Sunday are higher than on other days, which was accounted for by a fish merchant in this way: 'You see, the buyers can get to see the fish here, in Thames Street they can't; that's how it is.'

Now all this fish was 'kit' haddocks, not a pound of any other kind. The other sorts, I suppose, are sent elsewhere or otherwise disposed of.

All the buyers come to buy 'kit' haddocks for smoking and nothing else.

On the morrow, and indeed on every other day in the week, this fish and these buyers are all struggling, and at times almost fighting, to get as near to Billingsgate as they can, and are the occasion of horrible confusion and inconvenience there.

What if the fruit merchants on the other side of Thames Street were to bring all the oranges landed in Southampton and Liverpool in machines, and insist upon keeping the vans standing whilst they

were leisurely transferred by hand into baskets in Thames Street? or what if some one were to apply to the Corporation for a licence to erect in Thames Street for six hours every day a stall eight feet wide extending from Fish Street Hill to the Tower of London?

Yet neither of these proposals would be one whit more unreasonable than the astounding abuse which from a small beginning has grown to such huge dimensions, everybody too busy meantime to analyse minutely the cause of the horrid discomfort of which all so justly complain.

As Professor Huxley says that all the fish which is now caught in the North Sea does not probably exceed five per cent. of what might be caught without the least fear of exhausting the supply, it is clear that there is room for indefinite extension of the beneficent industry of catching it. It is also clear, from the evidence I have quoted, and it is besides clear to myself from personal investigations at the ports extending over a long period, that there are now at once and immediately very large supplies available, if the pernicious combination which seeks to limit the advent of fish to London to their own hands, can only be successfully encountered. This monopoly does much more harm than appears on the surface.

I remember taking much interest, some time ago, in tracing the enormous growth in our imports of tea consequent upon successive reductions of duty; 50,000,000 lbs. I think, if I remember correctly, was added to our consumption by a reduction in the duty of sixpence per lb. It follows that the pre-existent duty not only extracted a given amount from the pockets of the consumer, but that it prevented this augmentation in consumption. Imports are paid for by exports; so that all the manufacturing activity and commercial enterprise engaged in preparing all the manufactured goods with which the extra tea was paid for was also prevented. So with the merciless monopolists who have so long and so grievously enhanced the price of fish to Londoners; they have prevented, in old Mr. Stevenson's words, the comical witness already quoted, 'thousands and thousands and thousands and thousands of tons' of excellent food from ever reaching London at all.

SAMUEL PLIMSOLL.

THE CRITICAL CONDITION OF THE ARMY.

It is a common boast that the military and naval forces of Great Britain are composed entirely of volunteers, and that as Englishmen we are free from compulsory service; whilst the great Continental nations are compelled to have recourse to it. Those who have lived abroad, and have watched the operation of the laws of conscription, have some knowledge of the various evils connected with it; but are chiefly struck by the fact of the large numbers of able-bodied men who are taken from industrial occupations—about 1 per cent. of the population—and compelled to serve in the military forces of their country for several years, at wages which, including food, clothing, and lodging, are far below what the same men could earn if free to work as mere labourers.

They little think of the burden imposed upon those countries by the necessity of every male child being registered and under observation from infancy to manhood, so as to prevent escape from liability to military service. Liberty of action is unknown, notice having to be given of every change of residence by parents until the time comes for selection, which is in the first instance effected much in the same way as cattle are chosen in a market. The whole of the male population on reaching maturity are medically inspected, with the exception of notorious cripples, and a very few, such as the only sons of widows, who are legally exempt, and, after rejection of the weakly, the ballot decides who among the able-bodied are to be taken for service.

In Germany, although all are liable, only about one-third are taken for military service, two-thirds remaining free, or only liable to be taken in the event of war, for transport and other non-combatant services. The burden of three years' service with the colours, in the case of some of the young men who are studying for professions, is so great, and so destructive of their professional prospects, that a special provision has been made, by which, if they serve for a year at their own expense, and then pass a satisfactory examination, they are allowed to remain in civil life, subject only to be called out with the reserve for service in war.

By this means young men can pursue their studies without intermission, after completing their year of military service; but the privilege gained is individual, and other members of the same family are not relieved thereby of their liability, but have to take their chance of the ballot when their time comes.

By this system, the tax of military service is imposed by lot, and is exacted alike from all without favour or affection, and without the power of purchasing exemption, would press upon the various classes of society with very different weight. The poor man, if drawn into the service, would get his living whilst losing comparatively little by the change. The artisan, taken at an age when he was acquiring perfection in his art, by being deprived of the power of exercising his craft would not only suffer material loss in this respect, but have to give up a high rate of wages and a comfortable existence for the rough life of a barrack-room, with, comparatively speaking, nominal wages. The interruption of three years in the career of a young man studying a profession, or starting in mercantile business, is, if not ruinous, at least disastrous; while in the case of a young man of wealth and independent means, military service in the ranks may be inconvenient and distasteful by interrupting his pleasures and amusements or preventing foreign travel, but can cause no serious injury; on the contrary, it may be beneficial by teaching habits of discipline. The chance of being drawn for military service, however, is such that in some countries it almost compels the rich to enter the service as officers. It is evident, therefore, that the various classes of society must feel the tax in different degrees, and that it must weigh very unequally upon them; in fact, it is not conceivable that anything but the direst necessity would ever induce a nation to accept compulsory service, and it may well be questioned whether it would even be tolerated under these circumstances, if worked with strict impartiality and justice. The effect, also, of having young men of fortune and high social position in the ranks, which must be the case if there be no power to purchase freedom from service, would be a serious difficulty in the maintenance of order and discipline. If, on the contrary, the power of purchasing exemption from service were granted, its exercise would add to the unequal effects of the burden; the price to be paid would be insignificant to the rich man, very onerous to the man of moderate means, and utterly unattainable by the artisan class. A tax of this nature imposed by lot would be unbearable.

Compulsory service also would not give us what we require, being altogether incompatible with service in India and the Colonies, so much so that France is now contemplating the formation of a small colonial army on the principle of voluntary service.

Thanks to our insular position, the integrity of which is now for the first time threatened by those speculators who are pro-

moting the construction of the Channel Tunnel, we have not hitherto had occasion to have recourse to compulsory service for our army, which, if of similar dimensions to those maintained during peace in Continental countries, would be 352,000 strong within the limit of the United Kingdom, with reserves capable in the event of war of bringing it up to about 1,200,000 men. Hitherto we have been content to maintain a comparatively small army for much more complicated and various duties, including the preservation of peace and order at home; the defence, in conjunction with the navy, of the United Kingdom and our colonies and possessions abroad against foreign enemies; and for securing our interests in the latter from the attacks of dissatisfied and mutinous inhabitants within, and of civilised or semi-civilised people beyond, their borders.

The principal duties of the British army have always been during recent periods of our history in connection with our colonies and possessions beyond the seas, and therefore, until 1854, the army was under the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies; a separate War Department having been created only during the progress of the Crimean War. The duties of the army have remained the same since this change, with the exception that the protection of our Indian possessions has been transferred entirely to the Royal army. The army may also have to take part in Continental wars in the future as it has done in the past under exceptional circumstances; such a contingency, however, since the modern creation of the huge armies of the great Continental Powers, has become less probable, and what we have chiefly to provide for now as formerly, is the defence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and of the Greater Britain beyond the seas. The first and most important means to this end is undoubtedly the navy, which, to be effective, must have its operations based upon coaling and refitting stations in all parts of the world wherever its squadrons and cruisers may be required to operate against an enemy. These should be secured by defences, and protected by adequate garrisons, without which our squadrons might some day find themselves deprived of their means of locomotion, and become, therefore, powerless.

The army, then, is required for the defence of our home shores, and of our coaling and refitting stations at home and abroad, also for the protection of British interests and the maintenance of the Queen's government in those of Her Majesty's possessions, such as India or South Africa, which, from the weakness of the British-born white population, are unduly exposed to operations whether of disaffected persons within, or of enemies beyond, their frontiers. In order to achieve these objects, we maintain an army which, for the last ten years, from 1873 to 1882 inclusive, has averaged 189,343 men of all ranks, of whom 8,042 were officers and 181,301 non-commissioned

officers and men.¹ Of this force, an average of 92,737 non-commissioned officers and men have been at home, about 62,595 in India, and 25,968 in our other possessions; including the Mediterranean fortresses, Hong Kong, Singapore, Ceylon, the Mauritius, South Africa, the West Indies, Bermuda, and the Dominion of Canada.

It will readily be conceded that the force in India is marvellously small in proportion to the extent of the country and the immensity of its population, which very nearly equals that of all continental Europe put together, and that there can be no prospect whatever of its reduction, so long as we retain the government of that country.

The small force, 25,968 men, distributed in our various stations abroad (exclusive of India), is totally inadequate for the defence of those few important positions which, if our ships of war are to keep the sea during a war with one or more maritime Powers, must be maintained for the purposes of supplying them with coal, and of enabling them to be refitted and occasionally docked—an operation which is necessary to prevent them from losing their efficiency as cruisers.

The force at home, 92,737, fulfils several important duties. It supplies our home garrisons and furnishes reliefs for the 88,494 men who are abroad, for which purpose—allowing an average of six years' service for each man beyond the seas—nearly 20,000 would have to be sent from the United Kingdom annually. This force also fulfils the important function of a second line to the troops stationed abroad; with its own reserve, now numbering about 30,000 men, it is the only trained military force the country has to depend upon to reinforce the troops in India, Africa, or elsewhere; to bring up the garrisons of our coaling stations to that strength without which it would be an act of madness to leave them during a war with any powerful maritime State; and to undertake such operations as those which have been lately carried on in Egypt. It is only necessary to recall to mind the events of the mutiny in India, and the consequent demands then made upon our home army, and to reflect upon the possibility of a recurrence—which God forbid—of such a calamity, combined with political difficulties with a European Power, which might compel us to reinforce our more important garrisons abroad, or even with the demands of a South African or Egyptian war, and it will be at once apparent that our military machine is desperately small for the work it has to perform; and that under conditions which may not be by any means remote, and may come upon us very suddenly and quickly, we shall run most dangerous risks if it is not maintained at its full strength, in a thorough state of efficiency and organisation, fit for service at any moment. The present exceptional

¹ During the ten years from 1862 to 1872 the average was 199,400 of all ranks. The largest number during twenty years was in 1862, when the strength of the army was 222,839; and the least number in 1870, when it was 180,444.

call upon its resources to supply a small army of occupation in Egypt takes materially from its strength, and will, if the occupation is prolonged indefinitely, render an increase to the army necessary to enable it to comply with the normal demands to which it is subject.

The question of the efficiency of the army is not one of party, but interests all alike—high and low, rich and poor, Radical or Tory—and is one which the country ought to insist upon having solved in such a way as will leave no doubt that it has its money's worth for the money it expends upon its military organisation. If it were assured that this were the case, instead of being practically convinced that it is not so, an appeal might fairly be made to it to increase its expenditure for these objects; but, unfortunately, the idea is deeply rooted in the public mind—and certainly no military man can contradict it—that the army is not what it ought to be, and that a vast amount of the expenditure upon it is wasted, and even worse than wasted. Many contend, therefore, that it is useless to add to that expenditure until a supreme moment arrives when disturbances occur, and a military force has to be prepared for active service—when, even if it be of small extent, as in Abyssinia, Zululand, or Egypt, a lavish expenditure takes place, much of which would have been avoided under a sound organisation, our whole system is disarranged, and what remains behind after the departure of the expedition is an almost disorganised mass, which it would defy human ingenuity to get into good working order for action within any reasonable limit of time during which a war now-a-days is likely to last. This was the case at the time of the Zulu war; and things were not much improved at the time of the expedition to Egypt. The battalions that remained at home on both of these occasions were generally mere skeletons, totally inadequate for the purpose of training either officers or men, and altogether unfit to receive and assimilate the reserve men which might be sent to complete them. Batteries of artillery were in the most lamentable state, broken up and reduced both in men and horses, so that many of them could have scarcely put a single gun in the field; the cavalry, not having been called upon to send so many men abroad as the other arms of the service, were perhaps not quite in so unfortunate a condition, but it may be confidently asserted that the whole army at home after the departure of the expedition to Egypt was in a lamentable condition. If we inquire into its state at the present moment, when the troops have for the most part been withdrawn from Egypt, we find but little improvement. Men are daily quitting the ranks on the completion of their army service, and are returning to civil life as reserve men, so utterly dissatisfied that they will not accept the bribes that have been offered them in the shape of bounty to continue with the colours; and we see several shiploads of men coming back from India, while the

Government have not the means of replacing them, and before long the very small European force we ordinarily keep there, as the backbone of our power to govern 250 millions of people, will be reduced by a number equivalent to five out of fifty battalions allotted for its defence, and by one out of its nine regiments of cavalry. These men also are being brought home in the height of the summer, when the passage up the Red Sea is attended with risk of loss of health, and will not improve the chances of the men of obtaining employment when sent to the reserve.

- The army at home also is at the present moment more than 8,000 men below its appointed strength, and is daily dwindling away, so that at the end of the present year, unless some extraordinary measures are taken to recruit it, there will be a deficiency of between 15,000 and 20,000 men, which will be increased to between 25,000 and 30,000 next year.

Even the brigade of Her Majesty's Guards, which, according to establishment, voted by Parliament, ought to comprise 5,650 men, exclusive of officers, is nearly one thousand men below its strength. Many battalions of infantry of the line also are so weak that the commanding officer's parades, which all hands are required to attend, are frequently not equal to the strength of a good company; and that the companies taken off duty under a recent general order, with a view to giving the captains an opportunity of training their men, are in numerous battalions mere squads of less than a dozen files with the corporals in the ranks; they are so weak that it is simply ridiculous to suppose that proper instruction can be imparted either to officers or men. This extreme weakness of the battalions unfortunately coincides with a period, when in consequence of the political condition of the country, which finds expression in projects for the destruction of public buildings and property by dynamite, the duties are excessively heavy, so much so that in almost every garrison at home the unfortunate soldiers have seldom more than three nights in bed, as it is termed; that is, every fourth night is passed on guard.

As a natural consequence, the men are dissatisfied, officers in command are obliged to give up instructing their men in field and musketry exercises, and are stimulated to press on the instruction of recruits with undue haste, in order to have more men available, and so to reduce the burden of duty required from the trained soldiers; the young soldiers by thousands yearly purchase their discharges, or desert, while many break down under training, and return to their homes without pensions to drag out a miserable existence, and earn their living as best they can as invalids.² The young soldiers, from their hurried and im-

² 5,581 men under twenty-one years of age have been discharged during the three years 1880-81-82, and 7,177 deserted during the same three years, having less than one year's service. A lieutenant-colonel, in a letter published in the *Standard*

perfect training, are less apt for the special duties which devolve upon them; for which in very many cases they are quite unfit. Meanwhile the soldiers who complete their service in the ranks are passing to the reserve utterly discontented, and the authorities are suddenly awakened to the fact that, from some cause or other, there is not a sufficiency of recruits to keep the army up to the strength which Parliament has voted as necessary for the military service of the nation. There can be no doubt from the General Annual Returns presented to Parliament, that, during the last ten years, 150,000 men have quitted the ranks of the army, and returned to civil life, who almost to a man will give it a bad character, and whose testimony would act as a powerful check to the blandishments of the recruiter. These are exclusive of men who have gone to the reserve.

The *Times* in a leading article of the 23rd of May, with a view to allay what it confesses to be the justifiable anxiety expressed in some quarters on the causes of the present deficiency, begins by stating that the establishment of the army has been increased by about 3,000 rank and file, and the recruiting of 1882 was more than that number below the average of the six years during which the short-service system has been in full operation, connecting the two as cause and effect. The facts, however, are as follows. The number of non-commissioned officers, rank and file, voted in the annual estimates for the financial year 1881-2 was 185,956; for the year 1882-3, 185, 185, or 771 less, instead of 3,000 more than in the year 1882. A supplemental vote for an addition of 10,000 men was given for the despatch of the expeditionary force to Egypt, but this only covered the reserve men who were recalled to the colours. It is true that the vote for the present financial year is for 4,302 more men than for the last; but this has no bearing whatever on the deficiency in 1882, when the number of men enlisted was 3,569 less

on June 8, writes :—'I can assure you, sir, that the first six months of a recruit's life is one of great hardship, and many break down from sheer overwork. From half-past six o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening a recruit has scarcely an hour's relaxation from drill; and when he is thoroughly tired he is expected to concentrate all his energies in mastering the first three rules of arithmetic. Until late in the evening he cannot venture to quit barracks, and then he flies to the public-house, and finds solace for all his woes in drink. I have known many a promising young fellow to have utterly broken down from sheer hard work during the first six months of his service life. Let any member of Parliament call for a return of soldiers who purchase their discharge during the first three months of their service. Considerable astonishment at the numbers of men who pay their 10*l*. would be evinced. The enormous amount of instruction soldiers now-a-days have to undergo, within a comparatively short period of time, acts as a perpetual nightmare over them, and they count the days when they will be legally free from the service. Is it any wonder, then, that these young fellows should carry the tale of their experiences into their native villages? I venture to assert that not a commanding officer in the service would be found to deny the truth of my statements.'

than the average of the preceding six years, while the number of men voted by Parliament was actually 771 less than for the preceding year.

The *Times* tells us that the obligation rests upon us to see that no deterrent not necessary for the preservation of discipline is allowed to stand in the way of recruiting, and then goes on to say that bad commanding officers and severe punishments for trifling errors are strong deterrents; that any one can govern in a state of siege, and any commanding officer can for the moment preserve discipline or its outward appearance by extreme severity. No officer who had ever commanded a body of men would subscribe to this doctrine, but would unhesitatingly pronounce it absurd and entirely opposed to all practical experience of command. It is well known by officers, and will undoubtedly be acknowledged by all steady, well-behaved soldiers, that that regiment is the most comfortable for all ranks where the strictest discipline is maintained, where the commanding officer never overlooks a breach of discipline either by officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, and every one under his command, being thoroughly aware of the fact, takes care to avoid coming before him for a fault. This maintenance of strict discipline is not incompatible with, but is almost invariably accompanied by the greatest consideration for the men's comfort, by the promotion of amusements and games, and by the granting of every indulgence which does not interfere with the demands of duty. The commanding officer who is just to all and exercises authority without favour or affection for any one, combined with due consideration for the comforts and amusements of his men, is certain to secure the esteem and affection of all under his command; while none of them would demand or even wish that his power of punishment should be diminished, but on the contrary would uphold it as tending to their welfare and comfort, by repressing the vagabonds of whom there must always be a certain proportion in every regiment, and preventing them from being a pest and annoyance to their better behaved and more respectable comrades.

By command thus exercised numbers of bad characters have been reclaimed, and have had habits of regularity forced upon them which before long enter into their natures, and make them in the later years of their service staunch supporters of their officers, and good examples to their younger comrades, and ultimately, when they leave the service, good and useful citizens.

This, I believe, is a fair description of the great majority of commanding officers; but alas! here and there one is to be found, although very rarely—and where can a rule be named to which there is no exception?—who may be described as a bad commanding officer, and who attempts to do what the *Times* appears to endeavour to induce the public to believe is the ordinary proceeding of commanding

officers of the British army, viz. to govern in a state of siege. It is well known throughout the army, and no one knows it better than the Commander-in-Chief, that whenever a regiment or corps is afflicted by a commanding officer who does so govern, that corps is always in comparatively bad order, the outward appearance of discipline is not maintained, and it has more crime among its members than the corps governed by the normal commander, such as is described above. It is a gross libel on the officers of the army to suppose that martinets are not of very rare occurrence, and therefore in this, as in the statement of numbers before referred to, the *Times* endeavours to throw the public on a wrong scent as to the real cause of the want of recruits. In drawing attention to this deterrent the writer of the leader premises it by stating that the official returns show that these Draconic measures of commanding officers have not brought about a sensible diminution of crime. These returns show only too clearly that there has not been a diminution, but, on the contrary, a considerable and steady increase, going on for some years, in crimes which unfortunately are of that aggravated nature that for the most part commanding officers have no option but to send the offenders for trial by court martial.

The following analysis of crime in the British army, which has been carefully compiled from the published annual returns, will speak for itself. These returns extend from 1872, the first published, to 1882 for the army at home, and to 1881 for the army abroad. The average number of troops having varied as much as from 105,006 to 84,380 at home, and from 99,068 to 83,511 abroad, in different years during this period, the numbers of courts martial, crimes, and punishments have been calculated in all cases for 100,000 men, so as to obtain a fair comparison, and from these the increase or decrease per cent. has been computed, as compared with 1872, the first year for which the full information is given. The table refers to the first and last years for which the returns have been published, and to 1877, which is intermediate between them. The full information for each year would be too bulky to publish, but it completely confirms the deduction to be made as to the increase of crime.

The first point that strikes one is the difference between the numbers of courts martial at home and abroad, due in great measure to the fact that there are few cases of desertion, and of offences relative to enlistment, abroad, compared with those at home. As this class of offence is differently treated under the new Army Discipline Act from what it was under the old Mutiny Act, this class of crime has been omitted in the comparisons which follow. After deducting, then, this class of offence, it will be found that there were 7,137 courts martial at home, and only 5,718 abroad, for each 100,000 men in 1872. There was no great variation from this proportion up to 1878, when there was a rapid increase of crime abroad, so that in 1881 there

Abstract compiled from General Annual Returns of the British Army for the years 1872, 1877, 1881, and 1882, showing the number of Courts Martial held, the offences for which the men were tried, and some of the punishments inflicted, reduced for comparison to 100,000 men in all cases; also the percentage of increase or decrease for each year above or below 1872.

	AT HOME						ABROAD					
	1872	1877		1881		1882	1872	1877		1881		1882
	Number	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Number	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number
Number of Courts Martial	9,408	11,145	18	10,706	14	9,243	5,924	5,792	2	7,621	29	7,621
Desertion and offences relating to enlistment	2,271	3,211	41	2,871	26	2,393	205	285	33	280	36	280
Number of Courts Martial, exclusive of desertion, &c.	7,137	7,934	11	7,835	9	6,850	5,718	5,507	4	7,341	28	7,341
Violence to superiors and insubordination	1,153	1,377	19	1,862	61	1,810	898	900	—	1,502	67	1,502
Quitting or sleeping on post	202	255	26	380	88	322	230	305	33	372	62	372
Drunk on duty	470	747	59	1,232	162	1,077	913	982	2	1,682	85	1,682
Drunk on duty	1,000	1,419	42	1,059	6	880	1,478	1,373	7	1,304	12	1,304
Disgraceful conduct	403	654	65	339	16	324	338	467	17	388	3	388
Absence without leave	2,725	2,676	2	2,144	21	1,821	825	860	5	1,509	83	1,509
Making away with necessaries	2,038	4,255	109	2,627	29	2,081	1,005	1,324	32	1,582	55	1,582
Miscellaneous	1,714	3,238	89	2,627	53	2,523	1,278	1,511	20	2,005	57	2,005
<i>Punishments.</i>												
Reduction to the ranks	1,001	1,171	17	1,830	83	1,337	1,131	915	19	1,582	40	1,582
Reduction to the ranks and imprisonment	81	169	100	293	262	219	98	125	27	293	199	293
Solitary confinement	5,018	9,371	87	8,161	63	7,272	4,161	4,313	4	5,206	25	5,206
Imprisonment, with or without hard labour	9,037	10,782	19	10,365	14	8,940	5,539	5,457	—	7,239	31	7,239
Total punishments by Courts Martial	99,306	97,610	—	87,992	—	90,075	83,709	84,832	—	93,194	—	93,194
Strength of the Army on which the above calculations are based	100,000	100,000	—	100,000	—	100,000	100,000	100,000	—	100,000	—	100,000

Returns not yet published.

were 7,835 at home and 7,341 abroad. It is true the number at home fell to 6,850 in 1882, but the returns are not yet published for that year with reference to the army abroad. The number of courts martial at home has fluctuated during the period under consideration, having been less than in 1872 in three out of the ten years included in the returns, and more in the other seven years,³ while the numbers abroad were below those in 1872 until 1880, when they suddenly increased, and were 10 per cent. and in 1882 28 per cent. in excess of 1872.

This analysis shows that the cases of violence to superiors, and insubordination, increased in the army at home by 57 per cent. from 1872 to 1882, and by 67 per cent. in the army abroad; that cases of quitting or sleeping as sentries on their posts increased by 59 per cent. at home, and by 62 per cent. abroad; that the number of men tried for being drunk on duty more than doubled, having increased 129 per cent. at home, whilst the number abroad increased 85 per cent. The frequency of the offence of making away with necessaries was about the same at home, and had increased 56 per cent. abroad; and offences classed under the head of miscellaneous increased 47 per cent. at home and 57 per cent. abroad. The number of trials for simple drunkenness had decreased by 11 per cent. at home and 12 per cent. abroad; that of absence without leave had decreased 33 per cent. at home, but had increased 83 per cent. abroad. In the last two offences it was to be expected that there would be a diminution of courts martial, consequent on the changes introduced by the Army Discipline Acts, which give commanding officers the power of disposing of them more freely, without having recourse to court martial. These causes more than account for the slight diminution in the number of courts martial at home in 1882. The trials for disgraceful conduct have diminished during the last three years at home, having been 36 per cent. less in 1882, and 3 per cent. less abroad; but this again is most probably due to changes introduced by recent legislation. Offences more especially connected with discipline, comprising acts of violence to superiors, and insubordination, neglect of duty as sentries, drunkenness on duty, and making away with necessaries, taken together, increased 37 per cent. in the army at home between 1872 and 1882, and 68 per cent. in the army abroad between 1872 and 1881.

If we look now to the punishments inflicted by sentence of court martial, it will be seen that the most serious part of the whole comparison is the lamentable increase of punishment among the non-commissioned ranks. The number of simple reductions to the ranks

³ In 1873 the number of courts martial at home (exclusive of those for desertion), and offences relative to enlistment, was fewer than in any subsequent year—even than in 1882, which, in the debates in Parliament, the Judge Advocate-General claimed as exhibiting a diminution of crime.

has increased 34 per cent. at home and 40 per cent. abroad. This, if it had stood alone, might have passed without comment, as attributable probably to the greater youth and inexperience of the present class of non-commissioned officers now serving; but unfortunately it is followed by the record of cases of reduction accompanied by imprisonment, which implies a more serious class of offence than mere neglect of duty; these cases have increased by 170 per cent. at home and 199 per cent. abroad, or nearly trebled both at home and abroad. The cases of solitary confinement, or imprisonment with or without hard labour, have also increased by 45 per cent. at home and 25 per cent. abroad, whilst the total punishments awarded in 1882 were 1 per cent. fewer at home than in 1872, and those abroad in 1881 were 31 per cent. more.

This critical examination of returns leads to a very different conclusion from that insinuated in the *Times* leader. It is not that commanding officers, by their harshness and severity for trifling errors, are strong deterrents to men entering the service, but that from some cause discipline is not what it used to be, nor what it ought to be; and, as a consequence, it is more than probable that the service is less comfortable. This, among other reasons, may help to account for the numbers who desert, and purchase their discharge, and for men refusing to continue with the colours at the expiration of their period of army service, or after they have been called up from the reserve.

So far as the analysis of crimes and punishments goes, there is evidently one cause which must operate most prejudicially upon discipline, and that is the deterioration in the quality of non-commissioned officers, as evidenced by the greatly increased number tried and punished by sentence of courts martial. Nothing can be more calculated to destroy the comfort of a regiment than the want of steady, respectable non-commissioned officers; but, as an old colour-sergeant, lately discharged after twenty-one years' service, told me, non-commissioned officers now have a 'very rough time of it;' the men who join are not nearly so amenable to discipline, and, he added, one main reason was that they were always being shifted about, and therefore did not make their regiments their home, as they used to formerly; the inference being that they do not respect the authority of the non-commissioned officers, as they might at any time be removed from the superintendence of any one who was obnoxious to them.

It is evident, both from the deficiency of recruits, and from the increase of crime, that some very decided changes in our military system must be made without delay, to prevent the army, such as it is, from melting away and from losing cohesion by a still further increase of crime and loss of discipline.

Not to go further back in the history of the present army

organisation than 1880, when Lord Airey's committee framed their report, the Government were then informed that under the existing conditions of service, and with the rate of depletion then going on, the demand for recruits had for several years been steadily increasing, and that, according to actuarial calculations, close upon 36,000 recruits would be required annually to keep it up to its establishment. The only changes of importance introduced since that date are those described to the House of Commons by Mr. Childers on the 3rd of March 1881. The pay and position of non-commissioned officers have been improved; the period of army service in the cavalry, artillery, and engineers has been reduced from 8 to 7 years, while that in the infantry has been increased from 6 to 7 years, all soldiers serving abroad being made liable to remain with the colours for 8 years. By the Army Act of 1881 power has been given to send men compulsorily into the reserve, if ordered beyond the seas, after 5 years' service. The legal conditions of service therefore are, that a soldier may be retained with the colours for, and transferred to the reserve after, 5, 6, 7, or 8 years, without any power on his part of selecting for which of these periods he will serve.

No estimate was submitted to Parliament of the probable number of recruits required to keep the army up to its establishment under this new scheme; but so confident was the Secretary of State of the sufficiency of the labour market to supply the demands of the service, that, recognising the fact that youths under 19 are not the men who are wanted, he raised the minimum age of enlistment from 18 to 19, 'and not only to that age nominally, but so that no man who (though 19) has not the physical equivalent of that age will be accepted. He would have been glad to raise the minimum age to 20, and hoped that might be possible before long.' As this change from 6 to practically 8 years' service would have an unfavourable effect on the army reserve, he proposed 'that men serving at home and likely to be sent abroad should be at liberty and indeed encouraged, if the state of recruiting permitted, to go into the reserve after completing 3 or 4 years' service.'

These changes, which were introduced in 1881, could not alter the conditions of service of men previously enlisted, and could therefore have no effect in preventing them from going to the reserve after completing the periods of colour service for which they engaged. The result is that until 1887 depletion of the ranks of the army will go on under the old system, and those that remain of the 80,000 men enlisted for 6 years' army service during the four years 1877-80 and part of 1881, and 27,124 enlisted for 8 years in the cavalry, artillery, and engineers, will be entitled to go to the reserve before the changes introduced by Mr. Childers begin to take effect.

During this period the reserve will grow comparatively with rapidity, and if not interfered with, and if it also does not waste away

in the same manner as the army does, may possibly approach the number 66,258 calculated by the Government actuaries as its probable strength in 1888; but the army itself will be depleted more and more every year, unless strong measures are taken to stop it.

The expedients that have been approved are contained in a memorandum presented to Parliament, and are as follows:—

Under existing regulations non-commissioned officers are entitled to extend their colour service to 12 years, while lance-corporals, soldiers in very special cases (not specified), and on embarkation for foreign service, are allowed to extend their service to 10 years with the colours, in the latter case with a bounty of 2*l.* Re-engagement to go on for a pension is permitted as follows:—

1. Sergeants and schoolmasters, subject only to the veto of the Secretary of State. . .

2. Other non-commissioned officers, bandsmen, buglers, and artificers, on the recommendation of their commanding officers.

3. Soldiers during their 12th year,⁴ of good character and *especially* recommended by their commanding officers.

The following modifications have been adopted *until further orders*:—

The privilege of extending colour service and of re-engaging as stated above, are continued with the following additions:—

4. Men will be allowed to extend their colour service to 12 years with the privilege of re-engaging in their 12th year of service for a second period of service and for pension, provided they are physically qualified and are recommended by their commanding officer.

5. A bounty of 2*l.* is offered to men serving in regiments having their foreign battalions in India to extend their service to 12 years. And to meet the deficiency in the Guards, a bounty of 2*l.* to men of the line returning from India who are willing to complete the remainder of their term of 12 years in the Guards; men now in the Guards are offered to extend their service to 12 years as in No. 4. And a new enlistment is approved for 3 years with the colours and 9 with the reserve, with power of extension to complete 7 years with the colours and subsequently to complete 12 years, after which re-engagements will be allowed as in other arms; but men who serve only 3 years will not receive deferred pay unless they extend their colour service, in which case they will be allowed it from the date of enlistment.

Unfortunately the confidence of soldiers in the stability of regulations under which they have been induced and have contracted

⁴ These must be exceptional cases, as lance-corporals and soldiers are only allowed to extend their service to ten years; and Mr. Childers, in his speech, claimed as an offset to the great increase in deferred and reserved pay, a solid reduction in the pension-list, which for non-commissioned officers and men is rapidly approaching 2,000,000*l.* a year, but which, under our proposed system, will be applicable mainly to non-commissioned officers.

to serve, and which they conceive were framed in their interest as much as in that of the Government, has received a severe shock by a late decision that non-commissioned officers are to be forthwith discharged who after re-engagement may commit an offence involving reduction, even though it may be only for some breach or failure to maintain discipline, and may not in any way affect their characters for integrity, sobriety, or respectability. The soldier's understanding on re-engagement is, that he engages to serve on to 21 years subject to discharge if his health breaks down, in which case he would be invalided and have a claim to pension, or by sentence of court martial for any ignominious act; and that on their completion he is entitled to a pension of 13*d.* a day if a private, and at a higher rate according to his rank, ranging up to 2*s.* 9*d.* for a 1st class sergeant. It is true the warrant provides that he may be granted a pension of 8*d.* as a private soldier after completing 14 years' service, with an increase of a halfpenny for every additional year; but none for any less period. A sergeant, then, of otherwise irreproachable character, but who may be reduced for some military offence, has no opportunity of regaining his stripes, and with it his right to a higher rate of pension, but is peremptorily sent adrift without any pension whatever, if he should happen to commit himself before completing his 14th year of service. In other words, taking the rates published by the Postmaster-General, upon which the Government grant annuities, as a basis for calculation, he will be mulcted, to the advantage of the Government, of a pension which, if he had been allowed to complete 14 years, would have been worth about 220*l.* This fine is entirely outside of, and in addition to, the sentence of his court martial, and therefore its imposition appears to the soldier, not without reason, to be unjust. The result is that commanding officers hesitate to send men for trial, and courts martial hesitate to award sentences involving such a heavy penalty, which as a consequence, although not part of the sentence, will deprive a man of the chance of re-establishing his character and earning a higher rate of pension, and in some cases deprive him altogether of pension, and consign him after 12 or 13 years' service, with his wife and family, to misery and pauperism.

Such proceedings as this cast a doubt in the minds of soldiers on all regulations granting permission at some future period to extend their service and go on to pension, subject to the veto of the Secretary of State, or to the recommendation of the commanding officer. Soldiers now-a-days scrutinise warrants and regulations with keenness, and are quick to detect any flaw which might be turned to their disadvantage; they know perfectly well that if the Secretary of State reserves to himself the right of veto in the case of sergeants and schoolmasters, and that if other men only of good character, and specially recommended by their commanding officers, are to be allowed to re-engage

to serve on to pension, they do not acquire an absolute right to continue; but the regulations may be interpreted some years hence, when their time comes, to mean that only a few special men are to be re-engaged, and to be allowed to serve on to pension. They are the more ready to accept this interpretation, because they know that if the Government has the right to, and does, get rid of them at the end of 12 years, it will save their pensions, which are in effect granted not for 21 years, but for the last 9 years of their service. In fact it is to this saving of pension that Mr. Childers alluded when speaking of the solid reduction of the pension list now approaching 2,000,000*l.* a year. It is doubtful under these circumstances, therefore, whether the so-called privileges, adopted with a view to meeting the present crisis in the prospects of the army, will meet with any real or substantial success. If not, then the other alternative which has been adopted will practically be the only one for filling the ranks of the army, viz. an abandonment of the regulations approved two years ago by Mr. Childers, and of the still more hopeful prospects he then held out to Parliament, and a reversion to the enlistment of boys. Parliament has been informed that the restrictions introduced by Mr. Childers have been the principal cause in the falling off of recruits; and that this accounts for the fact that out of 45,385 persons who were served with notices of recruiters, only 23,555 were passed into the service in 1882. It is worthy of remark, however, that the number of persons who came forward for enlistment in each of the years 1880, 1881, and 1882 was almost identical—that only 877 more were rejected in 1882 prior to attestation than in 1881; but that the chief cause of the falling off was that 1,230 more failed to come up for attestation in 1882 than in 1881, and 2,351 more than in 1880; which indicates that after the men had been served with notices, adverse influences were more actively at work to prevent them from consummating their intention to serve by attestation.

It must also be borne in mind that, according to the report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, there appears to be a steady falling off in the physical condition of the persons who come forward for enlistment. He reports that whereas there were 260 per 1,000 under nineteen years of age who offered themselves in 1879, 316 in 1880, and only 188 in 1881, those weighing less than eight stone eight pounds increased in number contrary to what might have been expected, having been 96, 131, and 174 per 1,000 for the same three years respectively, as also did those under 5 feet 6 inches in height, who numbered 302, 366, and 513 per 1,000 for the same three years.

The Secretary of State announced on the 1st of June that he had relaxed the stringency of Mr. Childers's rules in regard to recruiting, and that as a consequence we have been recruiting lately an average of 600 men per week, and that the preceding week we recruited 740 men. This sounds like a great success; but if it turns out that the

men who have come forward for enlistment are of the same type and in like number with those upon whom notices were served during the last three years—which is more than probable—the success will have been gained by accepting more of the jockey weights and immature youths.⁵ The result will be that if the pledges given by former Secretaries of State as to service in India are maintained—that is, that no soldier shall be sent out to India under twenty years of age, or with less than one year's service—there will be great difficulty when the relief season comes, if not an impossibility, of sending out the full reliefs to India, which next year will have to supply the vacancies (about 5,000) by which the army in India will be short before the trooping season begins—the ordinary casualties of the year due to death and sickness, and the places of 8,000 or 9,000 men whose term of service will expire in 1884, or of such of them at least as do not choose to re-engage, and of 4,000 more in the colonies.

The country may also expect to see a repetition, if occasion should arise, of what occurred when the expedition to Egypt was started, when more than 450 men were weeded out from one single battalion, and left behind as unfit for service in the field, while many more were taken who, if the war had lasted a little longer, and tried their powers of endurance severely, would probably soon have been invalidated.

The *Saturday Review*, in an able article on the army, says with great truth that

A recruit does not mean anything on two legs that can be induced to enter the army; it means *a man capable of being made a useful soldier* as soon as he has undergone the necessary training. The evils of enlisting boys of eighteen have been set out again and again, and there seemed reason to hope that when Mr. Childers raised the age to nineteen it was intended to mark the permanent limit below which recruits would not be taken. With this limit it seemed possible to arrive at some assurance as to the sufficiency of the terms offered. If the numbers were maintained, it would prove that the pay and other inducements were enough for the purpose; if they fell away, it would prove that the pay and other inducements were not enough for the purpose. The rule in question has now been in operation for one year, and it has already served to show that if we want to fill the army with really useful stuff we must pay a higher price for it. Thereupon the Government decide to go back to a modified version of the system which was got rid of last year. It is not proposed, Lord Hartington says, to resort to a lower standard of age altogether, but greater discretion is to be given to medical officers with regard to the age at which a recruit is taken. But these officers already possess all the discretion that can usefully be vested in them. They may now take recruits under nineteen, provided they have 'the physical equivalent of

⁵ The wickedness of engaging immature lads for service in the army has been well illustrated lately by a most interesting and touching story, entitled the *Little Bugler of Kassassin*, written by the widow of an officer of rank; being a true story of the war in Egypt, and published by James Nisbet & Co., of Berners Street. Its perusal is strongly recommended to all who take an interest in the army.

nineteen.' In future, therefore, they will be allowed to take boys who have neither the age nor the strength that has been insisted on for one solitary year. The rule by which medical officers are to guide themselves is no longer anything precise and ascertainable; it is simply their impression that a boy may be made a useful soldier by-and-by, though, he cannot be made one at the time of enlistment.

The significance of the change is further shown by Lord Hartington's warning that 'if this measure should not succeed, it will become necessary to consider whether we should go back to the age of eighteen.' That, he added, is a step which he would be very unwilling to take 'unless the necessity for it is most clearly proved.' But can the necessity for enlisting immature soldiers be clearly proved? What is shown by the falling off in the number of recruits is not that the standard is too high, but that the terms offered are too low. The standard must be decided by medical considerations, with which the number of men offering themselves for enlistment has nothing to do. Lord Hartington speaks as though the terms at present offered were immutable. If they will give us the right sort of recruits, so much the better; if they will not give us the right sort of recruits, so much the worse. But, either way, the sort of recruits they do give us are the sort with which we must put up. This seems to us the worst possible policy, not merely from the point of view of efficiency, but from that of economy also.

If this policy is carried out, the battalions at home in their normal state will be composed to a great extent of inefficient lads; and in order to have a force of 9,157 British infantry, such as fought at Tel-el-Kebir, the men of which were on the average 25 years 4 months old, and had served $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, and of whom less than 900 were under 21 years of age, or even a force of half that size composed of such materials, we shall invariably be compelled to have recourse to the reserve. Our home force not being in a condition to meet the demands of our small wars, the men of the reserve will be constantly liable to be called out. Instead of their service being limited to great wars, such as in the terms of the Act regulating it are contemplated by the words 'imminent national danger or great emergency,' the Government will have to declare a Zulu war or an Afghan war a great emergency, and as a natural result the men will find it difficult to get employment, and recruits will be deterred thereby from entering the service.

Although Lord Wolseley has spoken in the highest terms of boy soldiers, he has not backed his opinions by his actions, having carefully excluded immature youths from the force he commanded in the field; and although the official reports of the operations after Tel-el-Kebir have not been published, and the details respecting them have been withheld from the public, their production having been refused when asked for by a member of Parliament, it is no secret that the march from the field of battle to Zagazig was the most severe test to which the power of endurance of any part of the infantry in Egypt was put; that it was a march which redounds to the credit of the army; and that it was performed by the infantry and artillery of the Indian contingent, of which the Seaforth Highlanders (formerly 72nd) and a battery of European artillery formed a

very important part, all old soldiers, who had accompanied Sir F. Roberts on the march from Cabul to Candahar.

The selection of these troops for this arduous march, in succession, without intervening rest, to the night-march preceding the battle, shows Lord Wolseley's appreciation of well-seasoned soldiers of mature age, and that even if the country is satisfied with the jockey weights and boys it is getting, those who will have command in our wars will have nothing to do with them in the field. It is inconceivable, therefore, that the nation can allow the relaxation of the very moderate physical conditions required under Mr. Childers's regulations, and by a mere statement of numbers be cajoled into the belief that it has an army of the strength Parliament considers necessary as a minimum to meet the military requirements of the country.

So much for the temporary expedients which are to be in force until further orders, with a view to meeting the very serious crisis with which the army is threatened. Some such expedients are urgently required; but the chief object ought to be to find some remedy which shall give a prospect of permanence, and then to endeavour to find expedients which will work in with them. With this view it will be well to consider what the country requires for its military service.

From what has preceded it will be apparent that three categories of men are required for service in the army.

1. A superior class, from whom the non-commissioned ranks may be selected—men of respectability, with a certain amount of education, and possessed of characters that shall have influence with, and command the respect of, the soldiers.

2. A body of men who, after having received their training as soldiers at home, will be content to serve abroad in India or the colonies for a period of not less than six years, which, as stated by Mr. Childers after due consideration of medical and military opinions, is 'about the time during which a soldier who is not invalided should generally be kept in India.'

3. Another body, who will serve for a period of three or four years, sufficient to receive a sound training as soldiers, and then return as reserve men to civil life with a small retaining-fee, subject to the condition that they shall be liable, under certain conditions, for a certain number of years, to be called back to the colours.

At present the attempt is made to enlist men with power to retain them, *nolens volens*, for five, six, seven, or eight years, at the pleasure of the War Department; and if recruiting should be brisk it is hoped that a considerable number not required for service abroad will, of their own free will, quit the colours and go to the reserve. The question naturally arises, Are these conditions compatible with a well-organised army of contented soldiers?

How are the men, who are all engaged in the first instance on the

same terms, to be selected for their various periods of service? A man who has enlisted and finds he has mistaken his calling cannot, under existing regulations, select to leave after three or four years' service, but may be retained for eight; whilst another, who would be glad to go abroad and remain for eight years may be encouraged to go after three or four years, and may be turned out, whether he wishes it or not, after five years. Such terms have only to be stated to make their one-sided nature apparent. It cannot be expected that such an arrangement can be acceptable to an intending recruit, and its mere statement would suffice to deter any man not under the pressure of want from enlisting.

As regards men of the first category, Lord Airey's committee strongly recommended, as the chief inducement for them to enlist, that if they once became non-commissioned officers and passed a year of probation as such in a satisfactory manner, they should acquire an *absolute right* to serve on to pension, with the option of quitting the service on the expiration of the period for which they were originally engaged. By these means a man would have a career assured to him for life, with a door open by which, if he felt himself not quite equal to the duties of his position, he could leave the service without disgrace or loss of character. Unfortunately, this recommendation was not accepted; a non-commissioned officer may extend his service to twelve years, but then a power of veto is reserved by the Secretary of State in the case of sergeants, and a special recommendation is required in the case of other non-commissioned officers before they are allowed to re-engage to serve on to pension. And as the Secretary of State has assumed the power of discharging men after re-engagement it is naturally inferred that rules may be made which will virtually do away with the absolute right to re-engage, and thus deprive a man of the right to serve on to pension, and with it of that portion of the pension which he might fairly consider he had earned by twelve years' service.

The difficulties that would attend the engagement of men on enlistment, in one of three categories each under different conditions, would be almost insurmountable, and, moreover, such a proceeding would be objectionable because there are no satisfactory means of ascertaining the characters and qualities of the men who offer themselves for enlistment. The remedy that suggests itself is that all men should be enlisted as at present for twelve years, but with a shorter term of three or four years with the colours, as now approved experimentally for the Guards. By this means, sufficient time would be gained for training every man for the reserve; the country would thus be guaranteed a fair return for the expense to which it would be put during the training of the men, who, if they found the service distasteful, would look forward to release within a reasonable time.

During these three years time would be afforded for the selection of promising young men for the non-commissioned ranks, who, if fair inducements were held out to them, and a career assured by an absolute right to serve on to pension, would be encouraged to continue in the service. If these conditions were made clear, it is not unreasonable to anticipate that a large number of young men of a better class, who throughout the country are seeking employment, would come forward in the hope of earning a provision for life, and with the prospect that some few of their number might rise to the higher position of commissioned officers. The number of this class required in the service is about 35,000 men.

During the three years, also, such men as were inclined to do so should be induced to prolong their service with the colours for nine years, by which means provision would be made for India and our garrisons abroad. The inducement might be in the shape of increased pay or deferred pay, or in such other form as might be found acceptable, the principle being recognised that men who engage for longer service abroad should receive more pay than those who serve for three years only at home.

The determination of the rates of pay for all soldiers should proceed upon one of two principles:—either the men should receive full value for their services at an agreed rate, to be paid in clothing, board, lodging, and ready money, or in money part of which might be in the form of deferred pay, and placed in the savings bank to their credit:—or they should receive a reduced amount of pay, &c., with the promise of a life pension on the termination of their service, each being regulated as to amount with reference to the other—the higher the pay the less the pension; and, *vice versa*, the higher the pension the less the pay. The total remuneration in all cases, however, must be determined with reference to the value of labour throughout the country, and a necessary condition, which has never been sufficiently attended to, the engagement or contract for service when entered into should be clear, simple, and intelligible.

The first method of payment is perhaps the best calculated to meet the demands of a short service of 3 to 6 years with the colours, but the second is that which is most appropriate for a longer service. It would, however, be objectionable to grant life pensions for short services of 10 or 12 years, but an alternative suggests itself which is worthy of consideration as applicable to any length of service. The pensions of private soldiers as regulated by warrant are such that a sum of about 8*d.* put away daily during service would, with accumulated interest at 3 per cent., yield a sufficient sum, according to the Post Office Assurance Tables, at the termination of their service, whether of 14, 16, 18, or 20 years, to secure the payment of the regulated pension for the remainder of their lives. This being the case, it would be only just and fair to place 8*d.* a day in the savings

bank for each man who engaged to continue serving with the colours beyond 3 or 4 years, and that he should receive it if he should leave the service before becoming entitled to pension. If a non-commissioned officer, this payment would merge in the higher rate of pay and pension to which he would become entitled. Some inducement of this sort, coupled with a more definite promise as to the terms of re-engagement, would appear advisable in the present crisis to keep men in the service who are entitled to leave it.

By the means here suggested recruits after enlistment would divide themselves, by a natural process of selection in which each would consult his own inclinations, into the three required categories. If this were done, battalions might be made up for service abroad, so that on their embarkation every man would have from 6 to 7 years' service to complete before the termination of his engagement; the battalion during its tour of service abroad, if 1,000 strong, would, according to well-established statistics extending over many years, require only 50 men yearly to feed it, who might be sent direct from the dépôts, without going to the linked battalions at all. On completion of its term of service abroad the battalion would come home, and be kept on a reduced establishment until its turn came to be again put on the roster to go abroad, the old soldiers being sent to the reserve to complete their twelve years, with a good round sum of money in their pockets.

The objects to be gained by this arrangement are: the battalions at home will cease to be mere feeders to those abroad; each will be independent of the other, except as regards the promotion of officers; and men, after having been sent from the dépôts to their battalions, will acquire a home among comrades with whom they will serve so long as they remain in the army. These are objects which every officer desires, and would go far towards restoring the popularity of the service; but other measures besides these are required, and none more than an improvement in the treatment and instruction of recruits.

It is useless to attempt to devise any measures for the improvement of the army so long as the waste continues, and men run out of it like water through a sieve. As a proof, the following facts, deduced from published returns which cannot be repudiated by the authorities, are conclusive. The numbers are not selected arbitrarily, but comprise the total number of men contained in all the published returns, from 1872, when the first was issued, until the present time, which contain the stated information. Of 19,530 men enlisted into the cavalry during 8 years, 6,531, being almost exactly one-third, had left it before the end of the year after that in which they enlisted; and 8,112, or two-fifths, before the end of the following year. The average service of the whole had been about 10 months, and their cost to the country more than 450,000*l.*

Similarly, of 31,527 men enlisted into the artillery, 8,032, or rather more than one-fourth, had gone before the end of the year following that in which they enlisted, and 10,394, or about one-third, before the end of the next year. The average service of the whole had been about 11 months, and they had cost the country more than 850,000*l.*

In the infantry of the line the loss was proportionately rather less. Out of 118,221 men who enlisted, 30,036, or more than one-fourth, were gone before the end of the year following that in which they enlisted, and 32,823 before the end of the next year, having cost more than 1,500,000*l.*

In the Foot Guards the loss has been much less during the first years of service, having been only 1,040 out of 6,496, or less than one-sixth, at the end of the year following that in which they enlisted, and 1,550 before the end of the subsequent year.

The general result for the whole army is that out of 186,469 men who enlisted during 8 years, 47,648, or one-fourth, had disappeared before the end of the year succeeding that in which they enlisted, and 54,993 before the end of the second year, with an average of little more than 10 months' service. These men had cost the country the enormous sum of 3,150,000*l.*, without yielding any return, the whole sum having been entirely wasted. After making due allowance for death and disease, and for dismissal for misconduct, it is clear that 45,000 fewer recruits would have been required during these eight years to keep the army up to its strength; and if waste at subsequent periods of service were included, it could be conclusively proved that from 7,000 to 8,000 fewer recruits would be required annually, if only the men were contented, and remained in the service during the periods for which they engage to serve. As the actual number of recruits enlisted below 19 years of age during the last 9 years has been only 58,898, it is evident that if this costly and useless waste could have been prevented, it would not have been necessary to enlist any of these youths, and the army would still have been complete to its establishment. This is a clear and definite answer to those who say we cannot keep the army full without enlisting boys.

One other fact is worthy of note from the figures stated above. Lord Airey's committee recommended large training dépôts in place of the extravagantly costly little dépôts now in vogue. They would be attended with a very large saving of expense, would secure better training for recruits, and tend to check desertion and crime. They referred to the Guards' dépôt as a somewhat analogous establishment to those they recommended for the whole army. The views of the committee receive strong confirmation from the fact that the Guards lose on the average only 68 men per 1,000, against 124 lost by the infantry of the line, during the year in which they enlist, and only 155 against 250 per 1,000 before the end of the next year. This

difference is equivalent to a saving of nearly 3,000 men a year for the whole army.

The conclusion arrived at from the foregoing considerations is that the outflow of men from the army must be stopped without delay; not merely by temporary measures such as have been adopted, but by endeavouring to make men contented in and with the service, and thus to prevent the waste which is ruining the army by scattering broadcast over the country a dissatisfied body of men, who to the number of at least 150,000 (exclusive of 34,000 reserve men) have gone back to civil life since 1870, and who, almost without exception, may be assumed to be living agencies operating energetically and actively as checks to the blandishments of recruiters. If nothing be done in this direction, and the country become more saturated with these discontented men, it may become impossible to recover lost ground, and to keep up our army by voluntary enlistment; and the cry of some, that we must have recourse to forced service and conscription, will have to be considered if we are to have an army at all commensurate with the great responsibilities we have assumed in all parts of the world, with the protection of our commerce, which has reached the enormous figure of more than 800,000,000*l.* a year, and with the maintenance of our integrity as a great Power.

J. L. A. SIMMONS.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. LXXVIII.—AUGUST 1883.

WHY NOT PURCHASE THE SUEZ CANAL?

THE convention, by which M. de Lesseps proposed to construct a second Suez Canal at the cost of England, is at an end. It has died prematurely, and its decease is, I suspect, scarcely regretted even by its responsible parents. Indeed, the only persons who have much cause to deplore the untoward result of this abortive negotiation are speculators for a rise in Suez Canal shares. It would, however, be a grave mistake to suppose that the idea of a second Suez Canal will be allowed to drop because this particular attempt to carry it out has proved a failure. On the contrary, it may be taken for granted that the new Canal will be made, and that, too, at no distant period. Whatever difficulties may stand in the way, the interests demanding the increase of transit accommodation across the Isthmus of Suez are too powerful to be resisted. In as far as anything is certain in this uncertain world, it may be assumed as an axiom that trade forces its way just as water finds its level. In view of the enormous and increasing traffic between the East and the West, and of its urgent demand for greater facilities of transit between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, it may safely be predicted that the supply of accommodation will somehow or other be made equal to the demand. The ultimate result is, I repeat, certain; but it may be brought about in many ways; and my object in this paper is to point out the way which, in my judgment, would be most conducive to the interests of all parties concerned in the Canal.

Now, the party chiefly concerned is England. This is the broad fact on which all discussions on the subject must be based, if they are to be of any practical value. The interest of the shareholders, though it is one I should be the last to ignore, is, after all, a purely pecuniary one. In common with all other investors, they desire most reasonably and most properly to obtain the highest interest and the best security possible for their investments; but, so long as this object is secured, it is a matter of indifference to them whether they convey many ships or few by their Canal, whether they charge high rates or low, whether they develop or cripple the trade between the East and the West. With England the case is entirely different. Our Government, it is true, is the largest shareholder in the Canal, and owns close upon half the whole amount of the shares. But the question as to what dividend we may receive upon our holding is utterly insignificant to us in comparison with our interest in the development of the Canal as the highway between India and Europe. In the first place, we as a nation are the carriers of the world's commerce. More than one-half the tonnage of the shipping on the face of the globe is owned by England. Our carrying trade is the very backbone of the maritime supremacy upon which we depend for our prosperity, our power, if not our existence as an independent nation. It follows, therefore, that England has a right of voice in all questions concerning the passage of the seas, such as no other nation, and not even all other nations combined, can possibly pretend to possess. In the second place, we have a special right to claim a paramount interest in the Suez Canal. More than four-fifths of the whole traffic passing through the Canal is carried under the Union Jack. But for our trade the receipts of the Canal would not suffice to pay the cost of its maintenance. During last year, 3,198 steamers passed between Suez and Port Said. Of these 2,565 were British ships. France stands next to us in the list, and the total of her contribution consisted of 165 ships. If, therefore, England were in the position of the United States, without a single colony or dependency in the world, she would have an interest in the Canal far surpassing all other powers. But, as it happens, England is the centre of a vast empire, the most important of whose possessions lie in the Eastern seas, to which the Suez Canal gives access. For England, as the master of India, as the owner of Australia and New Zealand, as the possessor of countless settlements scattered all over the Antipodes, the Canal has an importance which cannot be over-rated. Other European Powers, it may be said, have possessions in the East as well as England; but these possessions put all together are so small and insignificant compared with those of England, that, according to any standard based upon the comparison of material and political interests in the East, England has, or rather ought to have, a voice in all matters affecting the Canal paramount

to that of all other nations. The above assertions are statements of hard plain facts, to be verified, if need be, by a reference to maps and trade-registers; and as facts they must be taken into account in all discussions about the future of the Suez Canal. I admit most fully that our predominant and overwhelming interest in the Canal does not give us the right to ignore the claims of the shareholders or the reasonable requirements of other nations. But I do assert that the possession of such an interest gives us a right to a position in the undertaking distinct from, and superior to, that of all other nations.

As my chief object in writing this paper is to clear away, if possible, certain misconceptions which seem to me to stand in the way of a reasonable solution of the Suez Canal difficulty, I think it well to refer here to a fallacy I often see put forward in connection with this subject. We are told that England is out of court in pleading her interests as a ground for interfering in the administration of the Canal, because as a country she opposed its construction. Now, the character of Lord Palmerston's opposition is, as a rule, very much misrepresented. He held that the creation of a water-route across the Isthmus would be detrimental to British political and commercial interests, and on this ground, as a British statesman, he did his best to hinder the Canal from being made. Whether he was right or wrong in his opinion is a question the future must decide. The course of trade does not alter in a year or many years; and it is far too early yet to say whether British commerce will or will not benefit in the end by the opening of a new route between East and West which renders other ports than those of England the natural depôts for the trade of India and China. If Lord Palmerston was mistaken, he was not alone in his delusion; for, in the opinion of the Continent, the opening of the Suez Canal was regarded as certain to prove a death-blow to our commercial and maritime supremacy.

That it has not so proved is due partly to the energy and enterprise of our race, still more to the lack of these qualities on the part of the nations who might otherwise have competed with us for the trade of the East. Still, the fact remains that, by the cutting of the Isthmus, the course of trade has been diverted in a manner not calculated in the long run to prove beneficial to our interests as a trading nation. But even granting that England's opposition to the construction of the Suez Canal was as short-sighted, selfish, and irrational as you please, it does not follow that England has no right to complain later because the Canal is conducted in a way to injure her interests. Some forty years ago the county of Kent exerted all its influence to hinder a railroad being made between London and Dover. Recently the Kentish towns have been agitating for a reduction of the rates charged by the South Eastern and the Chatham and Dover railways. Yet, amidst the arguments submitted to the Railway

Commission on behalf of the lines in question, no plea was ever put forward that the inhabitants of Chatham, Dover, and Deal had no right to ask for a reduction of fares and rates on the railways which serve their towns, because their predecessors a generation ago had put these railways to needless and vexatious expense by opposing their construction. Such a contention would at once be laughed out of court; yet it is not a whit less tenable than the argument that England's bygone opposition to the Suez Canal bars her right to insist on increased facilities being provided for the accommodation of her trade across the Isthmus. Nor can any serious weight be attached to the sentimental plea that, because M. de Lesseps made the Canal, therefore we have no right to interfere with his undertaking. Nobody proposes to deprive the founder of the Suez Canal of the credit or the profit to which he is fairly entitled for his great achievement. But England has neither the right nor the power to subordinate the interests of her Empire and her commerce to the personal susceptibilities of any individual, even if he had a tenfold stronger claim upon her gratitude than any which M. de Lesseps can possibly establish.

It is clear, therefore, that, putting aside for the moment the question of the legal rights conferred upon the Canal Company in virtue of their concession, England has an absolute and indefeasible right to insist upon the water-route between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea being conducted in the manner most conducive to the interests of trade, which are practically identical with her own. That it is not so conducted is a matter which hardly requires proof. In the first place, the Canal is managed by French officials, is governed by French principles of administration, and is under the exclusive jurisdiction of French law and French courts. Now, any Englishman who has ever visited a French colony, or who for his sins has ever had any business with French officials, is aware that the whole system of French administration, though it may suit the genius of the French nation, is utterly inapplicable to foreign use. The passion for logical uniformity, the want of pliability, the rigid and almost servile adherence to hard and fast regulations, the authoritative impatience of opposition, which are the characteristics of all French administration, have always rendered their administrative system a dead failure in foreign lands where French ideas and French habits do not prevail. There is probably no nation in the world less fitted than the French to administer a great enterprise such as the Suez Canal, whose chief customers are captains and shipowners of British nationality. On *à priori* grounds one would predict that the French administration of the Canal was certain to give general dissatisfaction, and this antecedent probability is confirmed by the test of experience. There is probably not a body of men in the world who care less about logical

anomalies or abstract inequalities than the shipowners of Great Britain. When we find, therefore, that, with scarcely an exception, they complain of the vexations and annoyances to which their ships are subject in passing through the Canal, we may safely assume that they have valid causes of complaint. Nobody but the owner knows where the shoe pinches, and it is idle for the advocates of the company to assert that British shipowners have no ground of complaint, when, as a matter of fact, there is not a single British ship which passes through the Canal, whose officers have not some grievance or other to which they consider themselves to have been subjected at the hands of the company's officials.

Apart from these general complaints, about which there is and must be necessarily room for dispute, the shipping trade of England has certain grievances to complain of at the hands of the Suez Canal Company which are not open to discussion. The transit dues are so heavy as to eat up an enormous proportion of the profit on freights between India and England, and as to absolutely prohibit the carrying of goods which cannot afford to pay high rates of transport. For instance, of late years India has made great progress as a wheat-growing country. Indian grain could be sold in England cheaper than American grain to the great advantage of the Indian grower and the English consumer, if it were not for the heavy cost of freight between the two countries caused by the expense of traversing the Canal. If the Canal Company consider it pays them better to charge ten shillings a ton on a hundred thousand tons than five shillings on two hundred thousand, they have a perfect right to do so. But, on the other hand, our shipowners have an equal right to see if, by the employment of competition, they cannot force the company to reduce its charges. It is obvious, on general grounds, that the tolls raised upon any public highway, whether by land or sea, ought, in the interest of the public at large, to be as low as is consistent with paying for the construction and maintenance of the highway. The interest of the company as a commercial speculation is to charge the maximum tolls consistent with not driving trade away from the Canal. In agitating, therefore, for a reduction of rates far beyond any point hitherto contemplated by the company, our shipowners are acting in the interest of the public as well as in their own.

Then, again, there can be no question as to the accommodation provided by the Canal being utterly inadequate to the exigencies of the present traffic, and still more to the requirements of the future. In 1870, 486 steamers went through the Canal; in 1882 the number was 3,198. In the same period of time the tonnage increased from under half a million of tons to over seven millions. Every year the proportion of ships engaged in the traffic with the East which go by the Isthmus route increases, while the proportion of those which go round the Cape diminishes. The distance between Port Said and

Suez is about eighty miles. This distance, over perfectly still water, ought to be traversed, as a rule, in eight hours. Instead of this the passage of the Canal, owing to the narrowness of the channel, the impossibility of ships passing each other in mid-stream, and the low rate of speed rendered necessary by the importance of avoiding any wash of water against the crumbling sand-banks, occupies on an average from forty to sixty hours. Blocks are of constant occurrence in the Canal, and these blocks impose long delay and heavy loss upon all vessels which happen to be traversing the Canal when the block occurs. Moreover, the liability to these unforeseen stoppages, even when they do not occur, acts as a serious impediment to the development of the trade between Europe and the East. Thus there is an urgent and imperative demand for increased accommodation; and yet this demand the Suez Canal Company has hitherto refused to comply with, except upon conditions which would involve the perpetuation of its monopoly, the maintenance of its excessive tolls, and the recognition of the exclusively French character of its administration.

Moreover, England has an interest of her own in the Canal which is quite independent of her commercial requirements, and which would continue to exist if our mercantile marine were swept off the face of the seas. So long as we hold India the command of the Suez Canal is to us a matter of paramount necessity. Upon this point, however, I feel a certain difficulty in dwelling. It is now six years since I first advocated in the pages of this Review the necessity for England to make herself master of Egypt, in order to secure her highway to India. This mastership has at length been secured, and I am conscious that I am open to the charge of inconsistency, if, after our troops are encamped in Egypt, I plead the necessity of guaranteeing our highway to India as a ground for appropriating the Canal. The inconsistency, however, is only apparent. I feel no doubt myself that the logic of facts which brought our troops to Cairo will of necessity retain them there; and I see no cause to waver in my opinion that, so long as we hold Cairo, we have, for military and Imperial purposes, the absolute and complete command of the Canal in the event of war. If once our protectorate over Egypt were clearly established, I should be the first to admit that, whatever other grounds there might be for altering the conditions under which the Canal is administered, we could not plead as a reason the danger to which our communications with India are exposed by the Canal belonging to a French company. But our protectorate, though, as I hold, it exists in fact, does not exist in theory or in name. On the contrary, the Ministers of the Crown lose no opportunity of declaring that our occupation is only temporary, and that they look forward at no distant date to the withdrawal of our troops from Egyptian rule. Personally I utterly disbelieve in the possibility of these declarations being carried

out in practice, although they are made in good faith. But in the face of such utterances on the part of the Government, the British public are fairly entitled to ask that precautions should be taken to secure our right of way to India in the event of our troops being withdrawn from Egypt. The experience of last year's campaign suffices to show how dangerous the antagonism of the Canal Company might easily be, under certain very possible contingencies, to our free access to India across the Isthmus. Even last year M. de Lesseps' hostility would have been formidable instead of ludicrous if the action of France had not been paralysed by her internal dissensions, and by her fear of Germany. Notwithstanding, I feel that this argument—though unanswerable on the hypothesis that we are only temporarily in possession of Cairo—does not carry conviction with those who hold with me that our protectorate of Egypt is in reality an accomplished fact; and on that account I lay more weight than I should do otherwise on the commercial considerations which necessitate our taking the Suez Canal under our own control and management.

If, therefore, I have made my meaning intelligible, it is clear that what England requires is such an increase of the transit accommodation through the Suez Canal as will meet the exigencies of her Eastern trade, and such a modification of the constitution of the company as will secure the administration of the Canal being conducted in accordance with English ideas and English interests. Supposing no prior rights, either legal or equitable, stood in the way, there is nothing unreasonable or unfair in the above requirements on the part of England. When once the possibility of effecting a junction between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea was demonstrated by experience, it became inevitable that England, as the owner of India and the virtual possessor of the transit trade between the East and the West, should desire to control, if not to own, the channel by which this trade has to pass. As soon, therefore, as it was found that the dimensions of the present Canal were utterly inadequate to the exigencies of our trade, the idea of making a second canal between the two seas found favour in England. A variety of schemes were proposed long before the despatch of our troops to Egypt was even dreamt of, the object of which was to provide a competing route to that supplied by M. de Lesseps' Canal. It would be foreign to my present purpose to discuss the respective merits of these various projects. It is enough to say that, in the opinion of the most competent authorities, the best, if not the sole, route available for the purpose is across the Isthmus of Suez. About this route there is absolutely no engineering difficulty. The desert of the Isthmus is broad enough to be traversed, not by two alone, but by half-a-dozen parallel ship-canal, all debouching, at no great distance from each other, into the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

These canals, constructed as they would be under far more favourable conditions than the old canal, and with the benefit of experience, could be made at a comparatively small cost, and could therefore be worked at a far smaller profit. In fact, I may safely say that if the providing of transit accommodation across the Isthmus were regulated by the ordinary laws of supply and demand, a sufficient number of ship canals would have been already constructed to bring down the cost of transit to the amount required to give the ordinary rate of interest on industrial enterprises; and that most, if not all, of these competing canals would have been constructed with English capital and conducted by English management.

The sole obstacle which prevents the natural development of the trans-Isthmus traffic by the creation of new channels between sea and sea lies in the opposition of the Suez Canal Company. This company enjoys a monopoly *de facto*, and claims to enjoy one *de jure*; and in common with all monopolists its instinct is to charge the maximum of price for the minimum of service. I have not the slightest wish to accuse the company of being exceptionally greedy of gain. They only act after the nature of shareholders all over the world in seeking to get the most they can for their money. An English Board would, it is true, have done more to develop trade, and have devoted more money to the improvement of the Canal. This result, however, would be due not to any moral superiority on the part of English, as compared with French, directors, but simply to the fact that Englishmen have larger and sounder views of business, and are more impressed with the wholesome truth that no monopoly in the world can hold its own if it runs counter to the public interest. So long as the existing Canal sufficed fairly well for the accommodation of trade, the question whether it had or had not a monopoly was one which nobody had any strong interest in discussing. But now, when the creation of a new channel has become a matter of urgent necessity, the question is one which demands careful investigation.

Now, the question at issue is one to be determined not so much by the legal bearing of certain words and phrases as by the light of certain general considerations, about which the law officers of the Crown have no special means of forming an opinion. It would be absurd for me, or any other layman, to declare that my reading of a disputed clause in an English title-deed was as likely to be correct as that propounded by our highest legal authorities. But with regard to the meaning of an Egyptian concession I, or any one acquainted with Egypt, am, to say the least, as competent to form an opinion as the Attorney-General or the Lord Chancellor of England. Now, the view I hold is this. When M. de Lesseps obtained his original concession from Said Pasha, the possibility of a competing canal being made was a contingency not even contemplated. The

construction of the original canal seemed so problematical, the difficulties to be overcome before the idea could be carried into execution were so grave and so numerous, that to guard against the eventuality of a competing canal must have seemed to the promoters of the project the most idle and superfluous of precautions. Moreover, the danger was one which the founders may reasonably have deemed that they had it in their own hands to avert. According to the original conception, the Canal was to have been an undertaking of Said Pasha himself, carried out by M. de Lesseps acting as the *mandataire* or agent of the Viceroy. Now, in those days, everything in Egypt was a monopoly, and the one monopolist was the Viceroy. The Canal, therefore, was to be the monopoly of Said Pasha subject to the claims of his European associates; and as he alone could grant permission for a competing canal to be made, the risk of competition must have seemed to be absolutely illusory. If Ismail Pasha had not entered on the improvident expenditure which led directly to his own deposition, and indirectly to the British occupation of Egypt, he would still be seated on the throne as the autocratic ruler of Egypt, and the holder of the shares purchased from him by the British Government. To suppose that under these circumstances the Khedive would have entertained the idea of any competing canal is manifestly absurd. The Viceroys, in short, according to M. de Lesseps' original conception, were to be the chief partners in the concern; no competition was possible without their consent; and therefore there was no object in providing against a contingency which it was thought, with good reason, could never possibly arise. Besides this, everybody is influenced by the *milieu* in which he lives; and the idea of competition, in the European sense of the word, is foreign to the Oriental mind. I remember speaking some years ago to one of the oldest of the European residents in Egypt about a monopoly I was then anxious to obtain for an Egyptian undertaking in which we were both interested. His answer was: 'There is only one monopoly which is worth thinking about in Egypt, and that is the monopoly of priority. Once get your concern established, and you need not be afraid of anybody seeking to establish a rival enterprise.' This remark expressed the sentiment of all who, like M. de Lesseps, had been conversant with Egyptian affairs from the days of Mehemet Ali. On the other hand, though the risk of competition may have seemed imaginary, the risk of dismissal by caprice was very real and appreciable. It was quite in accordance with Egyptian traditions and usages for the execution of a work to be given to one contractor, and then to be suddenly taken from him and assigned to some rival who might chance to supplant him in the favour of the Viceroy. It was therefore of vital importance to M. de Lesseps to guard against the execution of his great enterprise being taken from him at any moment by a change of purpose on the part of his capricious patron,

and this object was fully secured by the terms of the original concession, which conferred upon him personally 'an exclusive power to constitute and to direct a company for piercing the Isthmus of Suez, with power to undertake the works of construction.'

Thus the natural interpretation of the words 'pouvoir exclusif,' on which, and on which alone, the Suez Canal Company rely for their alleged monopoly, is that they refer to M. de Lesseps' personal position as constructor and director of the undertaking, not to the immunity of the company from any possible competition hereafter. If the object of the clause in question had been to give the company an exclusive power to construct ship-canals across the Isthmus, it is incredible that no care should have been taken to define what the Isthmus was, or what was the area over which the prohibition extended. Does the clause forbid the construction of any ship-canal across Egyptian territory joining the Mediterranean with the Red Sea? This, I understand, is not the allegation of M. de Lesseps, who admits that a ship canal might be constructed across the Delta from Suez to Alexandria without violation of his concession, though on other grounds he disputes the feasibility of the project. Yet if this is so, what are the lines within which the alleged monopoly extends? On this point the concession is absolutely and entirely silent. Yet the addition of twenty words stating that no other canal could be constructed within a certain specified distance of the projected canal would have settled the whole question in dispute. The absence of any such statement is a strong *à priori* argument in favour of the view that the concession did not contemplate any exclusive monopoly. It is urged, however, that this omission is a mere oversight; that M. de Lesseps, if he had thought of it, could have easily had his concession so worded as to secure an absolute monopoly; and that it is ungracious on our part to take advantage of an accidental error. Now, I confess that I fail to understand the plea for generosity. If I am at variance with a neighbour about matters affecting my own interests alone, I have a perfect right to give him the benefit of any presumption which tells in his favour. But if the interests in question are those of third parties, for whom I am acting as trustee, I have clearly no right to concede anything which the law does not compel me to grant; and in this matter the British Government is acting as trustee, not only for the present generation, but for unborn generations of Englishmen. Moreover, I dispute the assertion that M. de Lesseps had only to ask in order to obtain an absolute monopoly. Such a request, if clearly formulated, would have proved fatal to his enterprise. Lord Palmerston had taken his stand upon the ground that the Suez Canal, if it was to be constructed at all, must not give France any permanent footing in Egypt. Indeed, when our great Foreign Minister is held up to obloquy for his opposition to the Canal, it is well to remember that we owe it to

his wisdom and his foresight that the Isthmus of Suez was not converted into a French settlement commanded by French forts. It is wellnigh certain that any proposal to give the Canal Company an exclusive right to construct canals in any part of the Isthmus would have been absolutely vetoed by the British Government of the day. It is, therefore, intelligible enough that even if M. de Lesseps contemplated at the time the possibility of rival canals being constructed hereafter, he should not have deemed it wise to guard against this remote contingency by insisting upon a privilege being accorded to him the demand for which would have intensified the immediate opposition he had to encounter at the hands of England. I may be told, however, that M. de Lesseps, who drew up the convention himself, must be credited with knowing what the concession meant. The point is a delicate one to argue without doing what I should be most reluctant to do—that is to say, without using language which might give umbrage to M. de Lesseps personally. All I need say is that no man can expect to be accepted as a conclusive witness in his own favour in a matter in which his interests are deeply concerned; that the wisest and fairest-minded of mankind are apt to have their recollections of bygone events biassed by personal considerations; and that, amidst the many and signal merits of the founder of the Suez Canal, even his warmest friends would scarcely assign to him a judicial temperament or absolute impartiality of judgment. Indeed, the value of M. de Lesseps' interpretation of his own privileges under the concession is shown by the fact that only last year he seriously argued that the Canal Company had sovereign rights over its own waters which justified him in refusing access to troops acting under the authority of the Khedive for the suppression of a domestic insurrection.

I am prepared, however, to go further than this. Even admitting for the sake of argument that the words of the concession did give, and were intended to give, the Canal Company an absolute monopoly, I should still dispute the validity of the claim. The British Government was in no sense a party to the contract; and even if it had been, it had no power to bind itself irrevocably to such a compact. All treaties, concessions, and contracts in the world are made subject to the possibility of modification if circumstances should alter, or if paramount public necessity should demand their rescission. Common experience justifies this assertion. This principle cannot well be contested, at any rate by a Government which has just deprived the Irish landlords of property secured to them by law and statute, on the ground that such a sacrifice was demanded by the interests of the common weal. If jurists declare that M. de Lesseps' monopoly, as guaranteed by his interpretation of the concession, is good for another eighty years, common sense replies that it is absurd to suppose that the interests of England and India can be sacrificed for wellnigh a

century, our trade crippled, and our communications interrupted, in virtue of an agreement between Said Pasha and M. de Lesseps. In such a case the law of contract, even supposing it to be binding, is and must be set aside in favour of the higher law of public necessity.

The conclusion that the foregoing remarks are intended to confirm is that M. de Lesseps' claim is not valid in law, and, if valid in law, is untenable in equity. If, therefore, England is so minded, she would be guilty of no violation of right, of no disregard of public morality, in ignoring the claim of the company to forbid the construction of a second canal across the Isthmus. To establish this point is important, because upon it I should base the solution I shall venture to suggest.* England has a great interest in upholding the strength of international obligations, and, apart from any higher considerations, it is not our policy to set an example of cynical disregard for the right of public contracts. But, if my contention is correct, the Suez Canal Company, though it has strong moral claims to liberal and even generous compensation, has no legal or equitable right to bar the construction of a competing canal. There is, therefore, no abstract reason why England should not herself undertake, or allow others to undertake, the work of digging a new and more convenient ship-canal across the Isthmus of Suez. It is not enough, however, that we should possess an abstract right: the real question is whether we have a practical right, and, if so, whether it is wise to exercise that right.

Now, the first question must be answered in the affirmative. There is room for any amount of discussion as to what we ought or ought not to do in Egypt. But it is simple waste of breath to discuss what we can or cannot do there. We are for the time being the masters of the country, the Government is under our control, and no European nation has both the power and the will to interfere in any way with our liberty of action. If, therefore, the British Government chose to say to-morrow that, in their opinion, the construction of a second canal across the Isthmus had become desirable, the requisite authority would be at once provided by the Khedive. Personally, I consider any recognition of the shadowy suzerainty of the Porte over Egypt an anachronism and a blunder. But if the sanction of the Porte to the Khedivial concession should be deemed desirable, that sanction can be easily obtained for a consideration, or, if not, it can be still more easily dispensed with. Once the concession granted, there is no material difficulty about the execution of the project. The capital could be found at once; the work would present no serious engineering obstacles; and if the enterprise were commenced in earnest, we might reckon on possessing, within the next three or four years, a canal of our own, greatly superior to the existing canal in width, depth, and general facilities for the accom-

modation of ship traffic, and which would have been constructed at less than half the cost. No doubt M. de Lesseps would protest against the construction of this canal as an infraction of his rights; and it is possible, though by no means certain, that his protest might be endorsed by the French Government. But any protest of this nature, however deserving of consideration, is in itself a mere *brutum fulmen*, of the same value as the judgment of a court which has no power to enforce its decisions. It is, of course, theoretically possible that the Government of the Republic might adopt M. de Lesseps' case as their own, and might declare that any attempt to construct a competing canal would be regarded by them as a *casus belli*. But this possibility is simply an imaginary one. Even if France—which for my own part I utterly disbelieve—cared enough about the Canal to make her prepared to fight in its defence, she is not in a position—and she knows that she is not in a position—to run the risk of the foreign complications which a war with England must entail. This is the plain truth; and it is upon facts as they are, not as we might wish them to be, that our action as a nation must be based.

I shall be told, however, that though France may not be in a position to run the risk of war under present circumstances, yet that the fact of our having taken advantage of her weakness to appropriate the Suez Canal would outrage French national sentiments so profoundly as to make France our enemy at heart if not in name. Now, the assertion in question is one which it is impossible either to prove or disprove. Englishmen, as I believe, make a mistake in supposing that Frenchmen regard the Suez Canal with the same feeling as a similar work would be regarded by us if it had been constructed by this country. The self-concentration which constitutes the strength of France renders her almost incredibly indifferent to all interests which lie outside her own area. On such an issue any individual opinion derived from personal observation is of no great value. Still I may say that for some years past I have been in constant communication with Frenchmen in connection with Egyptian affairs; and the conclusion I have come to is that, as a class, they are perfectly indifferent about the political relations between France and Egypt, except in as far as these relations affect their pecuniary interests. About six years ago, when the idea of a British protectorate over Egypt began to be first talked about, M. Waddington came over to London on a sort of semi-officious mission, and had interviews with our leading statesmen both in the Ministry and in the Opposition. To one and all he held the same language. France, he urged, is not able to resist any action England may take in Egypt; but the feeling in France about Egypt is so intense that any attempt to dislodge her from the position she now occupies conjointly with England at Cairo will give rise to a bitterness of resentment against

England which will render any co-operation between the two countries impossible for years to come. These utterances were, I am convinced, made with perfect good faith; and they produced, as I am aware, considerable effect upon the persons to whom they were addressed. The result proved that they were based on a complete misconception. When sentiment was brought to the test of reality, it appeared that the French were not prepared to run the slightest risk or make the least sacrifice in order to uphold their ascendancy in Egypt; and though they would have been gratified, as a nation, if we had been defeated at Tel-el-Kebir, they acquiesced with singular unconcern in the establishment of our supremacy as the virtual masters of Egypt. I say this in no disparagement of France; but when I am assured, as I am now, that, though France may possibly be unable to hinder us from acting as we like with respect to the Suez Canal, yet any disregard of M. de Lesseps' claims will secure us her lifelong resentment, I am justified in remarking that before this I have been met with a similar assertion, and found it baseless.

I contend, therefore, that it lies practically in our power to construct a second canal of our own if we so think fit, and that we are not debarred from so doing by any claim the existing company can legally establish. Whether it would be wise to do so is another question. My own opinion is that we should do better to settle the matter by an amicable compromise, even at the cost of having to pay heavily. Though the Suez Canal Company has, in my judgment, no right in law or equity to complain of competition, yet the company, and still more its illustrious president, have a very strong claim to generous treatment at the hands of England. That there exists a water-highway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea is due to the courage, energy, and perseverance of M. de Lesseps, and to the loyalty with which, through good and evil fortune, he was supported by his shareholders; and this fact England is bound to take into account. I can, however, see no possibility of any satisfactory settlement being come to upon the basis of the Suez Canal Company retaining possession of their monopoly. The insignificant concessions obtained during the recent negotiations, conducted as they were with singular ability and skill on the part of Sir Rivers Wilson, show how little M. de Lesseps is prepared to yield. Moreover, the real object that England has in view—the transfer of the management of the Canal to British hands, and the subsequent control of the undertaking with a view to promote the development of trade rather than the enrichment of the shareholders—are objects in which neither M. de Lesseps nor the company can ever be expected to co-operate. There is one way, and one way only, in which England can obtain these objects without constructing a competing canal of her own, and thereby inflicting most grievous

injury on the existing company, and that is by becoming the possessor of the Canal by purchase.

Now, it would be impossible within the limits of the present paper to enter on any detailed scheme for the purchase of the Canal. It is my purpose only to indicate very briefly the general outlines on which such a scheme might be based. The Suez Canal Company possesses the power by its statutes to wind up the concern by voluntary liquidation. My proposition, therefore, would be that the existing company should be wound up, and its rights and property transferred to an English company, who would pay off the existing shareholders and bondholders upon terms whose execution would be guaranteed by the British Government. I have reason to suppose that both the direction and the proprietoriate of the company would not be indisposed to entertain such a proposition if the terms of purchase were satisfactory. The difficulty would lie, not in the admission of the principle of purchase, but in the settlement of the terms. Leaving aside minor questions, the capital of the Suez Canal Company may be said in round numbers to be 14,000,000*l.*, of which 6,000,000*l.* consists of bonds and debentures bearing a fixed preferential interest, while the remainder consists of shares whose interest fluctuates with the earnings of the concern. Now, of this 8,000,000*l.* of ordinary shares half are, thanks to Lord Beaconsfield, the property of the British Government. The value of the bonds and debentures is easily ascertained, and, including the 100,000 founder's shares at their present value, would be covered by 10,000,000*l.* As the British Government would be, under the arrangement I suggest, either directly or indirectly the actual purchaser of the reversion of the Suez Canal Company, the 4,000,000*l.* of British shares may be left out of account. Indeed, the only item whose appraisal would be matter of serious difficulty is the 4,000,000*l.* of ordinary shares owned by the general public, the great majority of these shares being held, I may add, in France.

Now, if M. de Lesseps' contention is not only right in law, but, what is much more important, is not likely to be disputed in fact, it is difficult to say what figure these shares may not be calculated as capable of attaining. The 20*l.* share is now quoted at about 100*l.* No doubt this price is above the present actual value of the shares, as upon a dividend of 6 per cent., the highest which has yet been reached, a purchaser to-day would receive only a little over 4 per cent. on his investment. On the other hand, the prospect of an increased dividend in years to come is more than probable. Unless anything should occur to stop the progress of the world's trade, the traffic between East and West must grow with giant strides, and a larger and larger proportion of the shipping engaged in this traffic must every year pass through the Canal and pay toll to its owners. In consequence, the Suez Canal shares command a price calculated upon

their prospective, not upon their actual, earnings. The holders, as a body, are not anxious to sell, and if the British Government went into the market to buy up the shares, they would be forthwith run up to an exorbitant and impossible price. It is this consideration which seems to me in itself a fatal objection to the idea that England might obtain what she desires by buying up any Suez Canal shares which come into the market, and thus gradually making herself mistress of the enterprise. This process, even if it could be carried out without extravagant cost, would be slow and unsatisfactory. By the charter no one shareholder can command more than fifteen votes, however large his holding may be; and though the Government might, in theory, delegate its votes to a number of nominees, such a process would be impossible in practice. Moreover, even if our Government had got a large workable majority of the votes, it could not carry out the object of its purchase—that is, insist upon the shareholders adopting a policy beneficial to England, but, *ex hypothesi*, injurious to the company—without placing itself in an untenable and invidious position. If England is to buy up the Suez Canal at all, the purchase of the shares must be effected *en bloc*, and without any attempt at concealment. Is it possible to effect this end? It can, I think, be effected in one way, and one way only.

The whole prospective value of the Suez Canal shares depends upon the maintenance of the monopoly claimed by the company. Now, according to the view I have endeavoured to put forward, the following conclusions may fairly be sustained as matters of argument. First, that the alleged monopoly has no existence in fact, was never contemplated at the foundation of the company, and only exists, if it exist at all, in virtue of a forced interpretation placed upon an obscure phrase in an obsolete concession; secondly, that the rescission of the monopoly, even admitting its existence, is demanded on grounds of general utility in the interest of the world's trade, of which England is the chief representative; and, thirdly, that the position of England as master of India and occupier of Egypt makes the possession of the Canal a matter of such importance to her as to justify her in insisting upon the water-highway to the East being placed under her control. Now, upon the assumption that the monopoly is, to say the least, open to grave question, the price of 100*l.* per share is far above the value the shareholders could ever hope to get in the open market. If, therefore, the British Government were to propose to pay the ordinary shareholders, on the liquidation of the company, 20,000*l.* for their 4,000,000*l.* of shares—that is, at the rate of 500 per cent. profit on the original price—the bargain would, from a business point of view, be one to which no exception could be taken on the score of liberality. Thus, allowing 10,000,000*l.* for the repayment of the bonds, debentures, founder's shares, and

other liabilities, the British Government would become possessed of the Canal for about 30,000,000*l.*, exclusive of the amount paid for the Khedive's shares in 1875. As a mere speculation, the bargain would be a losing one for England: Our object in getting the Canal into our own hands would be to increase the accommodation and reduce the tolls; and therefore the utmost we could reasonably hope, with a largely increased capital and with greatly diminished tolls, would be to make a sufficient profit to pay the interest on the money the country would have to borrow for the purchase of the Canal. But even if we lost by the transaction in itself, our direct loss would be more than compensated by the indirect commercial and political advantages we should acquire by the possession of the Canal.

At the same time, however reasonable and liberal such an offer might be if judged upon its own merits, the Suez Canal Company would not accept it if it were not for the fear of competition. If, therefore, the proposal is made, it must be made in the form of an alternative. What I would propose is that the British Government should say to the Suez Canal Company: 'The time has come when transit accommodation, such as you are not in a position to supply, must be provided across the Isthmus of Suez. If you are disposed to sell, we are willing to buy up your concern on reasonable terms; if you are not willing, we have no option except to allow the construction of a competing canal or canals constructed and managed by independent companies.'

If this alternative were presented in such a manner as to leave no doubt in the public mind that England was in earnest, I have very little doubt myself the company would prefer to sell, sooner than run the risk of a competition which, whatever its other results, must prove fatal to the prospect of increased profits in the future. If the company did not accept, then England, with a clear conscience and with the sense of having acted liberally, might provide means to facilitate the construction of a second canal. The figures I have given above are, of course, mere rough estimates. The actual price must be matter for careful investigation. All I need say in conclusion is that, in as far as I can judge, there is no reasonable price Englishmen would not gladly pay in order at once to get possession of the Canal and to avoid the appearance even of not dealing liberally with the Canal Company. But in one way or the other we are bound to get the Canal into our own hands. This, to use an Americanism, is the bottom-fact on which all negotiations in future must be based. It is England's manifest destiny to become mistress of the Canal as she has already become mistress of Egypt; and against manifest destiny gods and men fight in vain, whether in Suez or in Panama.

EDWARD DICEY.

THE GERMAN AND BRITISH ARMIES: A COMPARISON.

ON a wet Sunday afternoon, now some seventy years ago, the Prussian army joined hands with the British army amid the tangled and down-trodden corn that lay heavy on the fields round Mont St. Jean. The result of this junction was the crushing defeat of Napoleon, the fall of the first French Empire—an allied invasion of France and occupation of Paris, the end of the Napoleonic wars, and forty years of peace for Europe.

At the end of this long peace the British army was the first of the two to be called into active service in a European campaign. It entered upon the Crimean War confident in the reputation which it had gained half a century before in the Peninsula and in the Low Countries. The reputation then won it had since sustained in Persia and in India, where it possessed a nursery for its officers and training ground for its soldiers, which was entirely wanting to the German army. But its experience in the siege of Sebastopol was lamentably disastrous. In everything but the courage of its officers and men, which still proved as undaunted as ever, the British army signally failed. Its organisation was found puerilely defective, its administration senilely feeble.

Our country even at that time possessed the greatest maritime resources in the world.

The front line of fighting troops stood barely six miles from an important harbour where lay store-ships loaded with heavy cargoes of all the men could require. Yet the land transport over these six miles was more than could be provided for; and the soldiers died like rotten sheep from starvation and sickness almost within sight of the food that would have kept them alive and the medicines that would have healed them.

Very different was the case when some years later the Prussian army entered on the campaign of 1866 against Austria. In a few weeks, nay, even in a few days, the famous battalions of the House of Hapsburg, the vaunted cavalry of Hungary, and the celebrated

artillery of Vienna were crumpled up in Bohemia, and their broken relics invested in Olmütz or rolled through Moravia to take refuge behind the cover of the Danube. Yet the Austrian army was not to be despised. It had already, seven years previously, given grave cause for anxiety to the French, who overcame it indeed in the campaign of Solferino, but, breathless and exhausted, were glad to make peace before they were committed to the siege of Mantua or the investment of Verona.

Nor was this all. Four years later the Prussian army formed the nucleus of the large German force which poured over the Saar and the Rhine into Alsace, Lorraine, and Champagne, swept away the famous French Imperial Guard, cast a band of iron round Metz, drew a tight blockade around Paris, and brushed aside every endeavour of the French nation to force its iron lines or deliver their darling capital.

Any critic who had sat beside Wellington on the evening of the 18th of June, 1815, on the road from Waterloo to Paris, would have probably held it certain that for long years to come the British troops which had that day stood the brunt of Napoleon's attack and were now lying to catch breath and rest among the clammy corn, would for long remain superior to the ill-provided and half-starved Prussians whom Blucher was urging forward to pursue and chastise the flying French.

England was rich and powerful; England had felt on her throat the grasp of no invader, had been laid under no war-indemnities, under no contributions to support a conqueror's legions or an oppressor's State, had been tied up by no stipulations to maintain a small army, had not seen her troops forced to march under foreign command to invade an inhospitable northern region, where many of her best men and best officers had perished. Prussia had been almost effaced from the roll of nations, and was ground down in poverty. Any ordinary man would have foretold that the British army which had hurled back the picked Generals of Napoleon from the Peninsula would ever remain superior to the Prussian force, mainly composed of ill-clad, ill-fed, and badly drilled conscripts. Some half century later, however, the calculations of the critic would have been proved strangely erroneous, and his foresight entirely at fault.

Why was it that the British army failed so dismally in the Crimean campaign, while the Prussian succeeded so splendidly in the Seven Weeks' War? Why was it that British troops were butchered wholesale by a barbarian force in South Africa, when German troops without a check carried the tide of war through France, and wrapped Paris—the centre of civilisation—in an embrace of iron and of fire? Why is it that at the present time, while all is confused, doubtful, and vacillating in the British service, where nothing appears to be constant except change itself, that in the German army military

advancement and military progress are regulated with the skill of the mathematician and the precision of the astronomer? It can hardly be that we fail in arms for want of investigation and want of inquiry. Since the close of the Crimean war innumerable and interminable Committees and Commissions have sat on every detail of the British service. Recruiting, hospitals, armaments, clothing, drill, food, equipments, have all and each been the subject of searching inquiry and exhaustive reports. Yet we still appear to be as far from final regulations as ever, and but yesterday have seen some startling changes made in compensation for some of the most important alterations of not many years ago.

Before we seek answers to these questions we may consider the constitution of the German army, which probably may be confessed to be at the present time the finest military machine in existence. We may seek to trace how it is that with a very small cost per man, and a very simple organisation, a very large and very effective fighting power can, by the German War Office, be rapidly in case of need placed in the field.

Prussia, after the successes of Frederick the Great in the middle of the eighteenth century, was content to suppose that the military organisation which had served her well in the Seven Years' War was perfect, and required little or no modification to enable her to continue superior to other European Powers. But while she reposed calmly and complacently on the laurels of Rossbach and Leuthen, military science progressed.

She was rudely awoken from her lethargy by the crushing defeat of Jena. Under enormous difficulties, and with the greatest secrecy, a new organisation was then introduced into the Prussian army.

The terms of peace dictated by Napoleon, after the Jena campaign, and the consequent conquest of North Germany, allowed that army to consist of only 42,000 men. But the conqueror omitted to stipulate as to how long each of these men should serve. In order to secure the means of striking for independence on the first favourable opportunity, Scharnhorst introduced the Krümpersystem, by which a certain number of soldiers were always allowed to go home on furlough after a few months' drill, and recruits brought into the ranks to supply their places. These were in their turn sent away on furlough, and other recruits brought in for training. Through this system, at the beginning of 1813, not only could the regiments be filled up to proper war strength, but fifty-one new battalions were raised from prepared soldiers. This force, however, was insufficient for the great struggle with Napoleon. So, early in 1813 volunteer rifle detachments were formed, which mustered together about 10,000 men, and shortly afterwards the raising of the Landwehr was decreed, which, five months after the issue of the decree, was able to take part in the war with a strength of 120,000 men. Thus, in August 1813, Prussia

possessed an army of 250,000 soldiers, of whom 170,000 were ready to take the field, while the remaining 80,000 formed reserve and garrison troops.

This army fought in the War of Independence, and formed the first nucleus of the existing military organisation of Germany. This organisation dates from a terrible misfortune, of which the bitter experience has never been forgotten.

It has since constantly been improved, and with careful study brought to such a high pitch of excellence, that in 1866 it enabled the Prussian forces to march and conquer with an almost miraculous rapidity, and to achieve in a few days the glories of the Seven Weeks' War.

This organisation, too, empowered the German army in 1870 to efface the memory of Jena by thundering on the attention of the startled world the suddenly decisive victories of Wörth, Weissenburg, Gravelotte, and Sedan, and to spring over the ruins of the suburbs of Paris into the foremost place among the armies of the earth.

After Prussia, on the fall of the first Napoleon, regained her position as a great Power, her Government considered it necessary that she should have an army of a strength proportionate to that of other great Powers, and decided that its muster-roll should include about half a million of men. At that time the other great Powers kept the majority of their soldiery in peace as well as in war in the ranks, and only allowed a few trained veterans who, altogether, amounted to about one-fourth of the whole strength of the army, to be absent on furlough. Prussia was then the smallest of the great Powers, and had neither such a large population nor revenue as the others. Before the war of 1866 her area was but 127,350 square miles—the yearly revenues came only to about 21,500,000*l.*, the expenditure of the Government was always confined within its income, and the National Debt only amounted to 42,000,000*l.* The army cost in time of peace only about 6,300,000*l.*, and the navy about 6,450,000*l.* Thus Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century had never sufficient men nor enough money to maintain an army on the ordinary system. She could in peace keep together only a much smaller portion of her soldiery than her possible enemies. Special means had to be adopted to meet her special circumstances. To supply a war strength of 500,000 men the country was required every year to grant 40,000 recruits. Each of these served for three years with the colours, and for two years in the reserve. The standing army thus amounted to 120,000 men, and could be raised immediately by calling in the reserves to 200,000; but to complete the requisite number of half a million warriors, 300,000 more men were necessary, and in time of peace the kingdom could afford to maintain only very small depôts for these additional troops.

The War of Independence had shown that the Landwehr system,

by which men were allowed to retire from duty but still remained liable to military service, had been effective, and in 1814 the Prussian army was definitely organised on the Landwehr system. By this system every Prussian capable of bearing arms was liable to military duty in the year in which he became twenty years old, and to serve from his twentieth to his twenty-third year in the standing army; from his twenty-third to his twenty-fifth in the reserve; from his twenty-fifth to his thirty-second in the first levy of the Landwehr, and from his thirty-second to his thirty-ninth in the second levy. Afterwards, as will be seen, these terms of service were modified, and the distinction between the two levies of Landwehr was abolished. In great necessity the Landsturm was liable to be called out, and in this case every man between seventeen and forty-nine, who did not belong either to the standing army or Landwehr, was liable for service. From the Landwehr battalions and squadrons were raised, which formed Landwehr regiments, and these were united for annual exercise, or service in brigades or divisions, with regiments of the line. Landwehr men who had belonged to rifle battalions, artillery, or engineers, were not formed into separate corps, but in case of being called-up returned to the ranks of the regiment in which they had formerly served.

By this system, with an annual supply of 40,000 recruits, Prussia was enabled to hold in readiness for war an army which consisted of three distinct parts, viz. :—

(1) The standing army of 120,000 men, raised in war by the recall of the reserves to 200,000, and with rifles, artillery, and engineers, to 220,000.

(2) The first levy of the Landwehr, including only infantry and cavalry, of which in peace only small dépôts, numbering together 3,000 men, were retained, but which on mobilisation for war supplied considerably over 150,000 men, even after making liberal allowance for deaths, sickness, emigration, and other causes of reduction.

(3) The second levy of the Landwehr, from which no exercise or training was required in time of peace, but which in war furnished 110,000 soldiers to garrison the fortresses of the country, and could in case of urgent necessity be supported by the Landsturm. By this system Prussia could for war raise 530,000 men, of whom in time of peace hardly one-fourth were present with the colours. Thus this system in peace necessitated but a small expense and required but few men to keep up an army, which on the outbreak of war could be raised quickly to a large force.

When in 1859 the Prussian army was mobilised on account of the progress of French troops against the Austrians in Northern Italy, the disadvantages of the organisation entirely on the Landwehr system became manifest.

The energetic spirit with which the Prussian people rushed to

arms against Napoleon the First, can only under very peculiar circumstances agitate a whole nation and make every individual willing and anxious to sacrifice his personal comfort to obey the call of his Government and serve with alacrity in the ranks of the army. Such circumstances seldom occur. At the same time it was found that since the Landwehr system had been established in 1814 the revenues of the country had increased, the population had increased, and therefore the country was more able to bear an increase of the standing army and military expense, and also a larger number of recruits might without disadvantage be annually enrolled in the ranks.

Hence the present Emperor, while still Regent, introduced a reorganisation which up to 1865 formed a hot cause of contention between the Prussian Ministry and the Radical party in the Lower House, till the success of the 1866 campaign completely silenced its opponents and convinced them of its wonderful excellence and elasticity. By this reorganisation, the reorganisation of 1859 as it is usually called, the first levy of the Landwehr was no longer to be sent into the field, and the standing army, including the reserves, was to be increased by as many men as the first levy of the Landwehr formerly provided; in fact to be nearly doubled. The time of service in the Landwehr was diminished by two years, and that in the reserve lengthened by two years. The Landwehr still remained in two levies, and so remained till after the 1866 war, but, composed only of men from 27 to 38 years of age, was to be confined chiefly to garrisoning fortresses in case of war.

By this revised organisation a recruit who joins the Prussian service serves for three years—from 20 to 23—in the regular army, for five years afterwards in the reserve, and for eleven years is liable to be called up for duty as a Landwehr man.

During the campaign of 1866 the elasticity of this organisation, although not quite thoroughly carried out, was clearly manifested. In a wonderfully short time large armies were placed on a war footing and brought about 260,000 combatants into the field of battle, besides the necessary detachments which must be made by a large army to cover communications and mask fortresses. But the detachments made from the Prussian army were very small compared to those which would have to be separated from an army organised on a different system, for, as the field-army advanced, *depôt* troops moved up in rear, while some of the Landwehr came up from Prussia and formed the garrisons of Saxony, Prague, Brunn, and other points on the lines of communication. While the armies of the Crown Prince, Prince Frederick Charles, and of the Elbe were being thus supported in Bohemia, Moravia, and Saxony, Falkenstein, with a few line regiments and a Landwehr force, drove the war forwards on the Main; and the Duke of Mecklenburg with another reserve corps acted against Bavaria. In Prussian territory itself Landwehr battalions

held all the garrisons, and under their shelter recruits were drilled and more Landwehr embodied to march forward into the conquered countries. The armies which were in front of Vienna, at Olmütz, and on the road to Munich did not form a thin front line which once broken or turned could have been driven back even to the Elbe. Their rear was guarded and supported by large forces of strong and firm battalions lately embodied, but from their nature quickly trained, and composed of well-grown old soldiers, who were thirsting to be sent against the enemy, and on whose well-knit frames disease or hardship of war could make little impression.

This organisation was found so effective in 1866 that its principles were not altered even in view of a war with France, except that any distinction between the two levies of Landwehr was abolished. The proportion of cavalry was increased, and it was determined that in future the dépôt squadrons should be maintained in time of peace. The artillery was entirely armed with breechloading guns.

Nor after the war with France were the broad principles of the organisation altered. The armament of the infantry was changed, and the old needle-gun discarded. Various tactical improvements have been considered, and it is said that the result of their adoption will be to give cavalry a more active part on the field of battle in future wars than it has latterly enjoyed.

Though the portion of the organisation which refers to the recruiting of the army and the filling up of the ranks for war has had much to do with the success of the late German campaigns, that portion which relates to the combination of the soldiers in pliable bodies, which can be easily handled and easily moved, yet formed in such due proportions of the different arms as to be capable of independent action, has been highly appreciated by those who with its assistance have gained such weighty results. This portion of the military organisation of the Prussian army is so simple that every man in the ranks can understand it. Jealous of expense in time of peace, it allows for a wide expansion without hurry or confusion on the outbreak of war. It provides at the same time for the broadest questions and most minute details, and is precisely defined, yet admits of much elasticity. The German army consists of a certain number of corps d'armée of troops of the line, and of one corps d'armée of the guard. Each corps is organised so as to form a perfectly complete little army of itself, and thus without inconvenience it can be detached from the main army at any time. Each corps of the line in time of war consists of two divisions of infantry, one battalion of rifles, one battalion of engineers, one division of cavalry, sixteen batteries of artillery, and a military train. Each division is composed of two brigades, of which each has two regiments. As each regiment contains three battalions, in a division of infantry there are twelve battalions. To every infantry division is also attached one regiment

of cavalry of four squadrons (the dépôt squadrons being left at home), and one division of artillery of four batteries, making a total strength of force under the command of every infantry divisional general of twelve battalions, four squadrons, and four batteries, with either a rifle or engineer battalion, and mustering in round numbers 15,000 combatants.

A cavalry division consists of two brigades, each containing two regiments, and as every regiment has in time of war four squadrons with headquarters, the division consists of sixteen squadrons, with two batteries of horse artillery attached to it.

The reserve artillery of the corps, which is now in accordance with the latest Prussian tactics always early pushed into action, consists of one division of field artillery with four batteries, two batteries of horse artillery, and an artillery train, for the supply of ammunition.

This gives the normal strength of a corps d'armée as twenty-four battalions of infantry, one battalion of engineers, one battalion of rifles, twenty-four squadrons of cavalry, and sixteen batteries of artillery. Besides this, each corps has an engineer train for the transport of bridge material, and a large military train which carries food, hospitals, medicines, fuel, bakeries, and all the other necessaries, of not only life, but of the life of an army, the members of which not only require the same feeding, clothing, and warming as other members of the human race, but must have bullets, powder, shot, shells, and saddlery for their horses, and from the nature of their life are more liable to require medicines, bandages, and supplies of hospital necessaries than other men.

If we do not consider non-combatants in calculating the number of soldiers who actually fall in the line of battle, every battalion may be considered to consist of 1,000 men on a war footing. Thus the force of infantry and engineers in a corps numbers over 26,000, and allowing for men absent through sickness, may in round numbers be calculated at that figure. Each squadron of cavalry may be calculated at 150 mounted men. Each division of four batteries of horse artillery brings into the field about six hundred combatants, and each of field artillery the same. The guard corps differs chiefly from the line corps in having an additional rifle battalion, an additional fusilier regiment, and two additional cavalry regiments, which raises its strength to about, in round numbers, 36,000 combatants.

Besides these men who actually take part in action, there is a large force of men, horses, and carriages returned on the rolls, additional to the actual number of men engaged in the field of battle. This force represents the moving power of the combatant branches. It is this force that supplies the fighting men with food and equipment when well, attends to them when wounded, and nurses them in hospital. Nor are these the only duties of the non-

combatant branches. An army on a campaign is a little world of itself, and has all the requirements of ordinary men moving about the world, besides having an enemy in its neighbourhood who attempts to oppose its progress in every way possible. When the line of march leads to a river where a bridge has been destroyed, another must be built, and a heavy bridge train must necessarily be present with an army, as well as the light trains with corps. When the camp is established, field-bakeries must be immediately formed to feed the troops, field-telegraphs and field-post-offices must be established for the rapid transmission of intelligence, and a large staff must be provided for, as the mainspring which sets all the works in motion.

The supply of ammunition is also an important matter. When we consider that 200 rounds can be fired away by each gun in a general action, that every infantry soldier can at the same action dispose of 120 rounds of ball cartridge, and that these must be all replaced immediately, we see what an enormous number of carriages, with horses and drivers, are required for the transport of ammunition. We can also see that outside of the line of battle there must be medical men, their assistants and apothecaries, and within it, and under fire, there must be ambulance waggons and stretchers to bear away the wounded.

We have seen that the ordinary corps d'armée may be estimated at 31,000 or 30,000 combatants on a war footing, that of the guard at 36,000, without taking into account the large artillery and engineer trains which are requisite when an army undertakes the siege of any considerable fortress. This strength of a German corps may be regarded in war as constant. The guard corps in peace is chiefly quartered at Berlin and at Potsdam, but is recruited from men of a certain standard from the whole Empire. Each corps of the line in time of peace is stationed in one of the provinces. Its recruits are obtained from that province, and its Landwehr are the men of the province who have served in the regular ranks and the reserve, and have been dismissed from actual service. They are subjected, if required, to an annual course of training. The provinces to which the different corps belong are:—1. Prussia Proper; 2. Pomerania; 3. Brandenburg; 4. Prussian Saxony; 5. Posen; 6. Silesia; 7. Westphalia; 8. Rheinland; 9. Schleswig-Holstein; 10. Hanover; 11. Hesse; 12. Kingdom of Saxony. The Grand Duchy of Hesse and Kingdom of Wurtemberg each form a division; the Kingdom of Bavaria two corps, and two corps are also formed from Alsace and Lorraine.

In peace everything is always kept ready for the mobilisation of the army in case of war. Every officer of every department knows during peace what will be his post and what will be his duty the moment the decree for the mobilisation is issued, and the instant that decree is flashed by telegraph to the most distant stations, every

one sets about his necessary duty without requiring any further orders or explanations.

Every commanding general mobilises his own corps d'armée. The Intendantur, very similar in name but totally different in system from the French Intendance, mobilises the whole of the branches of the administration services. The commandants of the fortresses which are ordered to be placed in a state of defence take their own measures for strengthening the fortifications, and for obtaining from the artillery depôts the guns necessary for arming the works. All orders are sent by telegraph, or, where telegraphic communication does not exist, by mounted orderlies. The mobilisation of the whole army is soon complete in every branch. On the opening of the war in 1870 the army was mobilised in twelve days, and subsequent improvements have now reduced the time so much that the troops can now be ready to take the field in five days from the moment of the issue of the decree for mobilisation.

The completion of the rank and file of the field troops to war strength is effected by drawing in some of the reserve soldiers, who supply one-half of the total war strength of the infantry, one-third of that of the artillery, and one twenty-fifth of that of the cavalry. The cavalry, on account of being maintained in high force during peace, has of course a superabundance of reserve soldiers available on a mobilisation, but these, after the men required for the cavalry have been drawn from them, are handed over to the artillery and military train. Thus these services obtain many valuable soldiers well accustomed to mounted duties. The reserve soldiers are called up by orders transmitted through the commanding officer of the Landwehr of the district in which they live, who can avail himself of the services of the provincial and parochial authorities, to facilitate the delivery of these orders. To obtain horses quickly the Government has the power, if it cannot buy them readily from regular dealers, to take a certain number from every district, paying for them a price which is fixed by a mixed commission of military officers and of persons appointed by the civil authorities of the district.

On mobilisation each regiment of field artillery forms nine ammunition columns, in each of which are waggons to carry reserve ammunition for infantry, cavalry, and artillery. These columns are kept entirely distinct from the field batteries, the officers of which are justly supposed to have enough to do in action in superintending their own guns without being hampered with the supply of cartridges to the cavalry and infantry.

Every battalion of engineers forms a column of wagons to carry intrenching tools, and also a pontoon train and a light field bridge train, all of which are kept ready during peace.

Every corps is mobilised on paper once a year; portions of it are actually mobilised every two or three years.

The army is so formed in peace that in war its field forces can be ready to march in a few days. An important organisation remains behind, by which the gaps opened in the ranks by battle or pestilence are filled up.

In a large army even of young healthy men ordinary sickness prevents the troops maintaining their normal strength for a single day. Marches, hardships, and fatigues, to which a soldier is exposed before even a shot is fired, increase these natural absentees. As soon as an action takes place a long list is added to the hospital roll, and the evening sees in the ranks many gaps which were filled in the morning by strong soldiers, now lying torn, mangled, or dead on the field. The dead are gone for ever: they are so much power out of the hand of the general; nor can an army wait till the wounded are cured and again able to fire a rifle or wield a sabre. Means must be taken to supply the deficiencies as quickly as possible, and what such deficiencies are may be seen from the German statistics which show that at the end of a year's war 45 per cent of the infantry, 20 per cent. of the cavalry, artillery, and engineers, and 12 per cent. of the military trains are lost to the service and have to be supplied anew.

To supply the places of these ineffective wounded or dead men, and for forwarding substitutes to the active army, dépôts are formed so soon as mobilisation takes place. These dépôts consist of one dépôt battalion for each infantry regiment, one dépôt company for each battalion of rifles and engineers, and a dépôt division for the artillery of each corps. A dépôt squadron for each regiment of cavalry already existed in time of peace. These dépôts remain in their barracks and supply all vacancies in the corps to which they belong. It is laid down that one-half of the men of each dépôt should be reserve soldiers, who, already acquainted with their drill, can be sent up to the front at the first need. As a rule, four weeks after the field-army has marched, the first supply of men is forwarded from the dépôts to the battalions in the field. This first supply consists of one-eighth of the yearly loss given above, and on the first day of each succeeding month a fresh supply is forwarded. If a serious battle is fought, special supplies are sent at once to make up the losses of the troops that have been engaged.

Thus, when the German army is preparing to fight a battle in an enemy's country, supplies of men are already coming up in anticipation of the losses which the action will cause. To prevent the field forces being weakened by detachments, the lines of communication are guarded by the Landwehr, who are pushed up in the rear to assume these duties.

All these fighting men, with their necessary followers and necessary transport animals, every day must be provided with food. At the time of the investment of Paris the German armies in France must have numbered at least a million of men, a population as large

as that of the fourth part of London. It would be a bold man who would undertake to supply one-fourth of the population of London with to-morrow's food—a holder still who would undertake the task if this portion of the population should move bodily to-morrow to St. Alban's and would require to have the meat for their dinner delivered to them the moment they arrived, and who without railway transport agreed to keep the same crowd daily provided with food, and moving at the same rate until they arrived at Edinburgh.

In the German army the system of food supply is excellent, and though in France the number of men to be supplied numbered about fifty times as many as the British force in the Crimea, yet no hitch occurred and no undue strain or anxiety was thrown upon general officers.

And justly so, for a general in command of an army has to do much more than merely give food to his men. He has, besides the ordinary difficulties of such a task, to calculate upon bad roads, weary horses, breaking wagons, the attacks of an enemy's cavalry; he has not only to get food for the troops, but in many cases he has to provide it in the first place, he has to keep his magazines constantly stocked, to increase the amount of transport in exact proportion as his troops advance, to feed not only the fighting men but all the men who are employed in carrying provisions to the combatants, to find hay and corn for the horses of the cavalry, for the horses of the infantry, and for the horses of the transport wagons, and to arrange beforehand so that every man and horse shall halt for the night in close proximity to a large supply of good water. When the enemy is in front, and any moment may bring on an action, a general has little time to turn his mind to the organisation of a system of supply. Then he must sift intelligence, weigh information, divine his adversary's intentions almost before they are formed, prepare a parry for every blow, and speed a thrust into any opening joint of his antagonist's army. The means of supplying troops ought to be given readily into the hands of a general; they should be all arranged and organised beforehand, so that he has but to see that they are properly administered and made use of. It is done in Germany. The *Intendantur* arranges and mobilises the transport which follows the army in the field. This transport is exclusive of the wagons of each battalion, the artillery and engineer trains, and the field telegraph divisions, and is divided under two heads. One portion is kept for the use of the commissariat branch, and is retained solely for the supply of food to men; the second portion carries the medicines and hospital necessities for the sick and wounded, together with the means of carrying disabled men, food for horses, stores to supply magazines, and all articles that have to be transported except munitions of war and regimental equipment. Five provision columns of thirty wagons each are provided for each

corps, and carry three days' provisions for every man. As soon as the wagons which carry the first day's supply are emptied they are sent off to the magazines in the rear and replenished, and must be up again to supply the fourth day's food, as in the two days' interval the other wagons will have been emptied. As it is easier to carry flour than bread in these wagons, each corps is accompanied by a field-bakery. As the army advances, the magazines to supply these waggons must advance also, and means must be provided for keeping the magazines full. The collection of food in such magazines entails an enormous amount of transport, which is obtained by hiring wagons and carts from the country where the war is being carried on, or from the countries near to it. Wagons hired in the country are also used for carrying forage for the horses of the cavalry and artillery from the magazines to the front, for the provision columns only carry food for the men.

The trains which accompany the medical department of a corps consist of three heavy hospital trains and twelve light divisional hospital trains. Each light train carries medicines and ambulances for 200 sick. Each corps has also three detachments of sick bearers, who on the day of battle are divided among the troops. Each battalion has sixteen men told off as assistant sick bearers, who carry out the men to the rear; no other men are allowed to quit the ranks under fire.

The above is a sketch of the general system on which the German army is normally organised. How such an army is worked in the field, and how its resources are made available, and how it achieves the objects for which it has been mobilised, must depend in a great measure upon the skill of the general to whose direction it is entrusted. What an army so organised can effect when its motions are guided by a skilful hand, the rapid victories of late campaigns have abundantly testified.

When all is so smooth, so elastic, so easily worked and so economical in the German system, it may be naturally asked why do not we in England, instead of blindly groping in endeavours to obtain some workable military organisation, adopt the Prussian system in its entirety?

The answer must be that our circumstances are different and our requirements dissimilar. In England we have no compulsory military service. German military administrators have to provide for no Indian or Colonial reliefs, no garrisons of Mediterranean fortresses, and no guards for foreign coaling stations or dockyards where a large navy and an enormous mercantile marine may replenish, repair, or refit. Compulsory universal service was adopted in Prussia under most extraordinary and peculiar circumstances. It has also been adopted in France under the pain and humiliation of a great national disaster. It is also much more easy to maintain a system of universal

military service in a poor agricultural country than it would be in a rich manufacturing country. Even in Germany within late years it has been whispered that in certain instances it has been found impossible to enforce military service upon manufacturers who employ a large amount of labour, who assert that if they are forced into the ranks nobody else can manage their business, and the whole of their operatives must be thrown out of work and become dependent upon the poor rates.

It must be borne in mind, too, that the demands of the German system are being constantly avoided, even in that country, by the emigration of men liable to be drafted into the ranks. To such an extent has emigration reached, and so much has it militated against recruiting, that the Government has seriously contemplated the idea of putting a stop to it by force. In this country emigration in case of universal military service would probably be more rapid and more largely resorted to even than in Germany.

In both Germany and France, for the alleviation of the wealthier middle classes, it has been found necessary to institute an exceptional system, by which lads richer than the ordinary conscript are allowed, on condition of supplying their own equipment, to compound for the liability to military service through serving for one year as volunteers in the ranks. It can hardly be denied that to establish universal compulsory military service in England under present circumstances, and, except under the influence of some terrific disaster, would be impossible, nor would it be desirable. The cost of maintaining a voluntary army, however large, would be cheap in comparison with the indirect taxation that would be thrown on the country by taking away the whole of its manhood for a certain number of years to serve in the ranks. Nobody can calculate what the cost of such a taxation would amount to, but we may rest assured that it is certainly much cheaper for the country at large to pay for voluntary soldiers even at a very high rate, than it would be to suffer the discomfort and the inconvenience, the loss of time and loss of money, which would accrue through the introduction of universal military service.

When voluntary soldiers cannot be obtained at any price which the revenue can afford, it will be time sufficient to consider the adoption of universal conscription in our island. This time seems far distant, for at present recruits are obtained to a certain degree, even when they are offered neither the average wages nor the average prospects of the civil community.

The cost of universal service to a nation cannot be measured only by the direct loss that it brings to the country in which it is carried out. Its remote disadvantages are also manifold. As every man must serve in the army whatever his rank or station of life may be, those men who have the intelligence and means to become officers prefer to serve in the commissioned ranks rather than among the

rank and file. Hence all the best brains in the country are driven to become officers. The men who in England would become judges, lawyers, surgeons, or civil engineers, are driven into the army, and men of energy and enterprise, finding that they are likely to rise, remain in the army. Hence civil professions only obtain those who find the army does not offer them a field for advancement, and it says much for the indomitable patience, capability, and self-denial of the German race, when it is considered how much good work has been done by German philosophers, German men of science, and German authors.

It is an accepted axiom everywhere that it is every man's duty to defend his country, but it by no means follows that he can defend his country more ably and more usefully in person than in purse. When we consider the enormous wealth of this country, the great trade and commerce that it possesses, and the terrible calamity that would fall upon us in case of a successful invasion by an enemy, it cannot but be considered that the 17 millions per annum paid for the maintenance of the army and 10 millions paid for the support of the navy are ludicrously small premiums for the immense amount of national wealth the security of which is insured thereby.

The conditions of our country are so different from Germany and from France, the nature of our society is so dissimilar, that it is most undesirable for a British military administrator to plagiarise the German system. No doubt in certain points it would be an advantage if it were imitated, but it would seem that one of the reasons of the uncertainty and inconsistency which characterise our military organisation is due to the fact that a blind attempt has been made to follow too literally the German rule, without sufficient regard to the broad principles and wide considerations on which the German system was originally founded.

It appears, too, that in the attempts at military administration made since the time of the Crimean war, we have been groping in the dark because, instead of considering in the first place what our military requirements are, and what amount of force should be maintained, we have been constantly endeavouring to cut down our requirements to meet the capabilities of the very incongruous and heterogeneous forces that we find ready to hand. Whatever may be the different views held by persons conversant with the military interests of our country, there are certain points which cannot be disputed. No one will deny that we must maintain sufficient troops to provide a garrison for India, a garrison for our colonies, proper guards for the naval coaling stations, and a certain force at home to provide recruits and reliefs for the above, as well as to protect the country itself from an attempt at an invasion. Few will deny that if these requirements are properly provided for, a larger regular force must be maintained than at present. More recruits are re-

quired than are at present called for. Even now, however, there is a difficulty in obtaining recruits, and it appears that a great portion of this difficulty arises from a too close attempt having been made to imitate the German system of recruiting.

An officer who had accompanied the German army during the war of 1870-71 in France, and was subsequently attached to the War Office, was in 1871 called upon for his views with regard to the adoption of short service in the British army, which was then being considered by Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary of State. He then submitted a plan for recruiting, which it is believed was favourably regarded by Lord Northbrook, then Under-Secretary for War, but was, although carefully considered, not adopted by the Secretary of State. No reasons appear since to have arisen to modify the views then advanced. Subsequent events have rather tended to strengthen them, and possibly if the plan then submitted had then been carried out, some of the difficulties with regard to recruiting which have since arisen might have been avoided.

It then appeared, as it does now, that neither this country nor any country can afford to maintain the whole of its fighting men constantly in the ranks in time of peace, if those fighting men are in time of war to be numerically sufficient to throw any appreciable weight into the scale of a war carried on by armies of the magnitude which can now be placed in the field by continental powers. Hence some system of short service is necessary by which a certain number of men may be passed through the ranks, or at least fairly drilled in time of peace, and be available to be called up for service in time of war. Common sense, however, dictates what experience has proved, that it must be impossible to obtain by voluntary enlistment men who for five or six years will consent to give up their civil occupations to serve for that time in the army, and then return to civil life, without pension, without provision, having lost all knowledge of trade and means of livelihood.

Short service under a system of voluntary enlistment must be very short, and the shorter the service in the ranks of the men who are passed to the reserve, the larger must be the number of old soldiers kept with the colours, to give stability and mobility to the battalions when the reservists rejoin.

It seems clear also that the shorter the service of any portion of the men who would be called into the ranks in case of war the more necessary must it be that non-commissioned officers should be trustworthy and experienced, and this is more necessary in the British army than in any other. For the idea of the adoption of universal military service in this country is totally out of the question, and with non-commissioned officers must in consequence be left more than any other country the details of minor control and regimental discipline. The classes from which the British officer is drawn must be

to a certain extent wealthy, for the examination demanded before a commission can be obtained requires a costly education, and, practically considered, the pay received by a subaltern is nothing. Young men can hardly be expected to provide a considerable income upon which to live in the army, and to submit in time of peace to a great deal of drudgery and discomfort, for the mere pleasure of being called officers. If the details of company-economy and regimental life are not left in some measure to the non-commissioned officers, it appears certain that gradually the moneyed and easy classes will be weaned from the army, and thus not only will men eminently valuable in time of war be lost to the service, but a serious political danger may arise. The tendency of the army will be to become a military caste and military class, unconnected with the property of the country, eager for active change, prone to revolution, greedy for war, dangerous to Government and to civil liberty.

It seems also to be necessary in this country, that men should be recruited younger than in Germany, where no recruit is taken under 20 years of age. In Germany every man must serve for three years. If a man is enlisted at 20 and set free at 23 he is in no worse position than his comrades who have lost those three years of civil life, but in England a man who served from the age of 20 to 23 and then returned to civil life would find himself three years behind the boys who had been at school with him, and would have lost three years in learning his trade and acquiring connections. Hence it appears that it would be advantageous in this country to enlist recruits at the age of 17 for a period of three years, that during these three years recruits should be retained at the depôts or with home battalions, but should not be sent on foreign service. Those who had no taste for military life might be permitted as soon as they had learned their drill to pass into the reserve and to depart to their homes, and in this way no excuse for desertion would be given. Those who passed satisfactorily the ordeal of the three years' preliminary training, and were approved by their commanding officers, might be re-enlisted for a period of nine years, which would allow sufficient time to provide for Indian and Colonial reliefs, and at the end of the second term of nine years' service, those who were approved by the commanding officers, and certainly non-commissioned officers, should be allowed to re-enlist for a further period of nine years, to complete twenty-one years' service and obtain a pension. One of the inducements for the introduction of short service in England was the prospect of the abolition of the pension-list, and no doubt it must be exceedingly provoking* to a Minister of War to see the large amount of money which has to be annually voted for non-effective service. Still it does not seem possible that in this country we can expect to obtain the services of men for twenty-one years, and then throw them off without any provision for the latter portion of their days. Such is not the case in civil life; no Government office, no

commercial organisation, could expect to be well served if it retained its servants for twenty-one years and then sent them away without any provision. Nor even in Germany, where universal and compulsory service is an integral portion of the law of the land, are men after any long service dismissed from the ranks without some provision being made for them. This provision does not always take the form of a money pension, but appointments in the post office, in the forests, in the telegraph department, and in the whole of the civil service of the State, are filled from the ranks of veteran non-commissioned officers or soldiers.

Events have apparently justified these views, for at the present time it cannot be doubted that one reason of the difficulty in obtaining satisfactory recruits for our army in satisfactory numbers is the fact that numbers of men are wandering about the country as tramps who were only too willing to remain in the army, but have been dismissed after five or six years' service, and are now unable to obtain the means of livelihood, having forgotten their trade while with the colours, and are crowding the casual wards, especially in the southern counties of England, without clothes, without shoes, and without food. What encouragement can there be for a young man from a Hampshire village to enlist, when he sees almost daily men who have been soldiers, and have been dismissed from the colours for no fault and would still be willing to serve, begging for crusts of bread, in a state of abject destitution and misery?

It would appear very desirable that before further attempts are made to consider the details of our military system, some broad principles should be arrived at on which the forces required for the purposes of the country should be fixed; and, if possible, some finality should be given to this decision. If we could once settle what the functions of the army are to be, what force should be maintained in India, in the Colonies, and at our naval coaling stations, what depôts should be maintained, what reserves created, and what troops should always be available at home, how to obtain the number of men to fulfil our requirements would be merely a question of money. It seems, indeed, extraordinary that some substantial system of military organisation has not already been adopted in this country. In no country in the world is there such a military feeling as in England. Few countries could maintain such a large voluntary army as is maintained by us, even in the teeth of the Indian climate and Colonial service, as well as a great force of militia, volunteers, and yeomanry. When we consider the large number of armed men who by their own free will are borne on the muster-rolls, it must be seen that the military spirit of the country at large is magnificent. Yet this large number of men is certainly not anything like sufficient, under its present organisation, to perform the work which in a few days may be demanded of it.

If we examine the mere paper returns of the military forces of the British Crown we find them, if not indeed formidable, at least eminently respectable. The regular army, on an average of the last ten years, presents a round total of 190,000 men. The army reserve is now about 30,000 strong, and the militia 140,000, of whom some 25,000 are in the militia reserve; and there are also about 180,000 enrolled volunteers. Thus we hold over half a million of men armed for the defence of the Empire.

But if we analyse the actual combatant strength, and the distribution of this force, the result is by no means so satisfactory. Of the 190,000 regulars more than 92,000 are abroad, 24,000 are recruits of less than one year's service; thus the effective strength at home of trained regular soldiers is reduced to about 70,000. The army reserve has answered well when lately called upon, but allowing for sickness and casualties it can hardly be reckoned at more than 25,000. Of the militia 28,000 men are deficient from the paper strength, and this branch is thereby reduced to 110,000. Of these, 25,000 are in the militia reserve, and nearly 16,000 are annually absent from training, thus reducing the force to 69,000, and of these 25,000 are undrilled recruits, so that the whole available militia strength is only about 45,000 men, and these are not thoroughly trained soldiers.

This shows that even if the regular troops and the army reserve could all be placed in the first line, that line would only consist of 95,000 men, and with the available militia and militia reserve in the second line, that line would only consist of 60,000 men. If war broke out, our first care must be to complete the garrisons of our foreign fortresses and of our coaling stations, which at the present time are most inadequately furnished with troops. The fortresses of Malta, Gibraltar, Aden, and Bermuda, would require at least 20,000 men. The coaling stations, exclusive of India, would require at least 10,000. India, in time of trouble, might ask at least for a reinforcement of 10,000 men. So that of our total effective strength of 155,000, 40,000 would be at once required for foreign service. It would be rash to presume, after allowing for sickness, emigration, and absentees, that we could hold efficient in this country 100,000 men for active warfare. As the militia are not liable to serve abroad, the 40,000 men for foreign service must be found from the regular army and the reserve; and when they had been forwarded to their destination, we should be left with but 55,000 regular troops to furnish the garrisons at home and find a field force. Of these at least 5,000 would be required for each of the fortresses of Plymouth, Portsmouth, Dover; at least 10,000 for the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland; so that we must be left with no more than 30,000 regular troops to defend the roads to the metropolis or strike a blow against an enemy. Indeed, our imperfect organisation would allow us at the moment of a supreme

crisis only to place in the field the exact strength of one German army corps.

Nor is this the worst. Even this small force of 30,000 would take weeks to mobilise. We have no plan for obtaining horses, no transport worthy of the name, no ammunition columns, a mere tiny pontoon train, no organised hospital trains, and no prepared siege-train. The militia are very partially trained. The volunteers are not equipped so as to be able to take the field for twenty-four hours, and even if they were thoroughly efficient, neither they nor the militia have either cavalry or field artillery to accompany them. Thus our grand paper total of half a million of men must dwindle, under the pressure of the imminence of actual war, down to a real strength of 30,000 soldiers, unprovided and unprepared for war.

If we had always ready at Aldershot a corps of 30,000 men, of trained soldiers fully mobilised to take the field at a few days' notice, our case would not be so bad. Such a force could speedily send away troops fit to conduct a South African campaign without disgrace, or if we were attacked at home, could gain for us time to mobilise other troops. The cost of the maintenance of such a corps would be very small in comparison with the risk to which its absence exposes us. Not that those who deeply consider and carefully weigh our country's needs, and the firm security of our fatherland, should be content with such a force alone. Defensive war is always very dangerous. The fencer who ever guards, without making a thrust in return, must have his guard broken down in time. So it is with nations. A country to be really secure must be able to carry war into its enemy's country. In 1870 Berlin was not covered or defended on the banks of the Elbe but on the hills of Alsace. If we are to be secure we must not even be satisfied if we have an organisation which may allow us to fight a battle on the downs of Hampshire or the rolling hills of Surrey.

That there is a great military spirit alive in this country is evident from the large numbers of our voluntary forces. If these 500,000 men were all efficient, if they were all ready to go anywhere and do anything, we should have a force of at least fifteen corps d'armée, which would be a potent factor in any European war. But these men are not efficient nor ready. It is clear that of all this great host only about 30,000 men could be placed in the field after several weeks of preparation. Some Scharnhorst or Von Roon is needed to breathe life into the dead bones of our military organisation.

Nor is the number of men that we can place in the field on short notice merely an interesting speculative problem. The fortunes, the happiness of all of us, of our wives and our children, depend upon our powers of defence. I yield to no man in earnest desire for quiet, in wish for the spread of peace and goodwill among nations. I also

yield to no man in sincere desire to see our criminal classes reformed and our burglars and murderers reclaimed. But till I see some solid assurance that Bill Sikes and his associates are about to abandon the jemmy for the trowel and exchange the revolver for the loom, I do not intend to give up bars to my doors nor bolts to my windows, nor join in an agitation for the abolition of the police, although their maintenance entails upon me a certain contribution to the local rates. The same motives prompt my views as a citizen and as a householder. I would gladly see all necessity for armies disappear, but until they do so I cannot conceal from myself that I live in a country peculiarly open to attack and invasion, and must be ever anxious that our means for resisting attack and invasion may be adequate.

I cannot fail to see, as any man who will look into the matter must see, that London is an open town, that Woolwich is our only arsenal, that our army is unfit for the duties expected of it, and that if an invader could land even two corps d'armée on our southern or eastern shores, a few forced marches must place him in a favourable position to put the Bank of England under an embargo, to set in a blaze the vast forest of shipping that lies below London Bridge, to seize Woolwich and forbid any manufacture of arms or equipment, and to dictate any terms of peace that might seem suitable to him.

Surely this is not a position in which a country that aspires to be great, that considers itself to be great, should be content to remain. I grant that to land unexpectedly two corps d'armée on the English coast would be a matter of great difficulty, but it is not impossible. The troops, once landed, could supply themselves from the country, which there would be no time to lay waste, and need carry nothing but their ammunition with them. The risk would be serious, but the results of success would be enormous, and for such a splendid prize a heavy stake might justly be played. A filibustering expedition through Sussex or Essex, past Chelmsford or Reigate to St. James's and Cheapside, would be much more glorious and far more lucrative than an occupation of Tunis or a descent on Tamatave. What would be the result to England of the success of such an enterprise? Would not the ransom of London be calculated on the most liberal and exhaustive scale? The cession of our fleet, the abolition of our army, the yielding up of our Mediterranean fortresses, and the severance of our Colonies might all be demanded, and perforce yielded, were the capital of the country, the seat of the Government, the banking house of our wealth, and the mainspring of the Empire, but for a few short hours in the power of an enemy who extorted his terms under a threat of fire and bombardment, with his headquarters at Buckingham Palace and his siege train in Hyde Park.

Surely it is not too much to expect from the responsible advisers

of the Crown, that such a catastrophe should be rendered as impossible as human foresight can make it. It is not much to ask that the supply and organisation of our armed forces should be made truly efficient and workmanlike, that London and Woolwich should be girdled with forts so as to make them secure against a *coup de main*, that the garrisons of our coaling stations should be maintained of effective strength, that the militia should be truly a reserve, and not merely a paper auxiliary of the army, that the volunteers should be serviceable garrison troops for home defence, and that one corps should be always held on a war footing at Aldershot, ready to take the field at a few days' notice.

Careless and indifferent, we Englishmen have dallied long enough with the mighty problem of our national security. We alone of European nations appear blind to the fact that railways and telegraphs have entirely revolutionised the progress of military events. Wars tend to be more and more sudden in their outbreak, more and more rapid in their incidents, and those who are not forearmed become every day more liable to be ignominiously surprised and abjectly laid low.

H. M. HOZIER.

A LEAF FROM THE REAL LIFE OF LORD BYRON.¹

I HAVE placed Mr. Jeaffreson's biography at the foot of this article, but I have no intention of reviewing Mr. Jeaffreson. He claims to have given us for the first time 'the real Byron' in distinction from his predecessors, and so far as I am concerned I have no desire to dispute his pretensions. His work indeed resembles a description of Vesuvius written by some one who did not know that Vesuvius was a volcano. But I will let that pass. I will assume that, until further materials are published, this book is to be the standard authority on Byron's character. The critics appear to acquiesce, and from the critics there is no appeal. But for this reason I must draw the attention both of himself and his readers to certain points on which he is absolutely wrong, that they may be corrected in a future edition. Mr. Jeaffreson professes to unfold to us the exact relation between Byron and the mother of Allegra, and the conduct of the Shelleys in connection with that lady. He draws special attention to the superiority of his information on this particular subject. Shelley's character is of as much importance to us as Byron's, and it is necessary to examine what he says about it.

'The poet's biographers,' says Mr. Jeaffreson, 'have hitherto been strangely and suspiciously reticent about the charming girl who gave Byron his natural daughter.' He tells us correctly who she was, and how she described herself. 'Jane Clermont, the clever and brilliant daughter of William Godwin's second wife, had no liking either for her Christian name or her surname. Dropping Jane, either because it was Christian or unromantic, she cut the second syllable from her surname, and adapting the first syllable of it to her sense of the fitness of things, called herself Claire.'

This Jane Clermont, being the child of Godwin's wife, became after her mother's marriage part of Godwin's family, and was brought up by the side of Godwin's own daughter Mary, whose mother was

¹ *The real Lord Byron: New Views of the Poet's Life.* By John Cordy Jeaffreson. London, 1883.

Mary Wollstonecraft, and who afterwards became Mrs. Shelley. Mr. Jeaffreson goes on to say that, although they were not blood relations, 'there was the fullest confidence between these young girls of the same home. Their mutual affection glowed with the impetuosity of girlish romance.' As this supposed affection is made the basis of a hypothesis, which to some persons will seem not creditable to the Shelleys, my first duty is to show that no such affection existed, and that, so far from the fullest confidence existing between Jane Clermont and Mary Shelley, there was a marked absence of it.

A word to begin with about Shelley's connection with the Godwins. Shelley, as everyone knows, was married first to a Brömpton school girl—Harriet Westbrook. They were little more than children; he nineteen, she sixteen. At the end of two years they separated. The exact cause is not known, and perhaps never will be known, as Shelley was not careful to justify himself at the expense of others. He continued for many months after the separation on the most friendly terms with her; wrote to her, visited her, spoke to her and of her with regard and even tenderness, though determined never again to live with her as his wife. She then sank into abandoned habits, and destroyed herself in December 1816. Her death under such shocking circumstances affected Shelley most painfully. It would have been surprising if it had not. But he did not blame himself, nor did the family lawyers blame him, who knew the facts of the story.

Shelley's conduct would have been less open to suspicion had he waited for his wife's death to form another connection. But the separation from Harriet Westbrook and his flight with Mary Godwin, though one had no relation to the other, and though he would never, under any circumstances, have taken Harriet Westbrook back to him—yet remain bound together in the world's mind, and always will remain. The story is a very simple one. Alone, cast adrift by his own relations, 'in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,' he met the daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft. He fell passionately in love with her, and she with him. Though she had been bred up to regard love as the essential part of marriage, she was a perfectly pure innocent woman. She believed that, as long as Shelley's wife was alive a union with him was impossible, and a letter of hers survives, written at the beginning of July 1814, in which she told him that, though she could not be his, she would never belong to another. At the end of the same month they ran away together to Switzerland, contented with a pledge to be true to each other while life lasted. They were both very young. Shelley was still but twenty-two, she not yet seventeen. If they had been older they would perhaps have felt more strongly the obligation of social rules, and the sin of acting on emotional theories of liberty. But they were both enthusiasts. Shelley was a revolutionist; Mary Godwin had inherited her mother's character,

and must have known her mother's history. Such as they were they plighted their solemn faith to one another, and the vow was as sacred in their eyes as law or religion could have made it.

In their flight from London Jane Clermont was their companion—and so far Mr. Jeaffreson is right in saying that she was Mary's confidant—but she soon ceased to be so, and the desire to escape from her own mother, whom she detested, had as much to do with Jane's going away, with them as sympathy with the daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft. She was clever, witty, spiteful, ambitious, professing a latitude in matters of morality which scandalised Shelley himself. In the unpublished journal of the two Shelleys is recorded one impression which she left on them.

October 7, 1814.—Jane states her conception of the sublime—community of women.

On their return to England in the winter, Jane, to the distress of both, refused to leave them and go home.

Mrs. Shelley writes:—

March 11, 1815.—Talk about Claire's going away. Nothing settled. I fear it is hopeless; she will not go to Skinner Street.² Thus our house, I see plainly, is the only remaining place—what is to be done?

Feeling herself so unwelcome, she left the Shelleys in May, and went to live alone in a lodging. Mrs. Shelley notes: 'Claire goes. I begin a new journal with our regeneration.' Jane herself was as glad to be gone as the Shelleys to lose her. From her solitary cottage she wrote on the 15th of May to Fanny Godwin:—

I am perfectly happy. After so much discontent, such violent scenes, such a turmoil of passion and hatred, you will hardly believe how enraptured I am with this dear quiet little spot. I am as happy when I go to bed as when I rise. I am never disappointed, for I know the extent of my pleasures.

When the Shelleys afterwards were looking for a house to live in, Mary Shelley writes: 'Give me a garden and *absentia* Claire, and I will thank my love for many favours.'

So much for 'mutual affection glowing with the impetuosity of girlish romance.'

But now for the castle in the air which Mr. Jeaffreson builds on this assumption of his.

In the interval when Jane Clermont was living apart from the Shelleys she made the acquaintance of Lord Byron. The how or when cannot be exactly known, but the time coincides nearly with that of Byron's separation from his wife. Byron was part manager of Drury Lane Theatre, and it is supposed that she called on him to offer her services as an actress. The introduction led to an intimacy of a closer

² Her father's house was in Skinner Street.

³ *Sic*.

kind. With the theories which she entertained in such matters, Jane Clermont is not likely to have made long objections. She was carrying out her notion of 'the sublime.' It is possible, too, and very like her, that she perceived the analogy of Byron's and Shelley's situation; that she conceived the notion that she might herself fill the same position with Byron—a wife in all but the name—as her connection was occupying with Shelley. Any way, she caught Byron's passing fancy, became his mistress, and eventually mother of Allegra. The *liaison* began early in the spring of 1816, and Mr. Jeaffreson insists that the Shelleys must have been aware of it, and have encouraged it. It happens that a letter of Jane Clermont survives in which she says that Mary Godwin had not the faintest suspicion of her intimacy with Byron, and that she had the utmost dread of her discovering it. It is due to Mr. Jeaffreson to say that he had not seen this letter; but he had before him the clear, and in this respect correct, account given by previous writers. He has chosen to deviate from this, relying on his notion of probabilities, and he must take the consequences.

Let us hear what Mr. Jeaffreson says:—

It being certain that the fleeting passion had its birth and final triumph in London, it is inconceivable that it was withheld by Claire from Mary. The only motive a girl in Claire's position could have for holding her passion from the knowledge of her sister would be motives of shame and delicacy. Such motives cannot be supposed to have influenced Jane Clermont in her intercourse with her sister by affinity—the wife of a man to whom she was not married, the mother of a child who in the law's eye was no one's child. Claire saw no sin in her passion for Byron, no reason why she should blush to avow it. . . . Prudence might have determined her to be silent to the world about so innocent a passion, but would not have required her to be silent to her closest female friend, her sister, who was already loving Shelley and living with him, precisely as she herself was loving and hoping to live with Byron. Is it to be imagined . . . that Mary, to whom the affair must have been peculiarly acceptable from its close resemblance to her own affair of the heart, was less liberal of approving words and cordial wishes? Is it conceivable that on this subject alone, the topic which must have made Claire bubble over with sisterly communicativeness, there was a reserve in the mutual confidence that was otherwise so perfect? . . .

Whilst it is impossible to believe that Mary was excluded from Claire's confidence on this most interesting and absorbing subject, it is difficult to imagine it a matter on which Mary gave no confidence, or only a half-confidence, to her own poet. Why should she have withheld from him anything of a matter that would appear to him alike innocent, reasonable, and advantageous both to Claire and Byron; an arrangement that would afford him the agreeable feeling that his own way of dealing with the gentler sex, having been already imitated by the most popular poet of his generation, would soon be imitated by other persons of supreme sensibility and enlightenment? The thing he approved for himself was no thing for Shelley to disapprove in Byron's case. The course which was virtuous for Mary could not strike him as vicious for Mary's sister. True, that he and Byron were widely different men, that while he was calm and steadfast of purpose, Byron was passionate and volatile almost on principle. But as he never saw Byron till they met at Geneva, Shelley may well have been altogether unaware of this difference while the two parties were journeying together to their place of meeting. True also that

Claire and Mary (sisters only by affinity) differed greatly in temper, judgment, and feeling, as well as in personal appearance. But the difference may have escaped the poet-dreamer and gentle mystic, who lived more in the clouds than on the earth's surface. Moreover, systems (and the younger poet's view of marriage was part of a system of morals commended for acceptance to universal human nature) may not be nicely considerate for the peculiarities of individuals. Certainly no injustice is done to Shelley by the suggestion that he went to Geneva with a clear knowledge of Claire's passion for Byron, and of her expectation of meeting him there. He would have seen nothing to disapprove in an arrangement for Claire to live with her admirer, even as he was himself living with her sister by affinity.

Thus Mr. Jeaffreson settles everything to his own satisfaction; and we have positive evidence that he is totally wrong. So far as the fact is concerned his mistake is comparatively innocent; but it is hard to say whether he is more incorrect in his statements or insulting to the Shelleys in his arguments. There is but one thing accurately stated in all that he says upon the subject—that the meeting of the Shelleys with Byron at Geneva was not accidental. Byron, after his quarrel with Lady Byron, went abroad in April 1816, and passed through Switzerland on his way to Italy. Jane Clermont knew where he was going, though the Shelleys did not; and Shelley having nothing at that time to keep him in England, and much to make him wish to leave it, Jane Clermont (I have it under her own hand, though I must not quote her words) persuaded Shelley to go again to Geneva with Mary, and to take her with them. It is perfectly certain, therefore, that the Shelleys had no expectation of meeting Byron on this occasion, and Mr. Jeaffreson is as absolutely mistaken. He admits, indeed, that he has no direct proof; but this makes his case the worse. If he had been certain of his facts he might have produced his theory to explain them; but, as the case stands, he creates facts which had no existence by attributing motives to the Shelleys which, had they been real, would have been little less than infamous. Shelley, however free his theories, was a person on whose imagination a licentious image had never left a stain. He regarded himself as bound to Mary Godwin by a tie so strong that no law, divine or human, could enhance its obligation—a tie which, to a temperament like his, was the more sacred because it rested for the time only upon honour and affection. He was under a contract to give her a legal right to his name if ever he had an opportunity to do so; and Mr. Jeaffreson supposes that he would regard the seduction of a near connection, who had lived under his own roof, and for whom the world and her relations would hold him responsible, by a notorious libertine like Byron, as lifting her into a situation analogous to that in which he had himself placed Mary Godwin. Byron, whose separation from his wife was, for all that any one then knew, a passing quarrel, was as little likely to remain faithful to Claire as to any one of the other hundred women on whom he had bestowed his fickle favours. So far from Claire's position being

like that of Mary Godwin, it must have appeared to Shelley rather a hideous parody of it. It provoked (as Shelley knew that it would and must provoke) the most malignant observations; and if it could have been shown that he had even tacitly approved of Jane Clermont's *liaison*, he would have made his position with the English world and his own relations a thousand times more difficult than it was. Neither he nor Mary could entertain the slightest hope that the connection would be permanent. Claire they knew to be a passionate headstrong girl, difficult to live with even for them, and holding wild notions about the community of women. How could such a person hope to secure the constancy of Byron? Shelley, Mr. Jeaffreson says, did not know Byron. If so, he was the only person in England that was ignorant. Byron's reputation in such matters was sufficiently notorious, and was even worse than he deserved. Claire knew better than this eagerly confident writer how the Shelleys would feel about conduct as injurious to them as to herself. During the four months which they and Byron spent at Chamounix she does not seem to have given them the slightest hint of the position in which she stood. Byron resided at a villa near the lake, the Shelleys at a cottage ten minutes' walk from it. They met constantly, read together, went on the water together. English tourists may have made impertinent remarks, for it was known that the Shelleys were not legally married, and Byron was a world's wonder for imagined wickedness. But Shelley's diary remains to show how innocently they were occupied. Their studies were Curtius and Pliny, Tacitus and Plutarch. If Claire ever visited Byron's house it was in Shelley's company. Byron paid her no attentions which could attract suspicion; he was probably already tired of her. Nor could she easily have been alone with him, even for the shortest interval.

When the four months were over, however, her condition made explanation necessary. The Shelleys instantly returned with her to England, where, in the following January, in the strictest secrecy, she produced the unfortunate child who is known as Allegra.

The Godwins were kept in ignorance. No hint of what had happened was allowed to reach them; but Mrs. Godwin's temper was detestable, and it was now more than ever impossible for Claire to live in her father's house. The Shelleys, who had disliked her before, could not have been more favourably disposed towards her, but they pitied her misfortunes and allowed her to continue to reside with them. Byron took an interest in the child, but none in the mother of it. Her he looked on as an inconvenient person who fancied that she had claims on him, and tormented him with letters. Allegra was brought up in Mrs. Shelley's nursery. Harriet Westbrook coming to an end in December 1816, Shelley and Mary went through the form of legal marriage. They had two children of their own; Allegra was represented to be the daughter of a relation who had

treated her to their care. After a time, however, questions began to be asked, the servants became curious, and they feared that if she remained longer with them, the secret would be discovered. They decided that she must be given into her father's custody, and Byron was not unwilling to receive her. For a time they were uncertain how to send her to Italy, but this was got over by their going to Italy themselves in March 1818, and taking Allegra with them as far as Milan. Byron was at Venice. She was put in charge of a Swiss nurse named Elise, in whom Mrs. Shelley had confidence, and was by her conducted to Byron's palace, where for a little while she remained. But it was the period of his wildest disorders; for he had extricated himself from the Venetian courtesans only to exchange them for another man's wife. His house was no proper home for his child, and he determined, rightly enough perhaps, that she should be educated in a respectable convent.

This scheme did not please Claire. She, too, had come to Italy with the Shelleys. She hoped perhaps that Allegra would be the means of reuniting her with Byron; and to send her daughter to a convent looked as if Byron himself had no such intention. She wrote to him again and again reproachfully—at any rate, tediously. Nothing is so unwelcome as an old lover at an inconvenient time. He was eager to believe any harm which he could hear of Claire as a justification to himself for his own neglect of her. And now we come to our second charge against Mr. Jeaffreson: Byron's offence will be found greater than his; but his biographer ought not to have repeated a scandalous story, and accepted part of it as true, for which he had no tolerable evidence, and which can be shown to be as false as the Shelleys' encouragement of the original intrigue.

Mr. Jeaffreson must again speak for himself:—

On one point Claire gained a promise from Byron. Incapable in her nineteenth year of regarding the parental obligations from the high philosophic point of view which *possibly* enabled her, before she was twenty-four years old to *commit with a light heart and easy conscience a second child to a Foundling Hospital*, Claire entreated Byron that her *firstborn offspring* should be reared under the personal surveillance of the one or other of its parents, or both of them. . . .

Passion, sarcasm, pathos, entreaty, were all in vain. The father was unyielding; the mother might as well have offered her supplications to a block of stone; the justification of his obstinacy being his belief that Claire had no strong affection for her offspring, or anyone but herself, (that she) had *planted one of her children in a Foundling*, was at that very time living in concubinage with Shelley, under Mrs. Shelley's roof, was in fact an equally shameless and saucy actress in the whole affair.

To Claire (Mr. Jeaffreson says at a later point in his book) he appears to have been unrelenting to the last. Though he was compelled to acquit Shelley of the immorality referred to in a previous chapter, he seems to have remained under the impression that Jane Clermont had given birth to a second child. . . . This unfavourable opinion of Claire is not to be lost sight of when Byron is judged for his neglect of the mother at the time of the child's death, and his omission to make any provision in his will for the woman whom he had injured grievously.

Mr. Jeaffreson may say that he qualifies his statements with such words as *possibly*. But the effect of these passages is certainly to leave an impression that Jane Clermont had a second child, and that it was disposed of as Byron supposed. The belief is alleged as an explanation of conduct which would have been otherwise indefensible. Therefore Mr. Jeaffreson assumes that there was real ground for it, since a belief taken up without ground would be no defence at all. Nor does the acquittal of Shelley from direct guilt in the matter go for very much. Jane Clermont was living under Shelley's roof when this supposed child was produced, if it was produced at all. Byron knew how the world had talked about Shelley, and how it was inclined to talk. Such a child must have been the offspring of some scandalous intrigue or other carried on under Shelley's eye. If he who professed to be a friend of Shelley's believed this, those who still think ill of Shelley may hold themselves completely entitled to believe it also.

Mr. Jeaffreson gives no authorities. To refer to evidence would interfere with his mode of writing, and he habitually dispenses with it. So far as I can I will supply the deficiency. In the British Museum (*Egerton MSS.* 2332, fol. 5) there is a letter from Claire to Lord Byron, written from Florence on the 21st of March, 1821. She had left the Shelleys at that time, and had taken a situation in a German family.

This letter Mr. Jeaffreson has certainly seen, since he expands it into several of his own pages. The original is better than the paraphrase, and the reader may be interested in seeing something of Claire's own writing.

I have just received the letter which announces the putting Allegra into a convent. Before I quitted Geneva you promised me—verbally, it is true—that my child, whatever its sex, should never be away from one of its parents. This promise originated in my being afflicted at your idea of placing it under the protection of Mrs. Leigh. This promise is violated, not only slightly, but in a mode and by a conduct most intolerable to my feeling of love for Allegra. It has been my desire and my practice to interfere with you as little as possible; but were I silent now, you would adopt this as an argument against me at some future period. I therefore represent to you that the putting Allegra, at her years, into a convent, away from any relation, is to me a serious and deep affliction. Since you first gave the hint of your desire, I have been at some pains to enquire into their system, and I find that the state of the children is nothing less than miserable. I see no reason to believe that convents are better regulated at Ravenna, a secondary, out-of-the-way town of the Roman States, than at Florence, the capital of Tuscany. Every traveller and writer upon Italy joins in condemning them, which would be alone sufficient testimony, without advertg to the state of ignorance and profligacy of the Italian women, all pupils of convents. They are bad wives, most unnatural mothers; licentious and ignorant, they are the dishonour and unhappiness of society. This then, with every advantage in your power, of wealth, of friends, is the education you have chosen for your daughter. This step will procure to you an innumerable addition of enemies and of blame, for it cannot be regarded but in one light by the virtuous, of whatever sect or denomination. Allegra's misfortune, in

being condemned by her father to a life of ignorance and degradation, in being deprived of the advantages which the belonging to the most enlightened country in the world entitle her to, and of the protection and friendship of her parents' friends (so essential to the wellbeing of a child in her desolate situation), by the adoption of a different religion and of an education known to be contemptible, will be received by the world as a perfect fulfilment on your part of all the censures passed upon you. How will Lady Byron—never yet justified for her conduct towards you—be soothed, and rejoice in the honourable safety of herself and child, and all the world be bolder to praise her prudence, my unhappy Allegra furnishing the condemning evidence! I alone, misled by love to believe you good, trusted to you, and now I reap the fruits.

I do not describe my feelings of sorrow that this is to be Allegra's destiny, because I know what an excitement it would be to you to continue and if possible to augment the burden. But I entreat you to retract this step, if not for her sake, at least for your own. Be assured that no reasons can be found to justify this measure. If you doubt that passion may hinder my judging rightly about it, take the opinion of Mrs. Hoppner,—a lady every way worthy your attention. Her great knowledge of the world will ensure you the most safe and laudable conduct to be pursued with regard to Allegra's education, and I feel so much confidence in her goodness and sound judgment that I should submit to her decision with the greatest pleasure. I resigned Allegra to you that she might be benefited by advantages which I could not give her. It was natural for me to expect that your daughter would become an object of affection, and would receive an education becoming the child of an English nobleman. Since, however, you are indifferent to her, or that the purity of your principles does not allow you to cherish a natural child, I entreat you as an act of justice to allow the following scheme to be put into execution, that Allegra may have the benefits her mother can procure to her. I propose to place her, at my own expense, in one of the very best English boarding schools, where, if she is deprived of the happiness of a home and paternal care, she at least would receive an English education, which would enable her, after many years of painful and unprotected childhood, to be benefited by the kindness and affection of her parents' friends. I will see her only so often as they shall decide, because I hope to induce you by this sacrifice of myself to yield the child to proper hands. By adopting this plan you will save your credit and also the expense; and the anxiety of her safety and wellbeing need never trouble you; you will become as free as if you had no such tie. I entreat you earnestly not to be obdurate on this point; believe me, in putting Allegra into a convent, to ease yourself of the trouble, and to hurt me in my affection for her, you have done almost a greater injury to yourself than to me or her. So blind is hatred. I have already mentioned the evil to your reputation, besides which, in separating her from you at this early age her attachment is weakened, and the difference of religion, added to the evil stories concerning you, will in a few years more completely alienate her from you. Such is the miserable and unsatisfactory state produced by this step to all three. To none does it procure one atom of advantage or pleasure. I add another remark upon this convent scheme—if it is a place suited to Allegra, why need you pay a double pension to ensure her proper treatment and attention? This little fact coming from yourself says everything in condemnation of the plan. I know not how to address you in terms fit to awaken acquiescence to the above requests; yet neither do I know why you should doubt the wisdom and propriety of what I propose, seeing that I have never, with regard to Allegra, sought anything but her advantage, even at the price of total unhappiness to myself. 'My heart,' to use the words of an author, 'is rather wise because it loves much than because it knows much,' and the great affection I feel for her makes me to arrive at the knowledge of what is her good, almost as it were instinctively. I pray you to allow yourself to be advised on this point, and I mention M^{de}. Hoppner because she is friendly

disposed towards you, and enabled by her situation to judge fairly what difference exists between an Italian and English education. You would have had the letter much sooner, but I was absent at Florence when the letter from Ravenna arrived at Pisa; they, not willing to annoy me when on a visit, kept it some time, but as my stay became longer sent it to me. I beg you will address to Pisa as usual, to which city I return in another week. I cannot say how anxiously I expect your answer; since I read the letter I have not had a moment's content, fearing to allow myself ease lest Allegra should be suffering from neglect. Nor can I be happy until some plan is decided upon of a real advantage to her. I am desirous also of knowing how far Bagren-cava is from Ravenna, and if on the sea-coast; also whether Allegra is entered only for a short time, or for a fixed period. The answer to these questions is of the greatest importance to me. Again, I entreat you to yield, so that we may both be easy about her; I not suffering from anxiety and injury, nor you from the contention in your heart of hatred and pride, which my entreaties awaken. I know that expressions of affection and friendship only exasperate you, yet I cannot help wishing you as much happiness as you inflict unjust misery upon me. Then indeed you would be blessed.

CLAIRE.

Florence: March 24, 1821.

The Hoppners here mentioned were mutual friends both of Lord Byron and of the Shelleys. Mr. Hoppner was Consul-General at Venice. Mrs. Hoppner had been at one time a correspondent of Mary Shelley, and had professed a high regard for her. They became acquainted on the Shelleys' visit to Venice in 1819. They had written to one another at the beginning of the intimacy, and the Shelleys looked on the Hoppners as friends.

Byron, who was at Ravenna when Claire's letter reached him, forwarded it to Mr. Hoppner, and added in his own hand the following comment:—

Dear Hoppner,—The moral part of this letter upon the Italians, &c., comes with an excellent grace from the writer *when living with a man and his wife*, and having planted a child in the Foundling, &c. With regard to the rest of the letter you know as far as anyone how far it is, or is not, correct.

'A man and his wife' can only mean the Shelleys. It is to them that Byron is clearly referring, and as clearly he is speaking of a subject on which Dr. Hoppner and he had already communicated. He is not giving information, but he is referring to something which both he and his correspondent knew of, and supposed to be true.

I will now turn, for light upon it, to the Shelleys' incompletely-published correspondence. Mr. Jeaffreson appears to have seen parts of this, and to have supplied what was wanting by his imagination. In the spring of 1820 Shelley expressed a regret that Byron felt and wrote so harshly about the unlucky Jane. He assured him that she had no wish to be troublesome. Her letters might be provoking; but he should remember that she was but a woman, and that he ought not to resent her impatience. Byron answered that she was an unreasonable violent person. He refused to write to her himself, or to alter the opinion which he had formed about her. Shelley did

not remonstrate. He supposed Claire's temper had suffered from the solitary life which she had led with him and Mary, and that change of scene and the new society which she was entering at Florence would improve her spirits. In August 1821, four months after the date of the letter which Byron had sent to Mr. Hoppner, Shelley went to Ravenna on a visit to Byron, and the day after his arrival wrote thus to his wife:—

Lord Byron has told me of a circumstance that shocked me exceedingly, because it exhibits a degree of desperate and wicked malice, for which I am at a loss to account. When I hear such things my patience and philosophy are put to a severe proof, whilst I refrain from seeking out some obscure hiding-place where the countenance of man may never meet me more. . . . It seems that Elise, actuated either by some inconceivable malice for our dismissing her, or bribed by my enemies, or making common cause with her husband,* has persuaded the Hoppners of a story so monstrous and incredible that they must have been prone to believe any evil to have believed such assertions upon such evidence. Mr. Hoppner wrote to Lord Byron, to state this story as a reason why he declined any further communication with us, and why he advised him to do the same. Elise says that Claire was my mistress; that she was brought to bed; that I immediately tore the child from her and sent it to the Foundling Hospital. I quote Mr. Hoppner's words—and this is stated to have taken place in the winter after we left Este (1819-20). In addition she says that both I and Claire treated you in the most shameful manner; that I neglected and beat you, and that Claire never let a day pass without offering you insults of the most violent kind, in which she was abetted by me.

As to what reviews and the world say I do not care a jot; but when persons who have known me are capable of conceiving of me, not that I have fallen into a great error—as would have been the living with Claire as my mistress—but that I have committed such unutterable crimes as destroying or abandoning a child, and that my own! imagine my despair of good! Imagine how it is possible that one of so weak and sensitive a nature as mine can run the gauntlet further, through this hellish society of men. You should write to the Hoppners a letter refuting the charge, in case you believe, and know, and can prove it to be false—stating the grounds and proofs of your belief. . . . If you will send this letter to me here I will forward it to the Hoppners.

The last words are very touching. When persons, calling themselves his friends, could believe so monstrous a charge against him, poor Shelley despaired of struggling further with the world's evil tongues, and conceived it possible that even his wife might have come to think evil of him too. 'In case you believe it to be false' implies that perhaps she might believe it true.

Mrs. Shelley felt the indignation natural to a wife whose husband had been so shamefully traduced. Shelley had told her that Byron gave no credit to the story. She wrote to Mrs. Hoppner a letter full of dignity and beauty; she sent it to Shelley, as he had desired, that it might be forwarded by himself to Venice; and she told him 'to thank Lord Byron for his kind unbelief.'

* A certain Paolo, who had been writing threatening letters to Shelley, to extort money.

Mary Shelley to Mrs. Hoppner.

Pisa: August 10, 1821.

My dear Mrs. Hoppner,—After a silence of nearly two years, I address you again, and most bitterly do I regret the occasion on which I now write. Pardon me that I do not write in French. You understand English well, and I am too much impressed to shackle myself in a foreign language. Even in my own my thoughts far outrun my pen, so that I can hardly form my letters. I write to defend him to whom I have the happiness to be united, whom I love and esteem beyond all living creatures, from the foulest calumnies; and to you I write this who were so kind, and to Mr. Hoppner, to both of whom I indulged the pleasing idea that I had every reason to feel gratitude. This is indeed a painful task. Shelley is at present on a visit to Lord Byron at Ravenna, and I received a letter from him to-day containing accounts that make my hand tremble so much that I can hardly hold the pen. It tells me that Elise wrote to you, relating the most hideous stories against him, and that you believed them. The other day I received a letter from Elise, entreating, with great professions of love, that I would send her money.

Mrs. Shelley goes on to give a long account of Elise's husband Paolo, who had tried to force money from Shelley, and had threatened to be the ruin of him if he did not send it. Elise had taken no part in this, but had professed the greatest affection to Mrs. Shelley. She saw evidently that the story was an invention of Paolo's, but she had not believed Elise wicked enough to join him in his plans. She then continues:—

But now I come to the accusations, and I must summon all my courage while I transcribe them, for tears will force their way, and how can it be otherwise? You knew Shelley. You saw his face, and could you believe them?—believe them only on the testimony of a girl whom you despised? I had hoped that such a thing was impossible, and that, although strangers might believe the calumnies that this man propagated, none who had ever seen my husband could for a moment credit them. He says Claire was Shelley's mistress—that—upon my word I solemnly assure you that I cannot write the words. I send you a part of Shelley's letter, that you may see what I am now about to refute; but I had rather die than copy anything so vilely, so wickedly false, so beyond imagination fiendish.

But that you should believe it! That my beloved Shelley should stand thus slandered in your minds—he, the gentlest, the most humane of creatures—is more painful to me—oh far more painful—than words can express. Need I say that the union between my husband and myself has never been disturbed? Love caused our first imprudence; love which improved by esteem, a perfect trust one in the other, a confidence and affection which, visited as we have been by severe calamities (have we not lost two children?), has increased daily, and knows no bounds. I will add that Claire has been separated from us for about a year. She lives with a respectable German family at Florence. The reasons for this were obvious. Her connection with us made her manifest as the Miss Clermont, the mother of Allegra. Besides we live much alone. She enters much into society there; and, solely occupied with the idea of the welfare of her child, she wished to appear such that she may not be thought in after times to be unworthy of fulfilling the maternal duties. You ought to have paused before you tried to convince the father of her child of such unheard of atrocities on her part. If his generosity and know-

'His' in the copy before me, which is nonsense; though perhaps Mrs. Shelley, in her excitement, wrote it so. She evidently means Claire.

ledge of the world had not made him reject the slander with the ridicule it deserved, what irretrievable mischief you would have occasioned her! Those who know me will believe my simple word. It is not long ago that my father said, in a letter to me, that he had never known me utter a falsehood; but you—easy as you have been to credit evil you may be more deaf to truth—to you I swear by all that I hold sacred in Heaven and Earth, by a vow which I should die to write if I affirmed a falsehood,—I swear by the life of my child—my blessed, beloved child—that I know the accusation to be false.

But I have said enough to convince you—and are you not convinced? Repair, I conjure you, the evil you have done, by retracting your confidence in one so vile as Elise, and by writing to me that you reject as false every circumstance of her infamous tale. You were kind to us, and I will never forget it. Now I require justice. You must believe me, and do me—I solemnly entreat you—the justice to confess that you do so.

MARY W. SHELLEY.

I send this letter to Shelley at Ravenna, that he may see it; for though I ought, the subject is too odious to me to copy it. I wish also that Lord Byron should see it. He gave no credit to the tale; but it is well that he should see how entirely fabulous it is.

Lord Byron's 'generosity and knowledge of the world' had not been quite as active as Mrs. Shelley thought. To Shelley he had affected to treat the story with contempt—as a mere idle calumny. He had made no distinction, as Mr. Jeaffreson supposes, between the charge against Shelley and the charge against the lady who had been his mistress. To Mr. Hoppner he had written, four months before, as if he believed both.

But how had the story originated? Byron certainly had heard it from Mr. Hoppner. Shelley's words imply that Byron had shown him Mr. Hoppner's letter. From whom had Mr. Hoppner heard it? He said from the nurse Elise. But Elise, when questioned, protested that she had never spoken or written a single word to Mrs. Hoppner on the subject. 'Je vous assure, ma chère Madame Shelley,' she said, 'que je n'ai jamais rien dit à Madame Hoppner ni contre vous, ni contre Mademoiselle, ni contre Monsieur, et de quelque part que cela vienne c'est un mensonge contre moi.' She enclosed a note to Mrs. Hoppner for Mrs. Shelley to forward to that lady, requiring to know on what conceivable ground she had alleged her authority for so infamous a slander, and demanding an explanation in a tone which she could not possibly have adopted if Mrs. Hoppner had really received a letter from her of the kind which was pretended. Elise must be acquitted certainly. Mrs. Shelley was probably correct in her first suspicion, that the Hoppners' informant had been Elise's husband Paolo, and that Paolo said that his wife had told him.

The Hoppners had clearly acted very ill in crediting so hastily and repeating so rashly such an extraordinary story; and in assuming the truth of it to be so certain that they could advise Byron to have no further communication with the Shelleys. Mrs. Shelley had a right to expect some explanation and some apology, yet none came. She

received no answer to her letter, no acknowledgment of any kind from Mrs. Hoppner. She naturally resented a silence which seemed like an insolent persistence in a belief in Shelley's guilt, and to the end of her life was unable to understand Mrs. Hoppner's conduct. So inexplicable that conduct appeared, that Mrs. Shelley did not condescend to write again to her, or send her Elise's contradiction.

The explanation has at last come to light, and is not the least strange feature in the dirty business. Mrs. Hoppner never received Mrs. Shelley's letter. It was purposely kept back from her by Byron. Mrs. Shelley sent it, as she was directed, to her husband at Ravenna, that he and Byron might read it and then forward it. Shelley writes to her:—

I have received your letter, with that to Mrs. Hoppner. I do not wonder, my dearest friend, that you should have been moved. I was at first; but I speedily regained the indifference which the opinion of anything or anybody except our own consciousness, amply merits, and day by day shall more receive from me. I have not re-copied your letter—such a measure would destroy its authenticity, but have given it to Lord Byron, who has engaged to send it with his own comments to the Hoppners. People do not hesitate, it seems, to make themselves panders and accomplices to slander, for the Hoppners had *extracted from Lord Byron that these accusations should be concealed from me*. Lord Byron is not a man to keep a secret, good or bad, but in *openly confessing he has not done so, he must observe a certain delicacy, and therefore wished to send the letter himself*; and indeed this adds weight to your representations. Have you seen the article in the *Literary Gazette* on me? They evidently allude to some story of this kind. However cautious the Hoppners have been in preventing the calumniated person from asserting his justification, you know too much of the world not to be certain that this was the utmost limit of their caution.

Shelley, as he said, put the letter in Byron's hands. Byron locked it away among his other papers, where it was found at his death, and passed to his executors. I have printed it by the permission of Sir Percy Shelley, to whom it properly belongs, that this miserable scandal—scandal in all its parts—may be put to death as it deserves. It was not addressed to Byron; it therefore never belonged to Byron; and a property which was not his own could not descend to his representatives. Why Byron kept it back must be left to conjecture. It could not have been carelessness. He had prevented Shelley from forwarding it himself. He knew the importance of it. He had personally requested that Shelley would trust him with it, that he might add to it his own observations.

We cannot credit him with so overstrained a delicacy as to be unwilling to confess that he had broken his promise of secrecy (if indeed he ever gave such a promise); for if the Hoppners had had ordinary feeling, they would have been only delighted to learn that they had been misled, and would have been shocked at their own credulity.

To attribute the suppression to malice is to charge Byron with more deliberate wickedness than any of which he has been yet sus-

pected. His conscience perhaps told him that he had not behaved well about the matter. In his hatred of Claire, and in his eagerness for an excuse to be rid of her, he had easily credited the story when the Hoppners mentioned it. Reflection told him that it was a lie. He had spoken frankly to Shelley on the subject. He had professed to him entire disbelief, and he had been ashamed to admit that he had thought and written to the Hoppners as if he considered it true. A generous man would have frankly said to the Hoppners that he and they had done his friend wrong, and that they both ought to be sorry for it; but he could not send Mrs. Shelley's letter without acknowledging that he had been himself wanting in straightforwardness. He could not think of the Hoppners reading of the Shelleys' confidence 'in his generous incredulity,' without a disagreeable consciousness of the smile which the words would provoke. He had not required Shelley's assurance to satisfy him that the child and the Foundling Hospital were calumnies bred of spite and malignity, and he thought, like other fictions of the same kind, they would die away and be forgotten.

Forgotten they would have been, and need never have been revived out of oblivion, had not Mr. Jeaffreson desired to ornament his pages with sensational scandal, and to find a reason for the omission of Jane Clermont's name in Byron's will. The explanation will not hold water. Byron as little believed that Jane Clermont had sent a second child to the Foundling Hospital as he believed that Shelley had been the child's father.

J. A. FROUDE.

PAINTERS AND THEIR PATRONS.

THOSE who have watched the development of modern art in England during the last fifteen or twenty years cannot fail to note the change produced, not only in the character of painting, but in the position and prospects of painters.

The present generation has witnessed the entire overthrow of popular and prevalent opinion in many matters of public interest, and on many questions of a social and political character; but perhaps on no question have pre-conceived ideas or predilections experienced a more entire *bouleversement* than in reference to modern art.

Only a few years since it was the correct 'ton' in English society to speak superciliously of modern art, as unworthy of the attention of the connoisseur or man of taste, whose sympathies were exclusively with the 'old masters.' No picture that had not the stamp affixed by age and dirt found its way into the galleries of collectors, who, instead of seeking by their patronage to encourage and foster native talent, rummaged on their travels the curiosity shops of Italy and Spain, returning often in triumph to decorate their walls with questionable 'Carlo Dolcis' and 'Muriños' of doubtful pedigree.

The late Mr. Robert Vernon, of Ardington, was the first patron of art who had the courage to break through the recognised practice of pooh-poohing native contemporary talent. He formed and carried out the idea of collecting around him works of all the cleverest artists of his own day, and his generosity, taste, and patriotism have added to the national collection a gallery of modern pictures that may bear comparison with that of any age or school. Honour to him for having been the originator of a movement that has had such important results! All great changes, however, in the current of public feeling have consequences that it is difficult to foresee, and in the present instance the tendency has shown itself to

be to glorify modern art in a way that frightens the artists themselves.

There was, many years ago, doubtless in the memory of many others besides the writer, a little cliquè of *conoscenti*, occupying a good social position, who usurped the functions and the authority of the connoisseur and the art critic.¹ There was not then, as in the present day, one pre-eminent 'art critic,' whose judgment no man dared to question, and whose *dicta* were blindly acquiesced in, alike by those who had not the knowledge, and those who lacked the courage to dispute them; but the opinion of any *one* member of this little self-constituted tribunal was also received with humility by the ignorant and the servile, and he could by his *fiat* stamp as genuine a disputed *Andrea del Sarto*, or by the shrug of his shoulders dash the hopes and prospects of rising native talent.

The apathy, the neglect, and the ignorance, that marked the feeling in England regarding English painters, have given place to a costly, indiscriminating, and reckless patronage, which, however calculated it may be to promote the interests of individual artists, is unlikely, from its origin, to be lasting, and is not of a nature to raise the character of the art or the profession.

This has recently assumed such proportions that it is easy to foresee there must be a reaction; and those who have fathomed its cause and watched its effect feel that the sooner a healthier tone is given to the 'picture market' (as it is irreverently called) the better in the long run it will be for art and for the rising generation of artists.

At a moment when the arts, looked at from an exclusively financial point of view, would seem in England to have made a *start*, the origin of which is so little understood, it appears to be an invidious task to seek to discourage the hopes of those who fancy they see before them a long-continued golden era of patronage and profit. But the movement is unsound, and is essentially commercial.

The rise in the prices of pictures by modern English painters has no parallel, except the sudden rise in the value of railway shares, during the railway mania, on the lines, that 'King Hudson' was supposed to patronise. Not only do the works of such eminent men as Stanfield, Collins, Calcott, Constable and others, whose deaths are comparatively recent, fetch at the hammer three and four times as much as the prices for which they were painted (a very natural and deserved enhancement of their value), but living painters, in many cases of much less eminence, find themselves in the receipt of

¹ This little 'Committee of Taste,' as it was popularly designated, included the late Sir George Beaumont; the late Lord Farnborough; Mr. Rogers, the poet, and others.

prices for their works which, if artistic merit is to be assessed by a market value, would indicate in the artist an amount of fame and public favour, raising his professional reputation far beyond that of all competitors.

Some well-known if not strikingly eminent artist is singled out by some firm belonging to the picture-dealing or print-selling community, to paint a picture for which he is promised a very large sum on the condition that when finished it shall not be exhibited at the Royal Academy or any other public rooms. The liberal patron then ventilates the transaction in the daily and weekly papers, describing the fitness of the painter for the task, and the discriminating and enlightened patronage displayed by Messrs. A. B. C. & Co. While the work is in course of execution, periodical notices appear regarding its progress and promise, and as soon as it is finished the *Court Circular* may perhaps announce its transmission to Windsor, and the gracious approval expressed by Royalty itself at the success which has attended the artist's efforts.

After due publicity has been given to the statement, the connoisseurs of art are invited to a *public* 'private view' of the work, and special invitations are sent to the art critics of the leading newspapers. The public at large are subsequently invited to see it, and the shop becomes daily frequented by a highly discriminating crowd, which is loud in its praises and liberal in its subscriptions for the *coming print*, stamped as they know the work to be by the approval of such high authority. A subscription list is then opened by Messrs. A. B. C. & Co. in London, and is subsequently sent down to the various 'art repositories' and print-sellers in the provinces for circulation among the rural amateurs of art.

The picture itself is, after a time, probably sent on a provincial tour, and its arrival is duly heralded in every important town throughout the country, the walls being placarded with the announcement that Mr. So-and-So's 'great picture' is to be seen at the principal art shop '*for one week only*' for a small admission fee; and those visiting the exhibition find themselves mercilessly importuned to subscribe for 'proofs after letters,' and 'proofs before letters,' at prices ranging from 5*l.* to 20*l.*

To keep curiosity alive, recourse is then had to a form of advertising, in which the painter is made to share the honours of publicity with all the patent medicines of the day, and an effort is made to rouse the public to a due appreciation of his merits by the repetition of his name and of his work in *large type* in the columns of the daily papers in juxtaposition with announcements of 'Cockle's Pills' and 'Anti-fat.' *Proh pudor!*

Thus the enterprising patron fills the subscription list, and reaps a rich harvest from his disinterested efforts to 'foster native talent;' and

a clever, if not always a first-rate artist, finds himself famous as the painter of a great work, containing perhaps many figures, which he has painted in less time probably than it took Sir Joshua Reynolds to paint his half-length of Lord Heathfield.

The objections to such a system are numerous and manifest. The artist is thereby forced on public attention, with a fictitious stamp of excellence. The opportunities enjoyed by the firm for forcing the sale of the coming print of the 'great work,' and the facilities they possess, through their friends in the press, of discounting, so to say, both the merit of the work and the fame of the artist, secure them a large return, and enable them to pay a price to the artist such as his reputation before the public and his standing among his professional brethren in no degree justify.

The artificial value which consequently attaches to even a clever picture has the effect of lowering the claims of other works and other artists to the notice and patronage of the public, who generally, *en gros*, take a man's reputation on trust, and have little else to guide their judgment than the supposed number of his *clientèle*, and the value notoriously assigned to his labours. When the town is startled by the announcement that a highly respectable artist has been selected to paint a picture of great public interest for a sum till then unheard of in the annals of art or artists, a stamp is thereby affixed to his professional merits in the estimation of the public, which is misleading.

A work undertaken under the circumstances and with the object referred to will infallibly lose many of the characteristics hitherto supposed to be essential to secure public notice and patronage. An artist, who has doubtless been educated in the belief that if he would achieve fame and fortune he must labour to surpass his rivals by the display of the higher qualities of the art—namely, colour, drawing, and design—finds that the first of these merits loses its importance in a work avowedly painted as the foundation of a print. This renders him careless in his execution, and if he can, as he flatters himself, produce the effect without the labour, his object will be attained. Many an indifferent picture, as regards colour and execution, has made a good print. The facility for getting large remuneration has a demoralising effect, and even the greatest English painters of our day show by their works and the character of their handling the influence which such a system has on their labours.

This fact is the more disheartening, as we have among us so many who know better and might do better, who, possessing in an eminent degree all the higher attributes of the art, are tempted, by the ease with which their *lowest* efforts secure the *highest* remuneration, to neglect those qualities without which, however popular their pro-

ductions may be with the crowd, they will fail to secure for the artist the 'deathless fame' which was, and should be, the object of ambition to the genuine inspired enthusiast. As long as our leading artists obtain fabulous prices for rapidly executed *ébauches*, intended as 'coloured supplements' for the illustrated newspapers, the temptation to occupy themselves in dashing off such efforts of their pencil, instead of concentrating their energies on works of a higher calibre requiring time and labour, is evidently irresistible. But while such ephemeral productions may, and do, give undeniable proof of genius, as well as of practical skill and facile manipulation, they lack the qualities of the art that would secure their being appreciated in future ages, as are the works of those who are held up as models to the English student.

The inordinate augmentation in the scale of prices paid to living artists is not confined to large works, representing subjects of historical or popular interest, but is still more remarkable as regards portraiture, and there is no doubt that many of the private patrons of art at the present day have contributed not a little to produce it.

It will perhaps be said, and with some show of reason, that circumstances have altered much since the days of Reynolds, that the feeling for and appreciation of art are much more disseminated at the present day, and that the value of money having so much deteriorated, there is little or no analogy between the prices of that period and those now paid. The argument is sound, *quantum valeat*, but a glance at the *relative rates* of remuneration paid to leading artists at the two periods will show that in the main it is fallacious.

In the time of Reynolds and his great rival Romney, the prices paid to either for a head size ranged between thirty and fifty guineas, while the other larger sizes were in proportion; the price of a whole length portrait varying from a hundred to a hundred and thirty, or at the outside a hundred and fifty guineas. These prices were greatly exceeded in the time of Lawrence, Shee, Jackson, Hoppner, Opie, and others; but Sir Thomas Lawrence, at the height of his fame and Court favour, received only a hundred guineas for a 'head,' and five hundred guineas for a 'whole length.'

In the present day such prices are multiplied indefinitely, and we hear of leading artists who receive as much as a thousand and even *two thousand guineas* for a portrait! In other styles, too, the increase in the value of works by living artists has been lately strikingly exemplified, as the record of a recent sale at Messrs. Christie's room will show—two works (*tableaux de genre*) by a highly respectable member of the profession having fetched *two thousand guineas each*.

It would indeed be matter for rejoicing if it were established that the enhanced value of native and contemporary talent is sound in principle, or would be permanent in its character. But such a result is not only unlikely, but in the present day, it is to be feared, is practically impossible. The financial position and business calculations of Messrs. A. B. C. & Co. may make it worth their while to pay an inordinate price for a picture recording a popular event or for a portrait of a popular statesman; but how will the transaction (which always is allowed to transpire) affect the future dealing of the artist with the public? Will the latter be prepared to offer or acquiesce in a similar scale of remuneration when seeking to avail themselves of the professional talents of the artist? or must he come down from the pinnacle of fame and fortune to which the speculation of his enterprising 'patron' has raised him, and establish *two* prices? Should he not, he will in many instances lose the patronage of the public. He must practically lower his pretensions and discredit his own claims, or run the risk of turning from his studio those who would otherwise be ready to show their appreciation of his talents at their just value.

Who are they among the public, even of the higher class, who in the present day—despite bad harvests, unoccupied farms, declining commerce, and 'no rent' manifestoes—can afford to pay the sum of *two thousand guineas* for a portrait or a landscape by a living artist, whose fame is not yet sufficiently matured to make the operation a safe investment? It may suit a millionaire to spend his thousands on the portrait of a political 'star,' or of a near and dear relative; but the upper middle class, who, as the majority, in the long run *must* be the real patrons of art, will, except when led into the extravagance by foolish vanity, refuse to devote a year's or half a year's income to the object of possessing a work by a popular artist.

Consequently we find the painters of the day obliged to look to the *trade* for a continuance of such abnormal prices, and this has the effect of restricting the sale of works by our leading artists to those whose command of capital enables them to outbid all private purchasers.

All who have a real feeling for art are beginning to view the position of artists in this country, brilliant as at the moment it appears to be, with no little mistrust and anxiety.

Hitherto, in all countries, artists as a class have been poor, as compared with the members of other professions, and in England more especially so, from the circumstance, among others, that those who had money to spend on the luxury of pictures sought the reputation of connoisseurs of *ancient*, rather than of patrons of *modern* art. No English painter, *pur sang*, from the foundation of the British school—from Reynolds to the present day—can be said to have died rich,

and the reason is not far to seek. The prices with which the noblest efforts of their pencils were rewarded, though liberal as far as regards the leading members of the profession, were insufficient to secure them more than a moderate income, owing to the laborious character of their work. If, as we have been taught to believe, *colour* is the first and highest *desideratum*, no one can hope to achieve success but by long and laborious study. The great and immortal efforts of Raffaele, Rembrandt, and Vandyke are not to be emulated by slap-dash or scene painting, and it required incessant and untiring application during every hour of daylight to enable our leading artists to turn out from their *ateliers* the works by which they hoped to maintain their own reputation and the credit of the British school. The portraits by Sir J. Reynolds show, by their inimitable characteristics, the patient labour that must have attended their completion, while the all-engrossing study exacted from Sir David Wilkie to produce his matchless 'Rent Day' and 'Blind Fiddler' was well known to all his contemporaries, and is to his successors. It is a fact that, in the later years of his prosperous career he endeavoured to produce the same effect with less absorbing application. That he failed in his attempt was well known to himself, and is shown in his later works by the absence of the elaborate finish and minute detail which made his earlier efforts famous. At the zenith of his professional fame and success he required a year or eighteen months for the completion of one of his great works. To the above instance may be added the names of Collins, Leslie, Mulready, Roberts, and many others, all of whom achieved their fame with an amount of labour and under trials unknown to the present generation of promising and popular artists, who seek from the picture-dealing and print-selling community the patronage for which their distinguished predecessors looked to the public.

The state of public patronage has a deteriorating effect alike on the taste of the public and the efforts of the painters. Let any one, after visiting the various exhibitions, whose name is 'Legion,' ask himself whether the contemporary 'English school' (numbering as it does in its ranks artists whose talents and early works place them on a level with the greatest of their predecessors) adequately represents the qualities of the art which we are told and have learned to admire in the examples afforded by the works of the 'old masters.' Few of the English portrait painters of the present school (in the slang of the day) 'go in' for colour, or attempt the elaborate finish of the hands and accessories that in the works of Titian and Vandyke of the old school, and of Reynolds and Gainsborough of later days, was the object of the painter and the admiration of the critic. The elaboration of such details is now sneered at by newspaper critics and pseudo-connoisseurs as 'tame' and 'mechanical,' and is generally supposed to be unworthy of inspired genius. Rapid execution is the order of the day, and quick returns the object of the painter.

We all know the story of Reynolds, who, when the minute finish of the hands in one of his finest portraits was commented on in his hearing as extraordinary by some flippant tyro in the profession, exclaimed, with some asperity, '*Sir, whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well.*'

This axiom, so sound that it has become a proverb to guide us in every occupation of life, has ceased apparently to influence those who profess to look on Sir Joshua as their model, but are, it would seem, under the delusion that they can arrive by a short cut at the goal, to reach which, in his case, required the ceaseless labour of a long life.

It may be said that no picture at the present day, by a comparatively unknown hand, creeps into public notice by the simple force of its artistic merit. It must be heralded beforehand as one of the coming attractions of the season. Due notice must be given to the public that they may go and see it at the artist's studio, and may subsequently gather round it at the exhibition to which it may be sent; and if it represent some moving scene of social life, the lineaments of some public man, or the charms of some 'professional beauty' of the hour, it may be wanting in all the higher attributes of the art, but it will be sure to attract the general public, whose chorus of indiscriminating approval (because it is the fashion to praise it) will speedily drown the voice of any one who seeks in vain for inspiration or feeling for colour.

Art patronage may be said to be very nearly *exclusively* in the hands of a class (not hitherto supposed to enjoy much popularity, either with the profession or the public), who have it in their power to influence the picture market in the interest of particular artists whom they may take under their patronage.

In former days the Exhibition of the Royal Academy derived much interest from the fact that it was supposed to represent, in a great measure, the result of the labours of British artists during the past year, and the Institution liberally opened its galleries to all the works sent by non-members, which, after an impartial examination, were considered worthy of admission, or for which, when admitted, space could be found available. The pictures sent by the leading artists had special attraction for the public, as they could not be seen anywhere else; and though many had been executed on commission, the majority (exclusive of portraits) were sent *for sale*, and had previously been seen but by few—the practice now universally obtaining among the artists of inviting their friends on the press, and the picture-dealing and art-loving public, to come and judge of their labours before the pictures leave their studios, not having been generally developed till within the last few years.

Now, if you wish to see the 'last new great work' of a distinguished artist, instead of seeking it on the walls of the Royal Academy, you must pay a shilling at some shop, where you are

assured by advertisement in all the principal daily papers that the picture is to be seen 'for the last few days only,' when it will be positively and finally withdrawn, no doubt preparatory to the completion of the print to which you will find yourself urgently requested to subscribe.

It is a well-known fact that few pictures by popular artists are now sent to the Royal Academy Exhibition for sale. They are either secured beforehand unfinished, or bought at the private inspection after completion, for the price that the speculative patron thinks it to his own interest to offer. This price is generally much higher than the sum which the artist's modesty would allow him to affix to the work if sent to the Academy Exhibition to be judged on its merits.

Those who look on the fine arts as offering a legitimate field for speculation and commercial enterprise doubtless view all such evidence of what *they* would probably describe as the 'buoyancy and elasticity' of the 'picture trade' with unalloyed satisfaction. That prices are 'looking up' is unquestionable, and that there is every reasonable prospect, under such conditions, that the 'supply' will be equal to the 'demand,' is also patent.

Each rising young artist hopes, through the patronage of Messrs. A. B. C. & Co., '*et hoc genus omne*,' to receive a scale of remuneration that may enable him to make a fortune *per saltum*, and if he should, so much the better undoubtedly in a business point of view. But the question will infallibly crop up, whether the rapid growth of artistic genius has not caused the British school to deteriorate at the roots, and whether the standard of excellence has not been lowered, under the present system, to promote the interests of individuals, and give a stimulus the effect of which is to develop charlatanism rather than to invite sound and discriminating patronage?

The effect of this sudden discovery that the fine arts, properly cultivated, offer wealth and prosperity to the enterprising youth of England, is felt in Society in no slight degree. The art of painting, as a profession, has, among the better classes, until lately received but scant homage. The wealthy looked down on it as offering to the great body of its followers only labour without gain, and the painter whose heart was in his calling required the fire of genius to keep alive in him the hopes and aspirations that were doomed so seldom to be realised. While the younger sons of our noble and prosperous classes sought their fortunes in the army, the navy, the Church, in commerce, or at the bar, we seldom or never heard of any scion of a noble house or son of a wealthy commoner being brought up as a painter, and going through the laborious *curriculum* offered to the students of art by the Royal Academy. The Arts, like the Church, were supposed to indicate, and indeed demand, in their

vetaries, what may be described as a 'call,' and but few, unless cheered and supported by enthusiasm, and capable of utter self-abnegation, ever sought a career in which, though their zeal and industry might be inadequately rewarded by social success, and late in life, by some trivial personal distinction, they could hardly hope to attain any high degree of worldly prosperity.

Such is not the case now, however, and we have a crowd of *aspirants* to artistic fame and success, of both sexes, who enter the profession believing, it to offer prizes within the reach of all who can pass the *Pons asinorum*, and master rudiments, the knowledge of which, though indispensable to the attainment of excellence, is of little practical value to those who have neither talent nor inspiration.

In order to get on in the arts, it is as essential now for a promising young artist entering the field of competition to have a well-known and enterprising picture-dealer or print-seller in his interests, as it is for a young barrister just called to have some well-to-do solicitor at his back to thrust him forward. It is proverbial at the bar that no learning, no eloquence, no legal acumen will avail a man, unless he have 'luck and opportunity;' and, *mutatis mutandis*, the same may be said of the arts—no genius, no inspiration, no intelligent and laborious study will, at the present day, secure success for an embryo Raffaele, if he have not the patronage of Messrs. A. B. C. & Co., or some other equally disinterested patron of native rising talent.

The development which the art of painting has, during the last few years, experienced under the *egis* of this artificial patronage, is patent to all; but it has to be shown how far that development has been of a nature either to foster talent or to raise the standard of excellence in the profession.

That much-abused body, the Royal Academy, has been, since its formation, the *only* school of art deserving the name in the country; and except as an exhibition of the works of living English painters, in which character it has for years shared the public favour with that highly respected institution, the 'Society of British Artists,' it is still without a rival. It has in its hands the sole power of conferring such professional honours on living artists as their talents may justify.

We have been told for years by a crowd of envious and ill-advised outsiders that the members discharge their duties in a spirit of *cliqueism* and *favouritism*. That the accusation is undeserved is amply proved by the fact that, limited as are its numbers, the Institution has, from its foundation under Reynolds, ever included the most gifted members of the profession. The enemies of the Academy have been vigilant and venomous, but are mainly recruited from the ranks of the disappointed and incompetent, and it would be difficult to point out an English artist of eminence or transcendent talent

who has flourished during the present century, whose name is not included in the roll of its members.

It may be questioned whether, by the multiplication of exhibition rooms, easy of access to mediocrity, and the formation of societies which offer their walls to the general public, as well as to those whose claims an ungrateful Academy refuses to acknowledge, any very striking talent has been developed, or any inspired enthusiast brought to the front out of the cold shade of obscurity and neglect to which the supposed jealousy of the 'Forty' had condemned him.

Public exhibitions of pictures are not promoted, or at least should not be, for the purpose of bringing to notice the crude and immature efforts of inexperience, or the labours of a crowd of self-sufficient *amateurs*. The real patrons of art do not visit them in search of the works of zealous *aspirants* who are, as we see, sometimes wanting in the elementary knowledge of the art, nor do they set much store by the praiseworthy productions of ambitious unprofessional ladies who 'paint very nicely.'

By covering their walls with works of an inferior stamp, the Royal Academy would at once discredit their high position, and ignore their *raison d'être*. Their duty as a school of art is to foster genius by the facilities which they so liberally and gratuitously offer to the student, and by their Exhibition to enable the public to appreciate and reward the talents that they have been the means of developing.

An institution like the Royal Academy is not intended, as are the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, to include every respectable or competent member of the profession. These latter institutions are necessarily comprehensive, because admission to them is a *sine quâ non* for those who would practise the profession. But the Academy is intentionally and wisely limited in its numbers, in order to make membership an honour and an object of ambition, and also to protect the institution from the intrusion of pretenders. The number being so small, there is no discredit attached to being an outsider, but to be admitted as a member is a great honour, and the only one attainable by an English artist in a country professing, and supposed to offer, great encouragement to the fine arts, but in which artists, of whatever eminence (albeit some few are, from time to time sparingly admitted to the 'equestrian order'), are never allowed to share in the decorations and personal distinctions showered with no niggard hand on the army, the navy, the bureaucracy, and the medical profession!

There is unfortunately some reason to fear that the Royal Academy, whose rights and privileges and special characteristics were so jealously guarded under the presidencies of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. West, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Sir Martin Archer-

Shes, is slowly sliding from its proud position as the disinterested *private society* which for more than a century has made up for the apathy and shortcomings of the Government, and has maintained at its sole cost the only school of art in the country, to the level of a public body, shrinking from the assertion of its independence, and recognising a right of interference with its acts and its organisation.

The bold front which conscientious rectitude and disinterestedness of purpose enabled the Academy to offer to the pertinacious parliamentary attacks, led by the late Mr. Joseph Hume, to which they were for some years annually exposed, and which they met and defeated so triumphantly under the uncompromising leadership of the President of that day, the late Sir Martin Archer-Shee, has, in the present, under the influence of no doubt equally honest but more timid counsels, been replaced by a half-hearted resistance to the renewed remonstrances of the envious and disappointed.

By a recent law the extraordinary concession has been made to those clamouring at the door of increasing by one-half the number of the Associates, and of allowing them to vote at the election to the superior rank of Academician, thus practically permitting the *candidates* to elect themselves to the higher grade! Before long we shall doubtless see further concessions to the 'spirit of the age,'—the number of the Academicians greatly increased, and the standard of qualification materially lowered to fill up the ranks, admission to which will thereby be rendered much easier and of greatly diminished value.

If the Royal Academy appreciates its own character and position, let it follow the example of the somewhat analogous Institution in France, and by a rigid adherence to the limit originally and advisedly assigned to its numbers, secure for its members, *undiminished*, the honour which admission to its benches has hitherto conferred. The 'French Academy,' whether the Government of the day was represented by a despot, a constitutional monarchy, or a revolutionary rabble, has preserved its identity and its characteristics 'through evil report and good report.' It cannot be supposed that the mystic number '40' is thought to represent *numerically* the talents of the entire literary and scientific circles of France; but as in the case of the Royal Academy, that number is believed to be sufficiently large to admit of the gradual absorption of all those whose permanent exclusion would prove its inefficiency or its corruption; and though in the one case, as in the other, non-selection is no proof of deficient merit, admission gives a stamp of excellence understood and appreciated by all. Some self-sufficient and disappointed artist may doubtless be found ready to adopt, under somewhat analogous circumstances, the epitaph written for himself by the witty Piron:

Ci git Piron, qui ne fut rien,
Pas même Académicien !

but it does not follow that his exclusion will be any disadvantage to the Institution.

Despite the trading character of art-patronage at this day in England, let us hope that a purer feeling for art will ere long assert itself, and a higher motive than pecuniary profit guide the purchasers who seek to possess the works of our leading and rising artists. The present state of things cannot last, without affecting the art as well as the profession. All would-be patrons, who are not *millionnaires*, are practically driven out of the market by a scale of prices that places what they seek beyond their reach. Though the leading artists may have reason to rejoice that their most slender efforts can command sums such as never cheered the labours of their most distinguished predecessors, the great body of their brethren know full well that if they do not get them from the *Trade*, they cannot get them from the Public.

Experience proves, in the case of unsound speculations, that success is not lasting. The articles for sale will fail to command a fancy price permanently, and common sense and public taste combined will, in the long run, triumph, and will establish, in lieu of the present system, a state of things more in accordance with the true interests of both artist and patron. Then, it may be hoped, painters as a class will look to the general public for encouragement and reward, and not solely to a mercantile section of it, whose patronage is neither sound nor stable, and tends to direct their labours into a channel that may, in the case of some few, 'lead on to fortune,' but, as regards the general body of rising artists, will prove fatal and disastrous.

The names that represent English art, whether those of departed geniuses, or of their distinguished successors now among us, in whom the nation feels so much pride, attest that painting in England has reached a point of excellence that entitles the modern British school to rank with, if not above, that of any other country at the present day. It may surely be left to develop itself, by means of the talent and perseverance of its votaries, unencumbered by the questionable aid by which it is sought to give it undue prominence.

The foregoing remarks have been scrupulously *general* in their character and in their application, and are in no sense directed *ad homines*, but are intended, if possible, to rouse public attention to a system which, under the name of '*Patronage*,' is 'a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.'

When comments, however, are calculated to throw discredit on practices by which no small body of artists benefit largely (or hope to do so), those who find it to their interest to perpetuate such a state of things, if they cannot dispute the facts or the inferences to

which they lead, will no doubt deprecate a discussion that, if carried out in fairness and candour, will infallibly open the eyes of those not yet behind the scenes to the proceedings of the modern *soi-disant* patrons of art.

The writer's object, as well as his meaning, will be wholly misunderstood if anything disparaging to English art or English painters is erroneously inferred from what he says; and though he fears that those who, for reasons of their own, think with much complacency that the system 'works well,' may be inclined like Lord Melbourne, when an abuse was brought to his notice, to say, '*Can't you let it alone?*' he feels sure there are many in the glorious profession of the arts who, though they may lack the courage to own it, deplore the existence of an influence which, from its nature as well as its operation, must be injurious to the interests of the great body of artists, by exciting vain hopes in some, jealousy in others, and misleading the student by giving a wrong direction to his energies and a false stimulus to his ambition.

A large body of British artists are, it is true, at present basking in the sunshine of an artificial prosperity, but neither their permanent interests nor those of art generally will be substantially promoted until those who have a real love and feeling for art, and who, having the means, may be intent on discovering and rewarding genius, can visit our exhibitions and art-sales without encountering on the threshold a competition of traders who not only outbid them in the market, but also seek to guide public opinion in matters of taste for mercantile objects.

Well may we exclaim with Count Stroganoff, President of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg—

'Délivrez-nous, grand Dieu, de ces amateurs sans amour, ces connaisseurs sans connaissance.'

W. ARCHER SHEE.

FRANCE AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN MADAGASCAR.

FRANCE having determined on pursuing her aggressive policy in Madagascar, we may take it for granted that a considerable portion of the north-western coast of that island will pass under French protection. It is not probable that she will attempt to penetrate far into the interior of the country; but will rest content with a few fortified stations on the coast, from which she will be enabled to ship cheap labour to her neighbouring colonies. Now, in the first place, what right has France to thus forcibly establish herself on Madagascan territory? I do not hesitate to say, absolutely none. As is generally known, the two principal tribes in Madagascar are the Hova and the Sakalava. For centuries these tribes were at war with each other, until in the reign of Radama I. the Hovas succeeded in completely subduing the Sakalavas, and from that time they have been the recognised rulers over the entire island. It is certain that they were so in 1839, when M. Tissot, a French 'lieutenant de vaisseau,' was despatched by Admiral de Helle, who was commanding the French fleet in the South Indian Ocean, to survey the north-western coast of Madagascar, with a view to finding a harbour suitable for a coaling station. M. Tissot in his voyage came to Nossi-bè, which at once struck him as the place for his purpose. Now there happened to be living on the island of Nossi-bè at this time a Sakalava Queen, by name Tsmiare, who had been driven over from the mainland by the Hovas. To her M. Tissot addressed himself, and easily persuaded her to cede to him, in return for a promise of French protection, the islands of Nossi-bè and Nossi-comba, and *and all her rights on the mainland*. But even supposing she possessed the right to cede the islands, she clearly had no rights to cede on the mainland, the whole of which was now under Hova rule. Nossi-bè was garrisoned with troops, and the town of Helleville laid out and built, and the island has since become a prosperous little settlement. No attempt, however, was made by France to assert any rights on the mainland, and in the treaty which she made in 1868 with the Hova power, she

acknowledged Renovalona as Queen of the whole island. It is evident therefore that in that year the French Government did not place much value on the treaty of 1839-40.

What, then, has induced them to take hostile action against the Government of Queen Renovalona on the strength of a treaty the validity of which she has herself denied? The chief reason is doubtless the growing demand of her colonies in the Indian Ocean for cheap labour. To this may be added the love of increasing her territorial possessions in distant parts of the world, which would appear to be the craze of French politicians of every school; and also, the knowledge that her policy in this case could not fail to be distasteful to 'perfidious Albion,' with whom she feels aggrieved for her action in Egypt. These two last reasons are of little or no account, but the first, viz. the labour supply, affects England very nearly, on account of its connection with the slave trade. There is too much reason to suppose that the hoisting of the French flag on the mainland of Madagascar will lead to a brisk revival of this odious traffic between the Mozambique coast and the great African island. Now, this is a question on which England has a right to speak, for no other nation has lavished so much blood and treasure in its endeavours to suppress slavery. It is, indeed, in great measure owing to the refusal of Englishmen to tolerate anything that savours of slavery that France has taken her present action; for had not the Imperial Government refused to permit the emigration of coolie labour in future to Bourbon, owing to the atrocious treatment of the coolies by the French planters, the claims of France to Sakalava territory would in all probability have not been brought forward.

France now possesses three colonies of importance in these seas, Mayotte, Nossi-bé, and Bourbon. In each of these islands the cultivation of sugar is largely carried on, and in addition, of late years, coffee, vanilla, pepper, and other tropical products have been extensively cultivated. As long as a yearly supply of coolies could be obtained from India for the colony of Bourbon, the want of cheap labour scarcely made itself felt, as the other colonies were as yet small, and a sufficiency of slaves was obtained for their wants from the Mozambique coast and the islands of the Comoro group. During the last few years, however, the constant vigilance of our cruisers, and the increased efforts of the Hova authorities to prevent slaves being landed on the mainland of Madagascar; have had their effect, and the slave trade has received a decided check. The emigration of coolies from India to the French settlements having now been prohibited, France finds herself unable to supply her colonies with a sufficiency of labour for their wants. Once, however, let her regain a footing in Madagascar, and she will be able to ship slaves under the name of 'engagés libres' to her neighbouring settlements.

without fear of detection. This has been done on a small scale for some time past from St. Augustine's Bay, where French creoles, acting as agents to planters in Bourbon, have been in the habit of shipping slaves as passengers in the ships belonging to their principals to St. Denis, where, for a ten years' agreement at nominal wages, as much as 60% per adult is often given to the agent. These slaves are for the most part Mozambique natives. The treatment they receive at the hands of their masters is generally of the most brutal description, and it is absolutely impossible for them to get any reparation. It is stated that negotiations are about to be entered into with Portugal, by the French authorities, for permission to engage voluntary labour ('engagés libres') at various places on the Mozambique coast, and if this is granted by the Portuguese the good work done by England during the last few years towards suppressing the slave trade in these waters will have been in vain. The British consul at Mozambique has reported, that if such an agreement is entered into between France and Portugal the slave trade will assume even more than its former proportions.

Another point for consideration is the effect that French settlement is likely to have in Madagascar itself. According to the Malagasy law slave-owning and slave-dealing are legal pursuits, and the few French subjects who have hitherto been settled on the island have shown themselves to be not unwilling to profit by this law. In one case which occupied the attention of our consul a few years ago, a French planter who had married a Malagase claimed that his wife should be allowed to retain her nationality in order that she might have the power to buy and sell slaves, although by the French law she became a French subject by her marriage. In 1879 M. Laborde, the French consul at Tamatave, went so far as to assert the theory that 'Tout Français est libre de circuler, de résider, de commercer, et de professer à Madagascar toute industrie qui n'est pas interdite par les lois du pays.' What would be said if the French consul-general at Cairo advanced a similar theory? How, it may well be asked, can we hope ever to wean the Malagase from slavery, when the subjects of a great civilised Power like France show their willingness to participate in the odious custom? Hitherto our efforts towards the abolition of slavery in the island have had a plainly perceptible effect, giving good cause for hope. The advent of French planters throughout the northern portion of the island will, I fear, destroy all the good work already done.

But it may be urged that the Hovas have not shown any just desire to assist us in our endeavours to root out the slave trade; and this is to a great extent true as far as domestic slavery is concerned. It must, however, be borne in mind that the system is so woven into their national life and customs that it was not to be expected that it would disappear in a day. With regard to the importation of slaves

from the mainland of Africa, there is every reason to suppose that the Hova authorities have done all that lay in their power to carry out their treaty obligations with us. That they have not succeeded in putting an end to the traffic is due to the weakness of the central authority and inter-tribal disputes, and not to their want of good faith. England should not forget that, when in 1874 the British consul called the attention of the Prime Minister, Rainilaiarivony, to the fact that considerable numbers of slaves were being imported on the west coast, especially at the port of Majunga, the Hova Queen at once issued an edict ordering the emancipation of all slaves (Mozambique) introduced into the island since the year 1865. By this edict it is estimated that 100,000 slaves received their freedom, 25,000 being freed in Antanarivo, the capital, alone. Slaves are, however, still imported on the west coast, the chief port being Anoronsangana, situated north of Majunga in $13^{\circ} 54'$ south lat., 48° east long.

That these slaves are imported for re-exportation to the French colonies may be inferred from the fact that it is very rare to meet a Mozambique slave in Madagascar who is not conversant with the Malagasy language, and who has therefore been some time in the country. On the other hand, in Nossi-bè or Mayotte it is no uncommon thing to come across natives from the Mozambique coast who know nothing of the language of the country. As lately as 1879, H.M.S. *Spartan* took a slave dhow at Nossifaby, on the north coast, which had been engaged running slaves at Nossi-bè; and no one who has travelled through the island can have failed to notice the number of African and Comoro slaves employed on the plantations. Nor must we forget, in considering the claims the Hova population have on us, that the Malagase have always shown perfect willingness to enter into commercial relations with the Western Powers. Merchants representing most of the European nations as well as the United States of America are to be found at Tamatave, Majunga, Antanarivo, and various other settlements on the island. Their rights and property have been protected to the utmost of their ability by the Hova authorities. There have been occasional cases of attacks being made on Europeans in the districts far remote from the capital, but these have been but few and have been the work of a few lawless tribes.

On the whole Queen Renovalona has kept faith with us, and it is but just that we should use our best endeavours to prevent her being too harshly treated by France. No one of course doubts the ability of the French ironclads to raze to the ground the mat-built villages of Madagascar, but France may rest assured that by doing so she forfeits the respect of Europe and gains nothing in return. In Tunis, Tonquin, Madagascar, in the islands of the South Pacific, and on the banks of the Congo, she appears bent on pursuing a policy opposed alike to peace and justice. It would

appear that she seeks, by the arbitrary exercise of power in these remote corners of the world, to regain the prestige she lost in 1870. But it is not by actions of this description that a great nation makes its influence felt, and its name held in respect. Both England and America, it appears, have entered into new commercial treaties with Madagascar, by which the subjects of either nation acquire certain privileges. It is to be hoped that the British Government will guard jealously the rights of her subjects in the island, and see that they suffer no loss through the hostile actions of France. Let them too do all in their power to discountenance the slave traffic under whatever name it may be carried on.

The events at present taking place on the borders of the Transvaal are dealing a death-blow to the anti-slavery work which for years past has been performed by Englishmen in those regions. How far the present Ministry, by their action two years ago, are responsible for this deplorable state of things, it is not the object of this paper to discuss. Surely, however, the wretched condition of the natives in those parts should teach England the danger of a weak and vacillating policy. Surely the prayers and petitions of those unfortunate allies of ours, whom, having once freed them from the bonds of slavery, we now see murdered in cold blood and again driven off as slaves, whilst we, to our shame, are obliged to confess our inability to assist them, should be a warning to us in the future. Surely we should be taught by past errors in South Africa how one retrograde step may undo the labour of years, and should declare to Europe with no uncertain voice our resolute determination to oppose by every means in our power a revival of the slave-trade in the Indian Ocean. The predominance of France in Madagascar would most undoubtedly lead to such a revival. England has acquired a right from work done in the past to make her wish with regard to the slave-trade respected by Europe. It is monstrous to suppose that the good work she has done is to be robbed of its effect to advance the selfish aims of France. Nor need we fear such a result if only England stands firm, and does not shrink from the high responsibilities the noble deeds of her countrymen in the past have placed upon her. By our moral support of the Hovas in their present troubles, by a jealous guarding of British interests in the island, and by a resolute refusal to ignore slavery however disguised, we may do much to minimise the evil effects of the present action of France. England has put her hand to the plough in the great cause of freedom to all the human race, and she must not now turn back. It is a great cause and worthy of a great people.

'Pray God our greatness may not fail
Through craven fear of being great.'

LAWRENCE C. GOODRICH.

AFTER DEATH.

THE character of the existence, if any, which awaits us beyond the grave is a question of obvious importance to humanity. The wonder is that it should attract so little attention. It is true that it receives a considerable amount of official recognition, but this does not always imply much actual interest. All modern forms of religious instruction lay much stress on the fleeting character of earthly joys, the enduring misery or bliss of the life to come, and the consequent importance of concentrating our energies and hopes on the hereafter at the expense of the present. But these exhortations produce very little effect. We may assent openly to their accuracy, but it is the merest tongue service. Not one man in a hundred is ever troubled in the pursuits of daily life by any thought of what is to happen to him after death; unless under the influence of some great sorrow, in the presence of some awful catastrophe, or, to put it bluntly, when his stomach is out of order. In this respect there is little to choose between the irreligious and the religious; and many would say, that, on the whole, this indifference is a matter for congratulation. Whatever be our destiny through the ages of eternity, it may be argued, it is clear that our business in this world is to work, and there is ample testimony to show that working power is paralysed by perpetual reflection upon the life to come. Possibly. But are the current doctrines on this subject necessarily true? And if they are not, will a rational speculation as to our future existence interfere with the due exercise of our energies here? I cannot believe that it need.

It is common, especially in the pulpit, to denounce this indifference to a future life as a sinful peculiarity of our own times. There is not the slightest ground for this view, which, indeed, is disproved by the fact that a similar mental attitude has been common to all societies wherein no morbid or abnormal activities have been at work. Take for instance early classical Paganism. Here we find the future conceived of as a faint copy of earthly existence, with feebler pleasures and feebler pains. The well-known remark put by Homer into the mouth of the shade of Achilles forcibly illustrates the early ideas of an after life. 'I would rather,' says he, 'be a

slave in the upper air, even to a poor master, than be ruler over all the dead.' Some of the greatest heroes, it is true, were raised to share the joys of the gods on Olympus, and some special criminals were devoted to torture in Hades; and herein we have the nearest approach to the Christian belief of heaven and hell. But these views seem to have exercised little influence on human action, and probably it would not be far wrong to describe the earliest classical conception of a hereafter as that of a very dull life. The Scandinavian mythology taught a rather more lively belief; but here too the Valhalla, with its incessant bloodshed and feasting, was merely a 'void world's shadow and shell,' a simple reproduction after death of the pursuits in which the fierce warriors of the North delighted during life. Traces appear, however, of a place of punishment for certain classes of criminals. The negative attitude of the Jews towards a future life has been often noticed; and though this peculiarity has perhaps been sometimes unduly emphasised, its existence is beyond dispute. This clearly appears from such exclamations as those of the Psalmist, 'The dead praise not Thee, O God, neither all they that go down into silence.' 'Shall thy loving-kindness be showed in the grave, or thy faithfulness in destruction?' Among the religions of the East, death seems to have been generally regarded either as annihilation, or as a preliminary stage to an absorption into the Deity. It may be observed in passing, that though at first sight these two theories seem to differ widely, their effects upon the human mind were probably much more closely allied. It may sound paradoxical to assert that there can be any similarity of effect between the doctrine of annihilation of existence absolutely, and the doctrine of absorption into the highest possible form of existence. But a little reflection will dispel the difficulty. The believer in annihilation has, of course, nothing to hope for, nothing to fear, after his race on earth has been run. But at the same time the man who expects to be absorbed into an all-pervading Deity is not in a much better plight. Nominally he may be said to have laid hold of eternal life, but it is a life of which he can hardly form any conception, and which, unless he be a mystic devoted to philosophic contemplation, can have few charms for him. It is not likely that such a belief would occupy any large share of an ordinary man's thoughts, or exercise any important influence on his actions.

Under the Roman Empire, before Christianity had made itself felt, there was (omitting some popular superstitions) a widespread indifference on the subject, with perhaps a general inclination to disbelief in a future life. Cicero recognises two alternatives; either there is nothing for us beyond the grave, or there is a life of happiness. The prevalence of such views is indirectly attested by the frequency of suicide which distinguishes this period. Something of

course must be allowed for the different moral estimate which then attached to the act of self-destruction. We have long been accustomed to regard it as a crime, but in the civilisations of Greece and Rome it lay under no such ban. Suicide was sometimes condemned for the strictly political reason that it deprived the state of a soldier. It was occasionally deprecated, as by Plutarch, as an unworthy act of cowardice; and sometimes as a violation of religious duty. 'A man has no right to leave the post at which he is placed without the order of God his commander,' said Pythagoras some centuries earlier. But these views were on the whole in a minority. As a general rule Stoics and Epicureans unite in approving or even encouraging suicide to avoid misery or misfortune. It is incredible that such doctrines should have found general acceptance if there had existed any strong belief in a life after death; and it is perhaps safe to conclude that till the end of the third century A.D. the hereafter was a subject about which educated people speculated little and cared less.

But the rise of Christianity gave a rude shock to this indifference, which indeed rapidly vanished under the influence of the Christian doctrine of eternal punishment. So long as men believed that after death their individualities disappeared by annihilation or absorption, it was impossible to evoke much enthusiasm about a future life. But when the world was roused by the declamations of a religion which, while teaching that each man had a soul to be saved, taught also that salvation was only for the few, and that the huge majority of mankind were doomed to endless torture; that humanity was inherently and hopelessly wicked; that the short space of a lifetime was all that was allowed to each individual wherein to work out his own salvation; and finally that this salvation depended not so much upon a life of virtue, as upon the acceptance of correct theological opinions, the question of a hereafter became one of fearful importance. It is true, no doubt, that the joys of heaven were promised to the faithful. But the representations of heaven were tame and unattractive, and the morbid fancy of the early Christian teachers preferred to gloat over the tortures in store for the damned, which were consequently depicted with frightful vividness. It is needless to dwell on the bodily misery and mental anguish which this dark belief inflicted upon mankind, further than to remark that the morbid excesses to which it led—notably *e.g.* among the hermits—may have contributed to strengthen the reaction against it which, commencing at the Renaissance, has endured through the centuries to our own time.

But while recognising the advance in thought which this reaction implies, we must recognise at the same time that the heaven and hell of modern orthodoxy are the lineal descendants of the early Christian

doctrines on the subject, and are therefore entitled at any rate to an historical interest. And beyond this, as representing the belief which is officially professed by the greater part of the civilised world, they come directly within the scope of the present inquiry.

It can hardly be denied, that, to a very great extent indeed, the current views of heaven and hell obtain only a nominal acceptance. Amongst certain sections of the Roman Catholic Church, and certain sections of Dissent, they are still zealously supported; but by the mass of educated people, though outwardly adopted, they are secretly, and perhaps unconsciously, condemned as unsatisfactory. This discrepancy between outward profession and inward conviction escapes notice, because people do not care to face the mental disturbance which an honest examination of their beliefs would entail. But it may be well to bestow a little criticism upon this venerable muddle; and for this purpose let us try to arrive at what most ordinary people really do think about the matter.

Now, do most people really believe that the majority of mankind will be condemned to eternal torment, either for actual moral offences, or for errors in theological speculation; or for any other conceivable cause whatever? There are a few, no doubt, who heartily and thankfully embrace this view, with all the religious fervour which accompanies the belief that they are thereby doing God service. But it is impossible to suppose that any large proportion of Churchmen, who think about the matter at all, would not shrink from assenting to this pitiless belief. Very well then. Do most Churchmen really believe that mankind as a rule live up to the moral and religious standard prescribed by the Church as necessary for salvation—necessary, in fact, to avert the doom which the Church officially declares to be the portion of offenders? Again I think the answer must be, No. Each individual may cherish an exaggerated estimate of his own piety; or may cling doggedly to the somewhat illogical plea that he is no worse than his neighbours. This, it is needless to show, does not affect the question. If a certain degree of absolute excellence is necessary for salvation, the relative excellence of an individual in reference to his fellow-men cannot be taken into account. If it be urged that in this case a great many people will be damned, we may reply that this is strictly in accordance with the Church doctrine, which good Churchmen are nominally bound to believe. *Per contra*, if the majority of mankind do live up to this standard, to what end are all the denunciations of the wickedness of the world which we hear from the pulpit, and the unctuous platitudes to the same effect which pass current in religious conversation?

If we turn to the philosophers for guidance and advice, we shall not fare much better. These, it is true, reject the orthodox account of heaven and hell. But what have they to offer in their stead?

Broadly speaking, there are two prominent philosophical views on this subject.

(1) The materialist view. This altogether denies the survival of our personality after death; and therefore, so far as the individual is concerned, is practically a doctrine of annihilation.

(2) The non-materialist view, which meets with a more general acceptance, and which, in one way or another, admits the probability, or at least possibility, of some future existence. As to the character and conditions, however, of this existence, the utterances of the learned are extremely vague, amounting to little more than a hazy speculation that it will be less material and more spiritual than our present existence.

Here then we have a problem of supreme importance to humanity, for which only three solutions are propounded. Of these, one is equally opposed to reason and to morality; another is intuitively repugnant to the great mass of civilised mankind; and the third is hopelessly vague. To all who concede any importance to the question, this state of affairs must seem very unsatisfactory, and we are forbidden to hope for any immediate amelioration by the widely-spread indifference to the whole matter. In truth this indifference, though not the greatest, is the first difficulty in the way of a more settled opinion. But while we recognise this indifference as a present fact, it is not altogether easy to account for it. It is impossible to maintain seriously that the question is unimportant, and Churchmen at any rate are estopped from this plea by the loudly-proclaimed doctrines of the Church in all ages. The philosopher perhaps asks *Cui bono?* and urges that it is an unprofitable labour to speculate about the unknowable. To a certain extent this is true, but to a certain extent only, and it is an objection which is not allowed for a moment in some allied branches of research. The ultimate problems of metaphysic are equally unknowable, but men have never ceased to speculate upon them; and the failures of centuries are powerless to deter new explorers from setting forth on the barren path which so many have trodden in vain. Probably a truer reason is to be found in the character of the explanations themselves, and perhaps if we examine these a little more closely, the labour will not be altogether in vain.

Now, in the first place it is a plain fact that, in spite of all the efforts of theologians, the imagination of mankind is but feebly affected by the joys of heaven or the pains of hell. We may believe in them as really awaiting us after death, but for all that we cannot bring them closely home to ourselves. The interests of earthly life, its sorrows and joys, its hopes and anxieties, irresistibly impress themselves on us as more actual, more part of ourselves. Is it quite certain that this view is wrong? Again, taken all round, this life is a happy life. We know exactly what constitutes our pleasure here,

and we find it hard to picture to ourselves a state of happiness where material conditions are absent. Yet we are forbidden to import these conditions into our heaven. Is it quite certain that this prohibition is right?

However, before dealing directly with these two questions, it may be well to discuss rather more fully the objections to the three explanations of a hereafter already referred to.

Let us take first the explanation of orthodoxy. The objections to this are so grave, and its inconsistencies so obvious, that it will not be necessary to dwell upon them at length. To most thoughtful persons they must be already familiar; and on those who fail to recognise them, argument would probably be wasted. The impossibility of conceiving hell as the design of an omnipotent and benevolent God presents a dilemma from which there is no escape. Orthodoxy jealously insists on the combination of these attributes in the Deity, but it never has answered, and never can answer, the objection that if God could have dispensed with hell, and did not, then He is not benevolent; if He would have dispensed with hell, but could not, then He is not omnipotent. Moreover, the idea of an eternity of torture in retribution for the sins of threescore years and ten is so utterly revolting to our sense of justice that few, if any, healthy and cultivated minds can endure to accept it. The instincts of true religion shudder at ascribing to God the attributes of a malignant fiend; and from an ethical point of view, it is utterly impossible to regard such a Being as the fountain-head of morality. The material character of the torments of hell presents another difficulty, which derives a special importance from the variations of ecclesiastical doctrine as to the nature of existence in the life to come. Classical orthodoxy clearly declares that we are to rise again with our bodies, and give account of our own works. This teaching, however, has been considerably modified by later thought. It is open to many grave objections, of which perhaps the most obvious is the want of materials. Since the appearance of man on the earth, the same atoms of oxygen, nitrogen, carbon, &c. must have served over and over again as constituents of different human frames, and if, at the resurrection, we are all to rise again with our own bodies, it is not easy to see how these conflicting claims are to be settled—bearing in mind that the available quantity of matter is limited. Apart from this, however, the tendency of modern opinion inclines to a spiritual, or at least to a less material, existence hereafter. St. Paul's distinction of a body terrestrial and a body celestial may suggest a way out of the difficulty, which, personally, I think has been unduly overlooked; but even by the aid of this distinction we cannot preserve our *earthly* bodies in our resurrection body except by recourse to a metaphysical quibble. But if we are not to be furnished hereafter with bodies closely resembling those with which we are now endowed, the *material* fires of hell need have few terrors

for us. Much the same criticism may be applied to the orthodox conception of heaven. The heaven of the early Christians was of the most material type. But I imagine that few intelligent Churchmen now look forward to the New Jerusalem of the Revelations, and orthodoxy consequently halts between two opinions, wavering between allegiance to authority and allegiance to reason.

Accepting, however, the popular account of the heaven which is said to await the righteous, if there is less to repel, there is not much to attract us. The Christian heaven is a distasteful conception to most people. Omitting all criticism of its material character, an eternity of adoration can only be welcome to minds in a condition of morbid ecstasy, and in a healthy virile mind, however religious, such a conception will rarely strike deep. Moreover, the heaven of Christianity consists largely of a sort of idealisation of ceremonial religion, and this view is strongly at variance with a feeling which, consciously or unconsciously, most of us entertain—namely, that religion is not an end in itself. Its services to civilisation, its assistance to individual culture, and its powers of solace, may all be recognised, and recognised gratefully, but none the less does the conviction remain that religion, under any of the forms which prevail at present among mankind, can hardly be destined to a perpetual reign. As an emotional influence it ranks very high, perhaps, indeed, surpassing all others, but it is rather an impediment than otherwise to intellectual development. The finer mental faculties are crushed under a system which bids men substitute faith for reason, and has formulated such a doctrine as that of salvation by belief. Finally, it must be noted that excessive religious enthusiasm is now known to be due, in a very large number of cases, to mental disease or a morbid physical condition.

The negation upon which materialism takes its stand arouses objections of a very different kind. Materialism says we have not got a shred of anything fit to be called evidence that individual existence continues in any form after death; and in the absence of evidence, any theories of a hereafter must be mere idle speculations which should exercise no influence whatever upon reason or reasonable men. Mill, indeed, in his well-known essays on religion, takes a somewhat more indulgent, though an equally cautious view of the matter. After conceding the advantages of allowing a certain play to the imagination, under the strict supervision of reason, he observes: 'It appears to me that the indulgence of hope with regard to the government of the universe, and the destiny of man after death, while we recognise as a clear truth that we have no ground for more than a hope, is legitimate, and philosophically defensible.' This may be sufficient so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Drive out instincts with a pitchfork, but they will ever return; and whether it be irrational or not, we must face the fact that there is a

strong and widely spread instinct amongst men, which insists on the perpetuation of life after death. Of course we must be careful not to give this argument more weight than it deserves. It cannot pretend to anything like scientific demonstration, and at best it only furnishes an *a priori* reason for examining the belief. As Mill points out, the supposed intuitive craving for (not belief in) eternal life, is simply craving for a long life indefinitely extended, and has no claim to be regarded as an inspiration of absolute truth. Another common argument against the materialist denial is an appeal to the beliefs of savage nations. It is often said, with a good deal of undue confidence, that the belief in a life after death is invariably found even among the rudest savages. But in the first place this is not strictly accurate; and secondly, where this belief does exist, it is of rather a doubtful evidential value. The savage's idea of a future life is not often of a character to justify its reference to a divine origin, and it is, moreover, nearly always coloured by local surroundings. Wherever, among savages, there appears any approach to the conception of a future state of rewards and punishments, this displays a most marked reproduction of the special tastes and aversions which govern their earthly life. Indeed we can easily conceive that the perpetual heat of the Christian hell might prove rather attractive than otherwise to an arctic savage. Consequently it is impossible to regard these savage beliefs as necessary constituents of the human mind.

A more valid objection to the scepticism of the materialists lies in the fact that it is opposed to the scientific doctrine of the persistence of force—*plus* the fact that, in the evolution of force, there is an observed tendency, as in evolution of all kinds, towards the development of more complex out of the simpler forms of force. This has been well discussed by Dr. Maudsley, who shows how a certain amount of what he calls physical force is required for the production of a *much smaller* amount of the more complex chemical force, which, in its turn, is capable of development into a *still smaller* amount of the *still more* complex vital force. So far, then, it is seen that the process is an ascending one from lower to higher complexity. Now it is true that degeneration also takes place, as in the case of the decay of an organic body after death. But this process of degeneration seems to be subject, nevertheless, to an important qualification, namely, that

There is some reason to believe that dead organic substance does not always undergo the extreme retrograde metamorphosis of material and force before being used up again in vital compounds.

The italics are mine. It is impossible to enter here at length into this most interesting question, but Dr. Maudsley's conclusions are shortly expressed in the following quotation from his *Theory of Vitality*.

As in the order of natural development there has been an ascent from the physical and chemical forces to the aim-working vital force, and thence from the lowest vitality to the highest manifestation thereof, so in the course of mental development there is a progress through sensation, passion, emotion, reason, to the highest phase of mental force, a well-fashioned will.

These observations point to the conclusion that, whether in accordance with a divine design or otherwise, the course of organic evolution is not, on the whole, attended by a *qualitative* sacrifice of power. In fact, that where physical force has become exalted into any kind of vital force, it *tends* to persist as such, instead of sinking back into the humbler stage of physical force. Assuming this inference to be correct—and it is not by any means a violent assumption—it seems highly improbable that such a loss of power as the permanent resolution of a human consciousness into any of the lower forms of force can be at all frequent. In discussing such a pure abstraction as force, it is extremely difficult to employ language which shall be sufficiently intelligible as well as sufficiently accurate; but it is perhaps justifiable to assert that the energy required to build up the mind of a Newton would plainly be wasted to a great extent if that mind after the short space of a lifetime were dissipated, say, as heat. On the contrary, it is more in accordance with what we know of the economy of evolution to suppose that the complex form of force, which we call mind, will, under ordinary circumstances, cohere as a mental organism, even when exposed to the attack of influences which the lower force-organism of physical life is incapable of resisting.

The retort of the materialists, that even if mind is a separate existence it cannot at any rate work without its appropriate material organ, the brain, does not really go to the root of the matter. This view has been tersely put by Moleschott in his celebrated dictum *ohne Phosphor kein Gedanke*; but its epigrammatic merits lend it a dearness not its due. It is of course quite obvious that so long as we confine our observations strictly to mankind under their present terrestrial conditions, there can be no thought without phosphorus, in other words, without a brain. But to assert that in no environment whatever is thought possible without cerebral tissue such as we now possess, is a perfectly groundless assumption which is not worth a moment's consideration.

Turning now to the non-materialist views. These philosophers appear to have struck the right track, but their footsteps are as yet uncertain and their conclusions vague. I have called their views non-materialist, because in truth it is chiefly in virtue of their common opposition to materialism that they admit of being classified under a common denomination. The non-materialist doctrine of a future life is held in various forms by a variety of philosophical schools, differing widely in other points, and including alike the extravagant transcendentalism of Hegel and the cautious relativism of

the modern Evolutionists. This explanation, as I have said, affirms the existence of a future life, but practically goes little beyond the bare affirmation. Consequently the difficulty of criticism is considerably enhanced. At the same time there are two objections to which their teaching clearly seems open. In the first place it lays far too much stress on the intellectual character of our future existence. Secondly it is extremely vague as to whether this existence will be personal or otherwise. The first of these is the natural result of the special devotion which philosophy pays to the intellectual faculties. Now the intellect is of course the peculiar province of philosophy, but an excessive attention to intellect is apt to lead to an undue neglect of the physical side of our nature, its goods, beauties, and pleasures. The second objection is directly connected with this, and springs from the difficulty which we find in conceiving an individual spiritual existence apart from some material concomitants,—apart, in fact, from something like a body. This difficulty, indeed, really extends even to the conception of universal spirit; for when we come to examine the matter carefully, we shall find that the distinction which we accept so easily of mind and matter, body and soul, is after all a one-sided compromise. Matter in some form or another we are capable of conceiving. But let us try to conceive spirit, soul, mind, and we fail utterly. From this it is plain that the distinction above alluded to is merely a negation, and that the assumed positive entity, mind, is simply a negative postulate, non-matter. But though this difficulty of conceiving mind without matter applies alike to the doctrines of an individual and an universal spiritual existence, in the case of the latter it is much less prominent, and only reveals itself to a penetrating inquiry. Returning however to our criticism of the non-materialist hereafter, we must observe that though this philosophy repudiates the idea of a hell, and herein rises superior to the doctrines of orthodoxy, the heaven which it offers us is well nigh as unacceptable as the heaven of the Churchman. It presumes, indeed, a condition of happiness, but this happiness when analysed is usually found to consist of the somewhat colourless joys of intellectual contemplation. Now the pleasures of the intellect are very real indeed, and quite beyond the possibility of dispute; but I venture to think that to most people an eternity of contemplation would scarcely be preferable to an eternity of adoration. Nevertheless, while allowing these objections all proper weight, we must not overlook the fact that to the non-materialist philosophers belongs the merit of what is perhaps the most valuable contribution that has yet been made to thought on the subject of the life to come.

The doctrine of evolution has familiarised us with the conception of a perpetual progress as the law of cosmic development; and this has given rise to the idea that this life, and for aught we can tell, the next also, may be merely stages of our career. This, as it seems to

me, is really a step in the right direction. *A priori* arguments must always be taken with extreme caution, but there is an *a priori* objection to the orthodox scheme which may be given for what it is worth. The notion of a career divided into a few decades for the first part, and eternity for the second, is, to say the least, unsymmetrical. Moreover it must have sometimes occurred even to the orthodox that the alleged transition from our present state of imperfection to the absolute perfection of heaven is rather too violent. The Roman Catholic institution of Purgatory is an attempt to bridge this gap, but the conception in itself is too crude to be of much value. *Natura nihil facit per saltum* is a doctrine which is now universally recognised in physical science, and it is hard to avoid extending its application to our dreams of a hereafter. The whole course of scientific experience shows the process of evolution to be gradual, and an arbitrary exclusion of humanity from the operation of this law is unwarranted by any direct evidence, is repugnant to many of our strongest instincts, and is opposed to all the analogies which science suggests. Now if this be so, if this gradual evolution towards perfection be accepted, it is clear that this world of ours need not even be the first stage of the process so far as we are concerned, and it is almost impossible that it should be the last, or rather the last but one.

And here I think that a ray of light breaks in upon the obscurity of the question. I believe myself that those philosophers are right who suppose our development after death to be towards a continually increasing degree of spirituality. In this case it seems probable that in each stage of our career a certain minimum advance in that direction must be attained, in order to enable us to enter upon the next stage with comparative ease and comfort. A homely illustration may make my meaning clearer. When an athlete determines to engage in a race, he prepares himself for the event by a careful system of diet and exercise, commonly known as 'training.' The restrictions imposed by this system are highly distasteful to many men, and if an individual be either weak-minded or unconscientious, he may indulge in unlawful relaxations of these. But there is an accurately proportioned retribution before him. Just so far as his physical efficiency has been impaired by these secret excesses, so will he suffer from physical distress in the hour of contest. Similarly, just so far as we neglect to prepare ourselves in this life for the more spiritual surroundings of the next, to that extent our lack of spiritual 'condition,' so to speak, will be an unfailling source of distress until the deficiency is made good. Still applying the evolutionist explanation, we must conclude that supreme happiness will be attained when the individual becomes in complete harmony with his environment; but till this point be reached, he must needs be subject to all the discomforts which a want of such harmony entails.

Stripped then of all superstitions and other improper accretions, heaven may be regarded as the name for that complete harmony with our environment for which we are not forbidden to hope, and hell as the name for those discomforts which must inevitably befall an organism surrounded by an environment of higher development than its own. Rightly regarded then, Heaven is no special paradise of miraculous creation reserved for the objects of a divine preference or the adherents of a particular theological creed. But it is the natural goal of progress, the supreme accomplishment of the possibilities of human nature, and within the reach of all mankind. So also, hell is not a place of punishment, devised for offenders against a code of divine ordinances; still less is it a torture-house where divine vindictiveness may enjoy the agonies of some misguided heretics. It can be merely the sum total of evils which are inexorably attached to the imperfect adaptation of an organism to its environment, but which are morally colourless, and altogether lack either the character or the design of avenging penalties, consciously imposed by an offended God.

And here it may be well to point out, that whether this view be accurate or not, it at least possesses the negative recommendation of depending for its support on no special system either of theology or philosophy, beyond the observed facts of evolution. To those, like myself, who believe in the existence of a God—even though the belief be not capable of scientific proof, and perhaps, in strictness, not logically justifiable—it is not difficult to conceive this system of development to be the outcome of a divine design, nor to reconcile it with the benevolent attributes commonly ascribed to God. On the other hand, for those who reject, or decline to accept as necessary the existence of a supreme Deity, this theory requires no such postulate for its support. It is sometimes overlooked by well-meaning theologians, who point to the discoveries of evolution as a proof of divine benevolent design in the universe, that the mere fact of evolution proves nothing of the kind. At the outside it can only suffice to prove that the causal operations of force are not interfered with miraculously by an overruling malevolence. This becomes plain when we reflect that our notions of good and ill, pleasure and pain, happiness and sorrow, depend strictly on our environment, and the degree of our adaptation to it. The operations of force having produced a certain physical condition of things, certain forms of life came into existence. But only those forms survived which were suitable to their physical surroundings, and it is practically beyond doubt that myriads of less perfectly adapted creatures perished. Initially there is no reason to suppose that one form was intrinsically higher or better than another. On the whole, external influences are decidedly hostile to the organism, and the only reason for the survival of one type of low life rather than another, was that it happened to be better adapted to resist or accommodate itself to these influences.

A slight alteration in the thermal conditions of the globe, or in the distribution of its component elements, and the fate of the two types might have been reversed. But if this be so, what becomes of the doctrine of benevolent design? It may be there; more than this, we may legitimately believe it to be there—*so long as we do not ascribe omnipotence also to the designer*—but it cannot be said to be proved. Indeed, the facts of evolution, so far from establishing this doctrine, go to show that in the absence of miraculous intervention, evolution is a process which cannot help being worked out, whether there be a God or whether there be none.

And now we are better prepared to deal with a question of great importance and great doubt. We have accepted, provisionally at any rate, the belief shared alike by non-materialist philosophers and Churchmen, that our future state, whatever it be, will exhibit a great development in spirituality. But is this development in spirituality to go on independently of matter and our material bodies, or even at their expense, so that the heaven to which we must look forward will be a heaven of pure *Geist*? It is probable that the great majority both of philosophers and Churchmen adopt this view. I venture to differ from it for reasons which I shall attempt shortly to set out.

In discussing such a question, it is of course obvious that the attainment of certain knowledge is impossible. But this very impossibility of knowledge lends a new value to inference; and though the arguments thereby suggested must needs be chiefly negative, they are perhaps better than none at all. It seems to me that the exclusion of matter from our future existence is not only unnecessary, but is opposed to the conclusions of physical science, and is also open to some serious objections on the merits. And first it is necessary to observe that the predilection for a purely spiritual existence hereafter probably owes a good deal to the philosophical doctrines of the inferiority of matter which culminated in Neoplatonism. The influence of this school of thought is found both in philosophy and theology. The early Christian notion of the vileness of the body was largely due to its mistaken teachings, and its direct effects have survived in much of the philosophy of the present age. In this respect, however, I venture to think that both philosophy and theology are in error. I must again refer, in this connection, to the nature of the commonly received distinction between mind and matter, and I repeat, that whatever dialectic value this distinction may possess, one of its terms is a mere negation. Spirit may exist objectively for a supreme or some other intelligence, but, so far as human capabilities extend, it is *absolutely inconceivable*, and we can *only infer its existence from our observations of matter*. Consequently, so far as we can be said to know it at all, we only know it *in conjunction with matter*.

And now, on what grounds do we claim to sever this union? The

solemn words of the marriage service come irresistibly to mind, and in all reverence, I conceive that 'there is no more fitting rebuke to this attempt than the warning, 'those whom God hath joined let no man put asunder.'

However, waiving this objection, whatever be its merits, let us assume that our hereafter is to be of a purely spiritual character, and attempt from this standpoint to speculate about its conditions. In a moment we are left staring blankly at absolute nothingness. The proposition which came so glibly from our lips is a mere verbal mockery; it has absolutely no cognisable contents at all. A number of individual intelligences free from all matter, and located (if indeed we can predicate spatial relations of them) in an environment of pure spirit, is little more than a farrago of chaotic gibberish: words and nothing else. We can no more frame a conception of a disembodied intelligence than we can of a disembodied Abracadabra. And to this end then are we brought, that we are bidden to look forward, aye, and look forward joyfully, to a future which shall bury all our human energies of body and mind in a land of inconceivability and contradiction. Truly annihilation is at once a more logical and a more welcome prospect. But our difficulties are not over yet. Another objection now rises to bar the way. What real justification is there for this precedence which mind claims over matter? We are accustomed to regard mind in some form as the creator of matter, but this view has no valid foundation. To assure ourselves of this, let us again have recourse to mental analysis, and if we face the facts honestly, we shall find that, in thought, mind and matter appear equally eternal. It is equally difficult to conceive a beginning for either of them, and if we must needs postulate some beginning for one of them, in order to escape from an intellectual deadlock, it is just as reasonable, or unreasonable, to suppose that matter evolved mind, as to suppose that mind created matter. Science insists that force is persistent and matter indestructible, and if this is true at all, it must be true universally. But if heaven is to be purely spiritual, matter must be destroyed. Nor is this difficulty got over by assuming that matter need not be destroyed, but only banished; for inasmuch as it is clearly impossible to impose spatial limits on absolute spirit, a spiritual heaven would leave no external corner into which matter could be banished. We must assume then that matter will be destroyed. This too leads us to the inconceivable, for if the creation of something out of nothing is inconceivable (I do not say impossible), the converse process is equally inconceivable, to wit the reduction of something to nothing.

After dwelling at this length on the metaphysical difficulties with which the question is beset, it is only fair to admit that identical or similar difficulties oppose all attempted solutions of it. It is the inevitable consequence of the relativity of our powers of thought and

knowledge, that our efforts to grasp the absolute yield us little but antinomies and contradictions. Philosopher and theologian are each checked by the same barriers. All speculations as to the past must needs postulate an uncaused beginning, which is of course inconceivable. All speculation as to the future, has to choose between the twin inconceivabilities of annihilation or eternity. But though the metaphysical difficulties cannot be eliminated from any theory of a hereafter, it is plainly desirable that they should be reduced to the lowest number.

However, to leave metaphysic, there is a practical objection to the elimination of matter from our future existence which needs to be considered. All are agreed that heavenly life is to be a life of happiness. But limiting ourselves, as we must, to our relative faculties of knowledge, we cannot escape the conclusion that by destroying matter we curtail the possibilities of happiness to an enormous degree. And here I pause to insist upon a most important truth which is perpetually ignored in theological argument. When we speak of happiness, goodness, justice, evil, &c., we mean that which men understand by these terms. Nothing is more common with theological disputants than this sort of argument:—It may be true, indeed, that to our poor human faculties the condemnation of myriads of His creatures to an eternity of torture may seem inconsistent with the doctrine of God's benevolence. But we must not forget that the benevolence of man is not necessarily the benevolence of God. That which seems to us cruel or unjust is to His perfect wisdom merciful and righteous. And who are we that we should presume to judge?—And so forth. Now the fallacy of this is so extremely obvious, that the constant necessity of exposing it is a melancholy proof of the slovenly habits of thought which prevail even amongst educated people. It might well be, indeed, that the action of an omniscient intelligence would be modified by the knowledge of circumstances beyond the ken of a less perfect intelligence. But this proposition differs widely from that for which the theologian contends. In it no generic difference of intelligence—no difference in kind—is postulated. On the contrary, it is implicitly assumed that in both cases the governing principle of action is generically identical; the difference in the result being entirely due to quantitative differences in the knowledge of facts. The theologian, on the other hand, attempts to justify the malevolence of his Deity by declaring that the benevolence of God is generically different from the benevolence of man. If this be so, I reply that it is only by a violent and inadmissible abuse of language that the former can be called benevolence at all. The term benevolence can only be legitimately employed in the sense in which men who invented the term employ it. Any other use of it is sheer nonsense. Consequently, if a man take upon himself to call

God benevolent, he must either mean what men understand by benevolent, or he can mean nothing at all, and his statement is a worthless verbal paradox. Whether, indeed, it is proper or possible to predicate relative qualities like benevolence of an absolute existence like God, is another and a very serious question, but one which need not be discussed here. All that I am concerned to insist upon now is, that in using human language everyone is bound to give it its usual human meaning, and no other meaning whatever. What I have said of benevolence applies equally to happiness. Consequently, in stating that by the destruction of matter the possibilities of happiness would be curtailed, I mean the possibilities of that which mankind understand by happiness, and I insist that no other interpretation is legitimate. It is necessary to emphasise this point, because the fallacious ascription of an arbitrary and imaginary meaning to happiness is often employed in answer to the natural objection that the life of heaven, as taught by orthodoxy, does not strike us as a particularly happy one. No doubt, it is said, the occupations ascribed to the blessed in Paradise have few attractions for our earthly tastes. But all will be different then, and the pursuits which we now regard with disfavour will seem to us then the acme of bliss. It is possible of course that this may be so; but at present this statement is nothing but a pure assumption, with a strong balance of probability against it. I have already suggested some reasons why the joys of heaven seem so little pleasing to us, and I repeat that this distaste is due to the fact that most of our ideas of happiness are inseparably bound up with matter, and *e converso*, that where matter is not, these ideas are inconceivable. It is obvious, of course, that by the destruction of matter all possibilities of æsthetic pleasure produced by objects external to the individual are destroyed with it, as well as various possibilities of happiness bound up in the individual's materiality. I will return to this question later.

Meanwhile I proceed to consider another point. Christianity teaches that heaven is reserved for a small minority only; but this view does not commend itself to the general sense of the thoughtful. The belief in heaven may indeed be rejected altogether; but where it is accepted, the better instincts of our nature impel us to hope that it will be open to all. And in any case, we shrink from the reflection that most men will be damned. Of course the question has many surrounding difficulties; but some important points of the popular doctrine seem open to doubt. In the first place, as it seems to me, the idea should be altogether repudiated that, for every child born, there is a new soul created somewhere in heaven and introduced into the body, either at birth or at some earlier period. The late Mr. W. R. Greg has forcibly shown some of the objections to this view, which will be familiar to those who have read his *Enigmas of Life*.

But it is moreover in itself a very clumsy conception, and of course is unsupported by any kind of evidence. It seems to me more reasonable to suppose that the mysterious entity which we vaguely describe as soul is simply a complex manifestation of force. Force, as I have already attempted to show, tends to develop upwards, i.e. towards greater and greater complexity. A definite amount of physical force will go to compose a less amount of the more complex chemical force, which in its turn may develop into a quantitatively smaller, but qualitatively higher amount of vital force. It is true that at present we are not able to trace the process of development any further, but, as shown above, it is not unreasonable to infer that it does not stop at vital force. If this be so, we may be entitled to suppose that what we call soul represents some higher stage of the process, at which a form of force shall have been developed of sufficient complexity to constitute an individual consciousness. To such we may readily concede the possibility of a future existence. The objection to this view which will naturally be raised is that no amount of cognitions of objects external to consciousness can give us the idea of an Ego apart from such cognized objects. Strictly speaking this is quite true. Mere receptivity cannot of itself furnish the apprehension of a knowing subject as distinct from the known object. But I submit that a consciousness of sufficient complexity to be capable of apprehending a large variety of perceptions will probably of its own accord turn to the consideration of its own states: and this once done, the idea of the Ego springs into existence. Of course it is impossible to deal with this most abstruse subject either adequately or accurately in these few lines, but so far as they go, they may suffice to indicate the explanation of the difficulty which I am inclined to adopt.

I admit freely that the above suggestions are mere conjecture, but I submit that all speculation on the subject must needs be conjectural, and the best that we can hope for is to make our conjectures as consistent as possible with our present knowledge. Now if it be true, as philosophy has always taught, and as science is daily confirming, that the multiplicity of the universe is apparent only, and that underlying all its seeming confusion there is an unity of principle; if this, I say, be true, then I conceive that a conjecture such as I have hazarded as to the evolution of force in mind, will gain greatly in probability if it be shown to be analogous to the known facts of the evolution of force in matter. My conjecture assumes in the realm of mind the gradual evolution of lower into higher forms of force till at length the complexity of a consciousness is attained. Science reveals a precisely analogous process in the realm of matter. The lowest forms of life are mere lumps of protoplasm, or more correctly, bioplasm. Sometimes they are not even cellular, and of course are devoid of anything like an organism. All that can be said of them is that they live. In many cases they are

not even distinctively animal or vegetable. They multiply by mere subdivision; a bit of the lump breaks off, and it goes on living as a separate existence, provided it can obtain an adequate supply of nutriment. From this stage the next step is to the formation of a cell, and in the cell is contained the germs of the future. On these low existences the laws of natural selection operate with a merciless rigour. The cell must conform to its environment or pay the penalty with its life. Gradually by the survival of the fittest only, a higher standard of creature is reached, with somewhat quickened sensibilities to external stimuli, and correlatively increased powers of direct adaptation. This development slowly proceeds, and slowly but surely these dots of life go on from strength to strength, until the low homogeneity of the primal monad has been replaced by the noble complexity of the vertebrate. If then from these lowly beginnings of indifferentiated bioplasm the operations of force can produce the individual *physical* organism, it is at least not improbable that, in the realm of what we call mind, force may be gradually evolved into a *mental* individual, or a consciousness.

One other point requires to be touched upon. The normal tendency of force may be to develop upwards, but there is also the possibility of its degenerating. Consequently it is conceivable that even so high a development as a consciousness might under appropriate circumstances degenerate back again into a lower form of force. In this case, as it would thereby lose its individuality, it could not share the future of individual personalities: and this hypothetical case forms, I conceive, a possible exception to the broad proposition that heaven is to be the lot of all.

And now I must grapple with the hardest part of my task, and attempt to justify my opinion that matter will follow us into the life to come. One great obstacle to the acceptance of this view is however more apparent than real. The opposition between spirit and matter, as apprehended by most people, is apt to be somewhat too violent a contrast. We conceive of spirit as something impalpable, invisible, and utterly beyond human apprehension. Matter, on the other hand, we are accustomed to regard as something necessarily solid, visible, and always within reach of the senses. This latter conception is not strictly accurate. There are forms of matter (as a moment's reflection of course shows) almost as much beyond our perception as spirit itself. Electricity will occur at once to most people. Light, again, is produced by waves of an exceedingly subtle form of matter, to which we give the name of ether, but whose existence we can only infer from its effects. Now, without offering any definite suggestion, I may point out that even spirit, if united with a form of matter so subtle as to have defied hitherto the closest microscopical research; matter which can pass through apparently unporous substances like glass; which can penetrate between the molecules of the

compactest mass; and which can vibrate at the rate of 187,000 miles a second, would hardly find its spiritual energies much impeded. I may also recall the fact, to which I have already alluded, that St. Paul appears to contemplate some form of a 'body celestial;' and Thomas Vaughan, a famous Rosicrucian of the seventeenth century, seems to have entertained a similar idea. The passage which occurs in his *Anthroposophia Theomagica* is sufficiently curious to justify quotation in full.*

In regard of the *Ashes of Vegetables*, although their *weaker exterior Elements* expire by violence of the fire, yet this *Earth* cannot be *destroyed*, but is *Vitrified*. The *Fusion* and *Transparency* of this substance is occasioned by the *Radicall moisture* or *Seminal water* of the *Compound*. This water resists the fury of the Fire, and cannot possibly be vanquished. '*In hac Aqua*' (saith the learned Severine) '*Rosa latet in hieme*.' These two principles are never separated; for *Nature* proceeds not so far in her dissolutions.¹ When Death hath done her worst, there is an *Union* between these two, and out of them shall God raise us at the last day, and restore us to a *spiritual constitution*. I do not conceive there shall be a Resurrection of every *species*, but rather their *Terrestrial* parts, together with the element of Water (*for there shall be no more sea*; Revelation), shall be united in one mixture with the Earth, and fixed to a pure *Diaphanous substance*. This is St. John's Crystall gold, a *fundamentall* of the New Jerusalem—so called, not in respect of Colour, but constitution. Their *Spirits*, I suppose, shall be reduced to their first *Limbus*, a *sphere* of pure ethereall fire, like rich *Eternal Tapestry* spread under the Throne of God.

No one will suppose that I regard the above passage as scientific authority, but on such a subject as that now under discussion no intelligent speculation can fail to be interesting.

As to the organic character of such a body it is impossible even to speculate, but it is probable that nothing like our present nervous system would be either necessary or desirable. At present this system is required by reason of our imperfect harmony with our environment, but though invaluable in many ways, it is a constant source of weakness, pain, and disease.

The ordinary tissues of our organism do not readily adapt themselves to external changes, and consequently need the elaborate protection and assistance of the nervous system. But with a more mobile tissue this necessity would disappear. At the same time, I see no difficulty in supposing that our present faculties, and very possibly new ones, might well exist under these new conditions. Perhaps it is permissible to give the rein to fancy in order to illustrate my meaning. Mr. Andrew Lang has written a dainty poem about the Homeric Phæacia—the land whose inhabitants were friends of the gods, in fact a sort of fairyland, or a heaven upon earth. In this, by an exquisite touch, he suggests the possibilities of new pleasures which a deeper insight into the nature of things might bestow. His lines shall speak for themselves.

* Observe the curious analogy of this conjecture with Dr. Maudsley's conclusion given above.—N. P.

The languid sunset, mother of roses,
 Lingers, a light on the magic seas;
 The wide fire flames, as a flower uncloses,
 Heavy with odour, and loose to the breeze.

The strange flowers' perfume turns to singing,
 Heard afar over moonlit seas;
 The Siren's song, grown faint with winging,
 Falls in scent on the cedar trees.

Fanciful as this picture may seem, I venture to think that it is strictly philosophical in the idea which it embodies of the unity which may be expected to underlie beauty and excellence in all their manifestations. And I can see no reason for supposing that *some such* insight would be impossible to the quickened faculties of a higher development. With a nature material so far as the existence of such faculties might require, but spiritual to the highest degree in their exercise and enjoyment: under physical conditions which might render us *practically* independent of space, and *actually* free from the host of physical evils to which we are now exposed, we might well attain a consummation of happiness, *generically* akin to that for which we now strive, but idealised into something like perfection. The faculties which would enable us to obtain a deeper and truer view of all the manifestations of cosmic energy would at the same time reveal to us new forms of beauty, new possibilities of pleasure on every side: and—to take a single instance—the emotions to which the sight of Niagara now appeals, might then be gratified by a contemplation of the fierce grandeur of some sun's chromosphere or the calmer glories of its corona.

Nor is there any reason why the rest of the finer emotions should be banished from such an existence as I am now attempting to describe. A collection of intelligent individuals necessitates the existence of a society, though, of course, of a different constitution to those with which we are here familiar; and with the existence of a society, a variety of social pleasures and social interests must needs coexist, though the precise nature of these is of course beyond the reach of our present powers of conception. Under such conditions, eating and drinking, as we at present understand these processes, must of course disappear. But so long, and so far as our activities might involve a waste of tissue, however ethereal, I presume that some form of nutrition would be necessary to repair the loss. There is another probable exception of some importance which must here be noticed. The sexual instincts, and the social and individual pleasures arising from these, seem unlikely to survive into the far hereafter. Important as these are to us, and ineradicable as they may be from any modern terrestrial society, they must, I think, be regarded, *for man*, as evolutionally out of date. The process of reproduction is an extremely

cheap device, and ruinously expensive to the organism. The strength of the instincts which impel to it was of vital importance to all creation in the earlier stages of the world's development, and still remains so to the lower animals. It is necessary that certain fish, for instance, should deposit many millions of ova with periodical regularity, because in the struggle for existence not more than about three per cent. of these survive. A creature which forms an easy and desirable prey for larger animals must breed prolifically under pain of extermination. And in such cases any failure of the sexual instincts might produce a serious disturbance of equilibrium. (I need hardly observe, perhaps, that though employing for convenience teleological forms of expression, I adhere firmly to the evolution-theory of creation.) But man, by means of his superior intelligence, has freed himself to a great extent from the operation of the destroying agencies which still affect the lower animals. Consequently the survival of his sexual instincts in their present strength is a superfluous anachronism, which not only causes a vast amount of moral evil, but is beginning to expose us to the serious danger of over-population. But the working of evolution, though slow, is perfectly sure, and the remedy is already coming to the front. The force-capacity of all organisms being limited, it follows that a diversion of any considerable portion of this force into a special channel will be made at the expense of the other functions. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that there are indications to show that the increasing intellectual development of mankind tends alike to diminish fecundity, and the sexual instincts which are its necessary antecedents. This bears directly on the question before us. If any further development awaits man after death, we may fairly surmise, I think, that the process will tend to an increased intellectuality, and this, as it seems, should ultimately extinguish sexual desires. I further venture to think that at this stage in man's development, the necessity of such desires will disappear finally. It seems to me unlikely that the higher stages of his development will be accompanied by any such violent transition as death, which of course is directly due to a want of harmony with his environment. The closer adaptation which we must suppose will belong to these higher stages will probably preclude the necessity of any such catastrophe, and the transition will be effected in some other manner. Death, in fact, will cease, and with the disappearance of death, the sexual instincts will no longer be required, seeing that their purpose, namely the replacing of the ravages of death, will no longer exist.

I have now touched briefly on the physical, social, and intellectual aspects of my hereafter; but it may fairly be asked what is to be our relation in these circumstances to the Deity? To this question I can hardly attempt an answer. Insisting emphatically, as I do, on the strict relativity of our knowledge, it appears to me utterly and

hopelessly futile to predicate anything about the Absolute. My belief in a Deity is of a practically negative character, and such a belief, I maintain, is the only one possible. Personally I am firmly convinced of the existence of a Deity,—(though I see nothing in the least immoral in an opposite belief),—but I am equally convinced of my inability to form any coherent conception of such a Deity's nature or attributes. The universe, as I perceive it, I regard as phenomenal, and its component phenomena must needs have a correlative noumenal cause. This cause I believe to be God; but such a God I cannot by any effort conceive positively, I can merely postulate negatively, as something non-phenomenal. This, I trust, may suffice to explain why I am inevitably silent on a point which figures so largely in the ordinary anticipations of the life to come.

It may be possible, however, to make some guess at the respective positions of religion and morality in the later stages of our development. The chief function of the religion of the present day, namely prayer for special divine intervention in mundane affairs—in short, special miracles for the benefit of the individual,—and deprecations of divine wrath, will of course find no place, being merely unscientific superstitions. But I am greatly inclined to Professor Fiske's view, that a truer and purer religion will ultimately find ample scope in the profounder recognition which we shall then enjoy of the relations between ourselves and the Absolute God. This, I suppose, so far as it is possible to analyse prospectively such a mental state, will result in a combination of such feelings as gratitude, admiration, and the gladness of a subdued ecstasy.

With regard to ethics, virtue as such must of course disappear if a state of perfection is ever reached. For virtue implies the possibility of vice, and vice *ex hypothesi* is excluded. At the same time I do not see why, even in a state of perfection, we should be incapable of recognising our existing state of perfection as good, since we could presumably contrast it with a conceived opposite, which would be evil.

Finally, I may be asked, where is all this to end? When evolution has finished its work, are we to remain in a state of stationary perfection? And will this state of personal *ἀταραξία* (undisturbedness) in ourselves coincide with, and correlate to, a state of stable equilibrium between external force and matter? The answer which I hazard is a pure speculation; but I reply that I neither look forward to such a state of things, nor do I think it likely. We are accustomed to overrate the value of repose, and to regard activity or change as something of an evil, because in our present imperfect adaptation to our environment, the forces with which we come in contact are mostly arrayed against us, and any considerable change in this environment usually entails pain, discomfort, or disaster. But we may fairly anticipate that this antagonism will not endure, and

its disappearance will probably produce a corresponding modification in our opinions. Now a perfectly quiescent force is a contradiction in terms, and, broadly regarded, it seems far more probable that the end of the universe is activity rather than repose. What then if Heraclitus was right, but in a deeper and truer sense than he suspected, when he declared that the Absolute was not Being, but Becoming? Under the physical conditions which I have described above, constant Becoming, or change as we should now call it, would prove no source of inconvenience or ill to us, because our organisms would be capable of instantaneous adaptation to its demands. Consequently an eternity of Becoming, so far from being a series of irksome disturbances, would mean an eternal succession of varying states, whose variance, however, would bring us nothing but new perceptions of knowledge, pleasure, or beauty.

NORMAN PEARSON.

WOMEN AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

THOSE who have been labouring in behalf of the removal of the electoral disabilities of women, feel that a very critical time in the history of the agitation is now approaching. The question of parliamentary reform, and a further extension of the principle of household suffrage, will probably occupy the attention of the House of Commons during a great part of next session. The old familiar arguments that taxation without representation is tyranny, that those who are subject to the law and fulfil the obligations of citizenship cannot be justly excluded from all share of making the laws, will be heard again and again; and it will moreover be urged that it is alike unjust and inexpedient to place the stigma of political subjection upon whole classes of loyal, peaceable and industrious citizens, by making the qualifications for the franchise such as they cannot fulfil. On one side of the House it will be urged that property ought to be represented; on the other side of the House the words of Mr. Chamberlain at the Cobden Club dinner will be repeated, that 'full confidence in the people is the only sure foundation on which the government of this country can rest.' And what the advocates of a real representation of the people want to make sure of, is to remind the orators who make use of these telling phrases, that the human race consists of women as well as of men. They wish to remind the Radicals and Liberals, who have done so much to get rid of political disabilities, that the disability of sex is as repugnant to true Liberalism as are the disabilities of race and religion. They want to remind the Tory party that if a fair representation of property is what they are aiming at, they will be acting very inconsistently if they support a system which gives no kind of representation to property, however vast, which happens to be owned by a woman.

It is sometimes said by those who do not deny the justice of women's claim to representation, that it is necessary to show what practical good will be done to women and to the community at large by giving women votes. The answer is not far to seek. Exactly the same good that is done to other people by self-government and representative government, as opposed to government by an autocracy

or an oligarchy. One overwhelming advantage which results from representative government is that it teaches people to take care of themselves ; it teaches them that faults in their system of government are due, not to the tyranny of those who are set over them, but to their own lassitude and want of zeal in correcting those faults. What better remedy than this can exist against revolution ? And what a miserable waste of noble qualities results from the opposite system—the system of repression and autocracy. It is not necessary to look further than to the contemporary history of Russia for examples. We see there courage, compassion, fidelity, devotion, ingenuity, and patience, turned aside from channels in which they might have made the whole world a better place to live in, into channels which lead to conspiracy, murder, and insatiable longings for revenge. These are the fruits of tyranny when tyranny is carried to extremes. It is the aim of representative government to avoid these social cankers ; and it is the aim of those who favour the representation of women to make representative government in our own country as complete as possible by including all citizens, men and women, who fulfil the legal qualifications, and who have not forfeited their political liberty by crime or pauperism.

It is not necessary here to dwell at any length on the painful subject of laws that are unjust to women. No one who has ever given even a few minutes' attention to the subject will deny that there are many laws which, to use Mr. Gladstone's expression, give to women 'something less than justice.'¹ If it is necessary to quote examples, the inequality which the law has created between men and women in divorce suits furnishes one. The cruel law which gives a mother no legal guardianship over her children is another. I think there can be little doubt that if similar hardships had affected any represented class, they would long ago have been swept away. As it is, however, though the injustice of these and other laws affecting women is fully and almost universally recognised, year after year rolls by and nothing is done to remedy them. Here are matters almost universally admitted to involve injustice and wrong, and no one tries to remedy them. Why is this ? It is because the motive power is wanting. Representation is the motive power for the redress of legislative grievances. If not what is the use of representation ? People would be as well off without it as with it. But all our history shows the practical value of representation. Before the working classes were represented, trades-unions were illegal associations, and consequently an absconding treasurer of one of these societies was liable to no legal punishment. Not one man in a thousand attempted to justify such an iniquity, even when it was an established institution. • It was a recognised injustice ; but it was

¹ Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on the Women's Suffrage Bill, 1871.

not till the working classes were on the eve of obtaining a just share of representation that the motive power for the redress of that injustice was forthcoming. The same thing can be said with regard to those laws which press unjustly on women. Hardly anyone defends them; it is not so much the sense of justice in parliament or in the country that is wanting, as the motive power which representation, and representation alone, in a self-governed country can give, to get a recognised wrong righted. Another illustration of the value of representation may be found in looking back at recent discussions on alterations in the land laws of England and Ireland. This legislation has been discussed, month in and month out, in the House of Commons and on every platform in the United Kingdom, as if the interests of two classes and two classes only had to be considered, those of the farmers and the landowners. The labourers have been apparently as much forgotten as if the land were ploughed and weeded and sown by fairies, and not by men and women, who stand at least as much in need of any good that law-making can do them, as the other classes who are directly interested in the soil.

A curious illustration of the absolute neglect so far as politics are concerned, of all who are not represented, or whom, it is expected, will be shortly represented, may be found in the accounts of the recent celebration of the Bright festival at Birmingham. The Liberals who assembled to do the honour to Mr. Bright which he so richly deserves, enumerated, in honest pride, the main achievements of Mr. Bright's career; but they did not point to any chapter in the statute book and say, 'Here he succeeded in changing a condition of the law that was oppressive to women.' And this was so, although Mr. Bright has, on more than one occasion—as, for example, on behalf of a bill enabling women to receive medical degrees—lifted his powerful voice in favour of justice being done to women. Matters which affect injuriously, or the reverse, unrepresented classes, lie outside what are called practical politics. The politicians' field of vision is entirely filled by those who are represented; the unrepresented are forgotten. So, again, when the Birmingham Liberals let their imagination range over what was to be expected and worked for in the future, no mention was made of anything being done for women. Their ideal seemed rather to be manhood as opposed to universal suffrage; that is, all men not being either paupers or felons to be admitted to political power, no matter how ignorant, how poor, how degraded, in virtue of their manhood; while all women are to be excluded in virtue of their womanhood. The Birmingham imagination sees also with the eye of faith the payment of members. Members can only be paid by the taxpayers, that is the men and women of England; but the anomaly in a self-governed country of taking money from women to pay representatives without giving women any representation does not seem to have occurred to the political seer.

When, on July 6, the question of the removal of women's electoral disabilities was discussed in the House of Commons, the chief point relied upon by the opponents of the resolution moved by Mr. Mason was, that it was not clear whether the resolution, if carried, would have the effect of enfranchising married women, who, in virtue of the Married Women's Property Act, are no longer precluded from possessing the necessary qualification. It is no secret that some of those—for instance Mr. Mason himself—who are in favour of removing the disability of sex, are not in favour of removing the disability of marriage; whilst others desire the removal of both disabilities. If Parliament should see fit to admit women to the benefits of representation, opportunity would no doubt be afforded, during the passage of a Reform Bill that extended the suffrage to women, for the House of Commons to declare distinctly whether it wishes to give the right of voting to married women who possess the qualification or not. In this, as in other matters, it appears to me very unpractical to reject a substantial measure of reform because it does not grant all that may be thought desirable. Personally I entirely sympathise with those who wish to see the disability of coverture removed. If, however, the House of Commons is willing to remove the disability of sex, but unwilling to remove the disability of coverture, I think those who represent the women's suffrage movement outside the House of Commons would be acting most unwisely to reject what is offered to them. Many of the supporters of the Reform Bills of '32 and '68 were in favour of universal suffrage, but had to be content with a smaller instalment of enfranchisement. Mr. Chamberlain said the other day, at Birmingham, that Radicals nearly always had 'to accept a composition,' and the women's suffrage party may have to do the same.

I have said that the sense of justice is not so much wanting as the motive power which will convert a passive recognition of the existence of wrong into an active determination to get that wrong righted. It must not, however, be forgotten, that without being consciously unjust or cruel, there is such a thing as a torpid sense of justice. As the ear gets deafened and the vision gets blurred by frequent misuse, so the sense of justice becomes feeble and dim by constant association with laws and customs which are unjust. To live in a society whose laws give women 'something less than justice,' is apt to pervert the conscience, and make those whose imagination is not very active acquiesce in injustice as if it were part of the inevitable nature of things. Magistrates, for example, who sometimes punish men less severely for half-killing their wives than for stealing half-a-crown, are partly responsible for this faulty sense of justice, and may be partly regarded as the victims of it. We want—to use an expression of Mr. Matthew Arnold's—to call forth 'a fresh flow of consciousness' on all these questions where the interests

of women are concerned. We want to ask ourselves, and to set others to ask themselves, 'Ought these things to be supported simply because they exist?' 'Could we not come nearer to righteousness if we aimed at a higher ideal of justice?'

It will no doubt be argued by some, that while much yet remains to be done before the balance is adjusted, so as to give perfect justice to women, yet that much has already been done to improve their legal status, and that it is not too much to hope that in time all grievances will be redressed without giving women votes.² The Married Women's Property Act, it is said, has redressed a great and crying evil; why may not other evils be redressed in the same way? To such as use this argument it may be replied that, in the first place, the Married Women's Property Act would probably never have been introduced or heard of, if it had not been for the wider movement for the parliamentary representation of women. The women's suffrage societies, by constant and untiring efforts actively carried on for sixteen years, have done something to awaken that keener sense of justice to women to which reference has just been made. However, let it be supposed that this view of the history of the passing of the Married Women's Property Act is entirely erroneous, and let it be supposed that the Legislature have, of their own free will, quite unmoved by any representations made to them by women, been graciously pleased to say that married women may have what is their own. What right has any set of human beings to say to another, 'I concede to you that piece of justice, and I withhold this, not because you ask for either, or can make me give you either, but because I choose to act so'? What is the policy, what is the sense, of compelling half the English people to hold their liberty on such terms as these? All this circumlocution is unnecessary and inexpedient. Give women the rights of free citizenship, the power to protect themselves, and then they will let their representatives know what they want and why they want it. They will find, no doubt—as other classes have found—that though the price of liberty is vigilance, the House of Commons will never turn a deaf ear to well-considered measures of reform which are demanded by the constituencies.

This movement for the representation of women is nothing more nor less than a simple outgrowth of the democracy which has been the gradual product of this century. The old ideal of government, even in England, which has had representative institutions so long, was that the few should govern the many. The democratic ideal—which has been steadily growing here, on the Continent, and in America—is that the many should govern themselves. When the representatives of the present electorate undertake a further extension of the suffrage, we ask them to be true to their own principles, to be

² The Birmingham programme does not lend much probability to this hopeful view of women's prospects of getting the benefits of representation without votes.

just—even to women—without fear. If women are not excluded from the next Reform Bill, may we not anticipate the growth of new bonds of sympathy and union between men and women? Their lives will be less separated than they have hitherto been. It is one of the most disastrous things that can happen to a nation to have a great wall of separation, as regards opinion and feeling, grow up between men and women. This state of things is to be seen very conspicuously in some Catholic countries—such, for instance, as Belgium—where the women influenced by Catholicism, and the men influenced by a revolt against Catholicism, belong, as it were, to two entirely different strata of civilisation; and hence each sex loses a great part of what it might otherwise gain from sympathy and companionship with the other. Every circumstance which widens the education of women—their political, as well as their literary education—renders impossible the building up of that wall of separation. It may be said there is no danger of such a state of things in England; but if there is no danger of it, is it not because we have already gone so far along the road of giving equal justice to women? We have gone so far and with such good results there could hardly be a better reason for going further.

It is possible there may be some who have rather a dread of this demand for giving women votes, because it is so essentially modern. Few of the leading statesmen of the present day ever say anything in its favour, and fewer still of the political leaders of the past have supported it. It must, however, be remembered that when a politician becomes a political leader, his time is so much engrossed in carrying on the work of practical politics—that is, in one form or another, in obeying the behests of those who have political power—that he very seldom has time to give to other people's wants. We must not expect the initiative in this matter to come from Governments. We must ask those who have votes to help us, and let Governments know that they wish for justice for women as well as for themselves. All good things must have a beginning, and if this demand on the part of women for representation is good in itself, it is none the worse for being, as compared, say, with tyranny and selfishness, new. Christianity was a new thing once; even now—as we were reminded the other day—it is held to be true only by a minority of mankind; the belief in witchcraft was once universal and was shared even by the wisest and most cultivated of men. If there is a soul of goodness in things evil, may we not observingly distil out of the mistakes of the past something that will strengthen our hopes for the future? No one is wise enough or great enough to be able to set a limit upon the progress of mankind towards knowledge and well-doing. In the chapter of Grote's *History of Greece* on the attitude of the Greek mind towards the Greek myths, the author shows, how in the early dawn of Greek history, the belief was universal

and unquestioned, that all natural phenomena were the direct result of the personal intervention of gods and semi-divine beings. Then came slowly and hesitatingly the beginning of what we have now learned to call 'natural science;' and, little by little, the most cultivated classes began to seek to explain things according to some rational theory of the universe. They ceased to regard the personal intervention of Zeus or Demeter or Athene as a satisfactory explanation of the cause of storms, the fertility of the earth, and other similar things. It is, however, remarkable that Socrates, although he lived well within the time when this dawn of natural science had begun, only partially discerned its future sway. He taught that there were two classes of phenomena, one produced by natural causes and one resulting from divine interposition; and he held that 'physics and astronomy belonged to the divine class of phenomena, in which human research was insane, fruitless, and impious.' Now is it not possible to take both courage and warning from this?—courage, not to limit our hopes for the future, not to say this aim is too high ever to be realised: and warning to have no *popes* in our protestant minds? The best and wisest of human beings is liable to err. Let us think for ourselves—weigh diligently the reasons of the faith that is in us, and strive earnestly for all things that we believe to be just and reasonable.

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN NOTES.

AMERICA is a land where human nature, political and social, being at large, some unsolved problems are always on hand there. Nor is Canada without them. Devoid alike of king or prelate, without the traditions and authority of throne or mitre, men may do in the United States the thing they will, and, as a rule, they take the opportunity of doing it. Nevertheless common sense—the saving genius of humanity—reigns there in a substantial way, and sooner or later coerces the eccentricities of those whose heads are turned by the enjoyment of an unfamiliar liberty. Sure of practical allegiance to laws they themselves have made, the rulers are never mad and the people never despair of the right coming to prevail. The main problem of both nations is with its emigrants. They do not always get the right sort. Those with money do not want to work, and those who mean work mostly lack capital. Many new-comers fail through not being able to act under the new conditions of labour and life they find there. Through lack of training and lack of knowledge of prairie enterprise, many become timid and hang about great cities, where they are not wanted, to the terror of the taxpayers upon whom they become more or less chargeable. Thus, between the incapable and the impracticable, the emigrant is a difficulty of the first order. A country, therefore, ought to be judged leniently which hospitably imports its difficulties. Whatever may be the blankness of faculty with which an emigrant enters America he is, with astonishing intrepidity, offered a short cut to citizenship. Mad about liberty, Americans allow every alien knave or impostor, useless from ignorance or dangerous from hatred, knowing nothing and caring nothing for the honour of Republicanism, to be speedily endowed with the power of disgracing the country before he has had time to learn the responsibility of freedom. The United States are a vast political crucible into which emigrant vessels of Europe are emptied every day, and whence, without being fused by due time or training, the unknown or doubtful importations are let down in their raw state, into the ballot-box, at the bottom of which have been placed the spoils of the nation. He who sees this, sees a long way into that electoral and social mystery called ‘American politics.’ He who has not discerned this

cannot escape perplexity. Since for more than a century Americans have suffered the unrest of Europe to be disembarked on their shores, it is hardly fair to make it a reproach to them that their country is restless. England has sent quite her share of these disturbing settlers, and Ireland more. Great Britain, however, would do herself some credit if she would train her adventurous and migratory children to acquit themselves well in the New World to which they go.

Canada excels in its care and counsel to emigrants who arrive in the great Dominion. In the town of Guelph, in the province of Ontario, is an agricultural college, where a knowledge of cattle is taught in the stable, and a knowledge of farming in the fields. Animals of the famous breeds are brought on the platform of the lecture room and explained to the students, who study their 'points.' A citizen of the province who has made money in business can have his son boarded and trained there for 25*l.* a year, who when he takes a grant of land knows what to do with it, and with industry has competence before him. At our district schools at Atherley, near Croydon, in England, the orphan children under Mr. Marsland's wise direction are trained, some for the workshop, some for the sea, others for the land. What we want in our United Kingdom are schools in which all surplus children, in workmen's families should be trained in like manner for life on the unoccupied lands abroad. Mechanics and clerks are drags on farm lands. It is of no use sending weavers, watch-makers, tailors, shopmen, the sedentary, the book-taught, or mill or factory hands, out as emigrants. They can have land for asking; but only those who are healthy, strong, and determined, who know how to use the hammer, the spade, and saw, and have a knowledge of soils, climates, cattle, and crops, can command prosperity. It is time that this was insisted upon in the name of the national credit and the interests of humanity. It is but a philanthropic form of murder to send out emigrants to 'fight the wilderness' without weapons. They only bleach the prairies with their bones. It was a generous thought in Sir Josiah Mason to found technical colleges; but yet more merciful still will be those men of like means who shall found humble, inexpensive colleges for the industrial training of emigrants. As much of common knowledge as may enable a man to express his thoughts and understand an account, as much knowledge of the political and social condition of the country he chooses as may prevent him carrying into it the passions, prejudice, and animosities he may have acquired in the land in which he has been 'raised' but not cultivated, constitute the practical education needed. If, as Lord Derby thinks, it is worth while devoting some millions to emigration, it does seem that it is worth while employing some portion thereof in fitting those sent out to be of service to themselves when they are out. This is possible, and, from inquiries I made of the principal of the Guelph Agricultural College, it appeared that

farm schools of an unpretentious practical order might be to a great extent self-supporting.

In the meantime, that the emigrant may have guiding information, if he cannot be trained, I have twice been to Canada and the United States to represent to the Governments at Ottawa and Washington the advantage of issuing guide-books for emigrants, which shall be comprehensive and trustworthy. Canada, always considerate and prompt where emigrant needs are concerned, has since done so. Sir John Macdonald, the Premier, concurred in the proposal, and the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. J. H. Pope, requested Mr. John Lowe, of that department, to prepare the book, which he has done in a way for which the emigrant will be grateful. It can now be had at the offices of the High Commissioner of the Dominion, Victoria Chambers, London. A Government guide-book of the United States is likely to appear ere long.

Hitherto, if the emigrant inquiring for a settlement had the head of a politician, he would have had it turned by the contrariety of ideas administered to him. Every land-agent tells him a different story. Every man of whom he asks the question, 'Where should he go?' contradicts the last one to whom he spoke. An agent sells land which, as a rule, he has never seen and which the owner very often has never seen. The agent, therefore, cannot in such cases tell the truth, as he does not know it; and, if he does know it, he has no special gift for communicating facts likely to prevent a business transaction. A land-agent who has the ambiguous praise of being 'smart' often finds himself in the position of the lady one is told of in America, who being asked in court if accuracy of statement was one of her strong points, answered: 'In my business I have to tell so many lies that I do not know where to begin to tell the truth.' She had lost the place. She felt that veracity would confuse her customers, who had been so long unaccustomed to it. There are agents, as I well know, who are men of good faith, but their addresses are difficult to obtain by new inquirers. There is, however, one informant higher and more impartial than any agent, who can know the truth at will, who has no motive to mislead, no interest in prevarication, and who can give the emigrant precisely the aid he lacks—and that is the Government.

There is one American problem that English writers need to solve, namely, when speeches, acts, and eccentricities are charged against Americans to identify them. So many strangers are in that country that it is hard to tell what nation is really answerable for unadmirable performances. Real Americans include as high an average of gentlemen and ladies, fine-mannered, sober-minded and noble-minded, as are to be found in England. Persons honest, devoted, disinterested, giving their lives as well as fortunes in generous and unthanked service, abound in the United States. Those going there,

having like qualities and affinity for like persons, will find them. Native truth of character suffers no deterioration on either side of Niagara. Almost within sound of its mighty roar I found, on the Canadian side, residing at Hamilton, Mrs. Hanning (Janet Carlyle), one of Thomas Carlyle's surviving sisters, who in stature, freshness of colour, and expression of feature, very much resembles her illustrious brother. In strong independence, in an intrepid preference for truth, in individuality of character and expression, the resemblance was equally striking. Speaking of Mr. Froude, she said:—

My brother always spoke of his regard for Mr. Froude. I had a paper sent me to sign as a protest against Mr. Froude's book, to be used with other family names to obtain an injunction restraining its issue. I said I had no wish to sign the paper. My brother trusted Mr. Froude. He whom my brother trusted I could trust, and I thought the family should. I wanted nothing artificial written about my brother. He was for the truth, and so am I.

This was said with the true Carlylean vigour and love of veracity. A full-length portrait of her brother, when a young man, hung on the wall. She showed me with pride her bookcase filled with all his books, which he always sent her as they were issued.

Among them was an early school book of Jane Welsh, dated 1806, given by her to Mrs. Hanning at the time of her marriage, bearing the inscription, 'With Jane Welsh Carlyle's affectionate regards, Comely Bank, January 10, 1827.' The last volume Mr. Carlyle sent to Mrs. Hanning bears the words, 'To my Dear Sister, Janet C. Carlyle, with my best love and blessing. T. Carlyle, Chelsea, London, May 3, 1876.' When I saw Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1879, he inquired if I knew of anything of Carlyle's unknown to him. He did not say whether he had visited this interesting collection of his works in Hamilton—but further details would be a digression.

The government of the Interviewer is one of the literary aspects of America. When he is a gentleman, and has skill in putting relevant questions, the Interviewer is the most useful invention of the newspaper press. To Mr. Herbert Spencer he was a perturbing person. Amid the manifold phenomena of civilisation upon which Mr. Spencer has thrown new light, he had plainly never made a study of the American interviewer. He shunned him as a symptom of literary malaria. He accused the whole class of tyranny and malevolence. 'You must submit,' he said, 'to cross-examination under penalty of having ill-natured things said of you.' It is true that sometimes a repulsed Interviewer will invent an interview, and invent it disagreeably. This may be done to political and financial potentates militant in American cities, but towards an eminent and popular guest—never. The Americans, as a rule, are always gentlemen towards a guest. Mr. Spencer did refuse to see interviewers, and in no case was his reticence resented by any remarks intended to be offensive. Towards the end of his visit he consented to speak to one of them, and not-

withstanding that when Mr. Spencer prophesied he did not, certainly, prophesy smooth things, his friend Dr. Youmans bore testimony that—"No such message from any foreigner ever compelled equal attention or was received in a better spirit." Unfortunately Mr. Spencer spoke without the precaution of first requiring a list of the questions it was wished he should answer, and without stipulating that he should revise the proof of what was to be printed. The result was that some foolish questions were put to him and some replies printed which Mr. Spencer could never have given. For instance, he was reported, even by Dr. Youmans in the '*Popular Science Monthly*,' to have said that 'the elector's hand is guided by a power behind, which leaves him scarcely any choice. "Use your political power as we tell you, or else throw it away," is the alternative offered to the citizen.'¹ It is not conceivable that Mr. Spencer could have said this. Such an answer supposes that the crowds of naturalised electors, who never had a vote at home and never sought one, are so acutely patriotic in America that the terror of losing their votes incites them to run submissively into the arms of intimidating bosses. The boss knows his business better. The 'power behind' does not say, 'Vote as I direct or you will throw your vote away.' What he says is, 'Vote as I tell you or you will lose your posts of profit—you who have them; and you who want them, will never get them.' It is quite imaginative to describe these words as proceeding from a 'power behind.' The power is well before, with brazen voice, and an unabashed face. Everybody knows who the spoil-holders are. They are not concealed, nor delicate, nor ashamed. They are better known than the man at the races who, with his name round his hat and his bag in his hand, stuns you by his offer of 'Four to one bar one.'

There is no validity in denouncing the boss as an American creation. We have the species in England. The Tories have always kept a small but a fine variety rampart of that creature in every borough in the kingdom. The Radicals have created a species of their own. The only difference between them is that the Tory boss is self-elected and imposes himself upon the borough, while the Radical boss is chosen by the electors, whom he represents and to whom he is accountable. Both represent, more or less, organised opinion. There is no harm in that. If opinion is good, the wider it is organised the better. Mr. Herbert Spencer is a philosophical boss. Now Dr. Darwin is no more, Mr. Spencer is regarded as one of the three great evolutionary bosses, of whom Huxley and Tyndall are the others. But what is it which makes the American electoral boss the most vicious animal known to political zoologists? The philosophical boss represents principle—the English boss represents party—the American boss represents place.² The ten thousand office-holders in

¹ *Popular Science Monthly*, December 1882, p. 268.

² The misuse of the term 'Caucus' warrants a word upon it. When the leaders

the State have one hundred thousand competitors for their places. The Treasury is a great national fishery, in which all these holders and aspirants for place cast their lines and each expect a bite. The American system enables the elector to give public servants their places. Dependent upon the popular vote for their appointments, they are the servants—willing, attentive, and always accessible—to those who placed them where they are. This is pleasant and convenient to the people, and it is on this account that so many who are free from corruption themselves tolerate the system which not only leads to corruption, but creates and nurtures it. The English system is not popular in America. They say that civil servants are a class apart, who owe nothing to the people, render little to them—regarding them rather as persons who give trouble. They volunteer nothing, and the highest effort of their skill is to refer the inconsiderate inquirer to another department, which in its turn performs the same operation upon him. It is, Americans believe, no part of the examination of a Civil Service candidate to ascertain whether he understands that he is appointed to be the servant of such portion of the people as may become applicants for information or aid at his office. We all know in England that if business has to be done with heads of departments there is certainty of attention, and even consideration. Amid officers of lower degree gentlemen are everywhere to be found whose courtesy is unfailing, but the belief that this pleasant quality may be everywhere depended upon has not extended to America. It is therefore that so many there 'bear the evils they have rather than fly to others' they know or have heard of too well. The evil they are content to bear exceeds any from which we suffer. Under the American system the Treasury comes to be regarded as popular loot, and the bosses who have conspired to put officers there may, if unscrupulous, regard them and expect them to act as confederates in transferring spoil. That country must abound in men of singular integrity if none use the opportunities the Constitution provides for them. The unindignant equanimity with which the American public regard such acts when reported, seems to show that they expect them to occur, and the low repute which the word 'politician' carries confirms the impression. An equal evil of the system is that men of real honour, through whose hands public money passes, are immediately suspected—not because they are known to be guilty, but because with similar opportunities they ought to be.

A cardinal aspect in America is the terror of Free Trade. It is

of political parties meet secretly to arrange things, they are called a 'Caucus.' When the delegates openly appointed at ward meetings assemble openly to nominate persons to place or Congress, the assembly is called a 'Convention.' The 'Two Hundreds' and 'Six Hundreds' of which so much is said in England are simply conventions. It is an uninformed use of the term to call a 'Convention' a 'Caucus.'

a phenomenon none expect to find—that of a Republican people prepared ‘to whip creation,’ and who in many things do it—fleeing to Protection to save them from being whipped by the artisans of an ‘effete old monarchy.’ However, it would be unjust not to own that though Protection like ‘Experience takes dreadfully high school wages’ for its services, the people are willing to pay them. You pay something for everything and a good deal for nothing in America; but there is one thing both in America and Canada to be had without price—opulent hospitality and courtesy. But, for nearly all things else Protection makes what thrifty housewives would call ‘frightful’ charges. Land and common food are cheap, but good clothing or ordinary comforts of civilisation, which all desire there, have to be paid for ‘through the nose’ until the nose of the consumer is nearly worn off. Still he does not object. For articles of convenience and appearance, 1*l.* in London or Manchester goes as far as 3*l.* in New York or Montreal. Having occasion for a writing handboard, such as could be bought in London for 2*s.* 6*d.* or less, I was charged 7*s.* 6*d.* for one in Montreal. On saying that the price was surprising, the tradesman, a person of public repute in the city, replied, ‘But we have Protective duties to pay,’ which seemed to him a satisfactory explanation. I answered, ‘I shall be glad to deal further when you have duties protective of the purchaser.’ Having occasion for a Testament in Boston, the manager of an accredited Bible store asked 4*s.* for a small-letter, ill-printed, ill-bound, shabby-looking book; whereas in Northumberland Avenue, in London, anyone can buy a large-typed, well-printed, well-bound copy for 1*s.* Upon saying to the manager, ‘Do you tax the means of salvation in America?’ he evaded the answer by saying, ‘We pay 25 per cent. duty on all books.’

The nature of the opinion against Free Trade in America and Canada is much misunderstood in England. It is the purchasers who keep up Protection. I was many times told that an artisan was flattered by having a bundle of notes in his hands, even though, as in Greenback days, they were half worthless. It would seem to him quite grand to give a dollar for a box of matches. No working man to whom I spoke in these countries but was under the impression that the more he pays for an article the richer he gets. With this widespread virgin credulity to go upon, Protection might dive more deeply than it does into the purchaser’s pocket. Instead of blaming manufacturers and tradesmen for what spoils they collect, they ought to be praised for their consideration. I said to them frequently that ‘they did not know their opportunity nor take half the advantage of it they might.’ It was in vain that I said to workmen, ‘Since you believe you get higher wages under Protection, and since the cost of desirable articles has increased 200 per cent., have your wages increased in the same proportion?’ Though they had to confess that they were not receiving, as a rule, an increase of 20 per cent., they

still were content because their wages were higher than formerly. They were just where the working class of England were forty years ago, who, when (in the words of the Radical song) 'the Tories robbed them of a pound and gave them twopence back,' thought so much of the twopence that they overlooked the abstraction of the nineteen shillings and tenpence. With this wondrous encouragement to sustain them, the stranger in America and Canada cannot but feel respect for Protectionists, who use so forbearingly the great opportunities put by popular consent into their hands. They have no motive for wishing that we should increase emigrant education. We, who care for the future of those we send them, have strong reasons for imparting to them a little common sense before they go out. Free Trade was obtained in England mainly by instructing the people in what way Protection was not good for them. Free Trade means increased competition, and though competition is praised on all hands as multiplying conveniences of life and reducing the cost of them to the purchaser, few seem to approve it when it comes in the shape of Free Trade. If Free Trade comes to prevail in Canada and the United States, it will be not by arguments addressed to manufacturers and shopkeepers, but by showing the people that it means wider choice and cheapness of the means of life. Since neither the United States nor Canada are half filled yet, the future of both countries will one day be what their best friends desire, and all threatening problems be solved—if all the nations of Europe send only moderately intelligent emigrants there.

•
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

THE LOCUST WAR IN CYPRUS.

FROM our earliest years we have all been familiar with Eastern tales in which the locust figures as the destroying angel; the overwhelming invading army which advances with irresistible might, with a sound 'like the noise of chariots on the mountains—like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble.' Onward they march in dense columns, ravaging whole provinces, as in the days when the Hebrew prophet described their withering advance. 'A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth. The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, nothing shall escape them.'

Again and again they figure in Holy Writ as the recognised symbol of a divinely-appointed scourge. Hence, in the Book of Revelation, in enumerating the successive woes that are to come upon the earth at the blast of the seven trumpets by the seven angels, the armies of winged warriors who were wafted to earth by the smoke from the bottomless pit are described as locusts, to whom commandment was given that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any trees, but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.

Except in degree, it was no unique calamity which befell the land of Egypt, when the Lord bade the east wind to blow from Ethiopia, and bring the locusts which went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all its coasts, covering the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened, and the very houses were filled with them, and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees, so that there remained not any green thing in the trees or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt. Well did the servants of Pharaoh know the dread meaning of the threatened plague when they pleaded with the king to spare his land this grievous destruction.

As, in those days of old, the Syrian locusts 'ran upon the wall, climbed up upon the houses, and entered in at the windows like a thief,' so, in later days, travellers in Northern Africa have witnessed locust-swarms which they compare to clouds of dense smoke, darken-

ing the sun so that its brightest rays could cast no shadow, and which, alighting on some green crop, have devoured every blade in the field, and, marching onwards, have climbed trees, walls, and houses, seeking what they might devour, and sometimes consuming the very bark of trees and shrubs.

Six hundred years after the Exodus this same locust-plague is the scourge whereby the Israelites themselves are punished; and God himself speaks of 'the locust, the canker-worm, the caterpillar, and the palmer-worm' as 'my great army which I sent among you.'

In after ages Mahommed taught the Arabians specially to recognise the Divine Will in their sufferings from the ravages of these insects. He describes a locust as endowed with speech, and it declares of its species, 'We are the army of the great God; we produce ninety-nine eggs; if the hundred were complete we should consume the whole earth and all that is in it.' And sorely have these locust hordes fulfilled their mission of destruction in all the coasts of Syria and Arabia.

Nor has Europe been exempt. From time to time the great army of locusts has appeared in one country or another in such appalling force as to render the visitation an historical calamity. Such was the plague of locusts which appeared in Russia in the year 1650, and thence overspread Poland and Lithuania in multitudes so incalculable that the damage sustained by these countries was beyond reckoning; the surface of the country seemed as if covered with a black cloth; the very trees bent beneath their weight; and when at length the locusts had lived their little span, the earth was in many places covered to the depth of four feet with their corpses. Even in the South of France, rewards are occasionally offered for the collection of locusts' eggs, while the live insects are caught wholesale by sweeping the ground with stout cloths, and so collecting them in sacks for destruction.

In the middle of last century they made their appearance in Spain, and for four years they ravaged the land. First establishing themselves in the remote and uncultivated districts of Estremadura, they thence overran La Mancha and Portugal and the fertile provinces of Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia.

As they advanced, the rustling of so many millions of wings sounded like the trees of a forest shaken by the wind. They formed a cloud so dense as to darken the sunlight, and moved on steadily, against the wind, in columns which sometimes extended for a couple of leagues. With unerring instinct they sought out every fruitful garden, every green field, sparing nothing—with one exception, namely, the love-apple,¹ which they would in no case touch.

All other green things were alike devoured. (In China they are

¹ *Solanum Lycopersicum*.

said to spare the millet crops. If they do so, I suspect it can only be when the hardness of the ripe grain defies their attacks.) Garden fruits and herbs, aromatic plants, rosemary, thyme, lavender, mustard-seed, garlic, onions, the caustic crowfoot, the bitter rue and worm-wood, deadly nightshade and hemlock—no matter what the plant, it all served as food for the locusts. Even the woollen and linen clothes of the peasants, which were laid out to dry on the ground, seemed dainty morsels to these omnivorous invaders; nor did they spare the Church: for in at least one instance (at Almaden) they devoured the silk garments that adorned the images of the saints, not sparing even the varnish on the altars. Indeed, though naturally vegetarians, locusts are apparently not always averse to animal food, or even to cannibalism; they have often been observed to fight one with another, and the victor has been seen to feast upon the slain.

Happily their foes are many. Frogs, lizards and serpents, owls, eagles, buzzards, bustards, hawks, ravens, desert-larks, wheat-ears, and other carnivorous and insectivorous birds do their best to diminish the locusts; but with small results. In Smyrna and other parts of Asia Minor the russet-starling seems possessed with an insatiable desire to kill locusts, not for food, but for sheer sport. It goes on killing till its beak becomes so clogged with locust-juice that it has to fly to the nearest water to wash, and then returns to the fray with renewed vigour.

Another deadly foe is the grub of the bee-fly,² which feeds on the locusts' eggs; and there is also a parasite which attacks the living insect.

Lady Anne Blunt tells us how in Northern Arabia she rode through flocks of ravens and buzzards sitting on the ground gorged with locusts. The camels munched them up with their provender. Her greyhounds ran snapping after them all day long, eating as many as they could catch; and, on examining the stomach of a hyena shot by her husband, it was found to be full of locusts and gazelle. She says the Bedouins often give them to their horses, and at the time of her visit to Arabia many tribes had no food whatever but locusts and camel's milk.

I have heard disgust expressed by some persons at the idea of classing locusts as an article of diet; they even cavil at the simple statement that locusts, with wild honey, formed the staple food of St. John the Baptist when in the wilderness, and deem it necessary to prove that he was supplied with pods of the carob tree, which we happen to call locust bean. The simple fact is, that locusts were not only a recognised article of diet in Syria, but were honoured by a special permit in that Levitical law concerning diet, which appears to us so strangely arbitrary in some of its prohibitions.

² *Bombyliidæ*.

The same law which rigidly excluded turbot in common with all manner of scaleless fish, and which would on no account tolerate the use of hares, coney, ham or pork, honours the locust with a special recognition. 'Even these ye may eat; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle (or chargol—i.e. a kind of locust) after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind.'^a To the present day, in Arabia, in Madagascar, and many parts of Northern Africa, they are preserved for food, and are even recognised as a commercial article of export. In some cases they are only sun-dried, in others they are preserved in brine. In Tunis the Moors fry them in oil or butter, and offer them for sale in the streets. In Medina and Tayf there are regular locust shops, where they are sold by measure. In Syria they are only eaten by the Bedawin Arabs and by very poor people. They are thrown alive into boiling water, with salt, then taken out, dried in the sun, their heads, wings, and legs are torn off, and they are then packed in sacks for future use.

Lady Anne mentions them as being a regular portion of the day's provision in camp. When first she tasted them, in December, she pronounced them fairly good, but by February she had decided that they were an excellent article of diet, the red locusts being better eating than the green ones. She was uncertain whether the red are the females and the green the males, or whether all were at first green, and became red as they advanced in age. It seems probable, however, that she is describing two distinct varieties, known in Cyprus as the large green Vrouchos and the still larger light-brown Scarnos. Their flavour is more like that of green wheat than of either fish or flesh, and in the daily rations they were considered in a measure to take the place of vegetables.

After trying various methods of cooking it was voted that they were best when plain boiled; their long legs were then pulled off, and they were held by the wings, dipped into salt, and so eaten with much relish. They are large, handsome insects, very like grasshoppers, but three inches in length, or four inches measuring from the head to the tip of the closed wings.

The best time to catch them is in the morning, when they are half-benumbed by the chill of night, and their wings are damp with dew, so that they cannot fly. Then they lie thickly clustered under every bush that can afford them shelter, and can easily be captured and shovelled into baskets. But when the sun has warmed the earth and dried their wings, they are all on the alert, and spring away at the approach of the hunter, who nevertheless can often strike them down with sticks as they fly.

On December 31 Lady Anne records that the previous night had been so cold that all the locusts were dead, and the small birds of the desert were holding high festival.

^a Lev. ii. 22.

I myself have seen considerable numbers of locusts winging their flight across the Red Sea, from Arabia towards Egypt. Many fell on the deck of the vessel in which I was sailing. At another time, when crossing the Himalayas, overlooking the valley of the Sutledge, I remarked a tremulous appearance in the atmosphere, as of a mirage. On further investigation, I ascertained that this strange quivering was produced by the glancing of light on the myriad wings of a great swarm of locusts, which were passing over the valley like a cloud.

But those glimpses of the locust hosts were as nothing compared with the vast flights described by my brother Roualeyn, in the interior of South Africa.⁴ He was standing in the middle of an immense plain when he first noticed their approach. On they came, like a snowstorm, flying slow and steady, about a hundred yards from the ground. He stood looking at them until the air was darkened with their masses, while the plain on which he stood became densely covered with them. Far as the eye could reach—east, west, north, south—they stretched in one unbroken cloud, and more than an hour elapsed before their devastating legions had swept by.

Not long afterwards he fell in with another swarm. He was marching through a heavy sandy country of boundless level plains, covered with rank yellow grass, varied with detached clumps of thorny mimosas. He came upon a swarm of locusts which had alighted, to rest for the night on the grass and bushes. They lay so thick that they covered the large bushes, just as a swarm of young bees covers the branch on which it pitches. He could easily have collected enough to fill all his large wagons, the piercing cold of night, with white hoar frost, having rendered them unable to take wing until the sun should restore their powers.

He met a party of natives carrying heavy burdens of them on their backs, and his hungry dogs made a fine feast of those they captured for themselves. Having some difficulty at that time in procuring sufficient food for all his dogs, this locust-swarm proved a most valuable addition to the larder. He took a large blanket and spread it under a bush, the branches of which were bent to the ground with the mass of locusts which covered it, and, having shaken the bush, there fell on to the blanket more locusts than he could possibly carry. These he roasted for himself, his servants, and his dogs. He found that they were highly prized by the natives of South Africa, as affording fattening and wholesome food to man, birds, and all sorts of beasts—cows and horses, lions, jackals, hyenas, antelopes, elephants, &c., devour them.

The following morning, soon after sunrise, he looked back, and saw the locusts stretching to the west in vast clouds resembling

⁴ *A Hunter's Life in South Africa.* By R. Gordon Cumming.

smoke; but soon afterwards the wind, veering round, brought them back towards him, and they flew over his head, actually darkening the sun for a considerable period.

Equally wonderful is the account of a locust invasion of Syria, as related by Dr. William Thomson. He tells how, in the early spring, a flying squadron—the pioneers of the vast army—passed over the land, leaving it thickly sown with their eggs, lying in little masses, cemented together, scattered all over fields, plain, and desert ground. This done, these harbingers of woe vanished; but within a couple of months the very dust seemed to awaken to life and to creep. Soon these infinitesimal moving atoms developed into minute grasshoppers, who began their destructive existence, all moving forward in one general direction, a creeping, jumping mass of living particles.

Dr. Thomson describes his first glimpse of this phenomenon. He was riding near Fūliyah, when it struck him that the side of a hill had a peculiar appearance. Riding up to it, to his amazement, the whole surface became agitated, and began to roll downwards. His horse was so frightened that he had to dismount. Then he perceived that this animated dust was composed of myriads of minute locusts, so young that they could not even jump; but in their infantile alarm they rolled over and over, producing an effect like the movement of fluid mortar.

On another occasion he rode through a district where the work of extirpation was going on. It was near the Plain of Acre, and a swarm of locusts had overrun the whole region. The Governor of Kabûl had summoned every man, woman, and child in the neighbourhood to lend their aid in the common cause. The foe had not yet grown their wings and, being unable to fly, were compelled to run in whatever direction they were driven. So the people formed a vast circle, beating the bushes, and shouting, in order to frighten the insect host and drive them towards an isolated hill covered with dry grass. Soon the hill became black with the countless myriads which thronged it. Then the grass was set on fire in different places, and the flames, fanned by a strong breeze, soon spread over the whole hill, filling the air with an overpowering smell of roast locust. The same operation was performed at many different points in the neighbourhood with very excellent results.

Some years later Dr. Thomson made a still more intimate acquaintance with these gentle destroyers. He was living at 'Abeih, on Mount Lebanon, when an alarm was raised that incalculable swarms of young locusts were marching up the valley towards the village. The inhabitants turned out to endeavour, if possible, to turn aside their line of march. This they soon found to be altogether futile. The whole face of the mountain was black with the closely serried ranks, which advanced steadily like a well-disciplined army. They were at the wingless stage, and of the size of average grasshoppers. Nothing

checked their steady onward progress. Trenches were dug, fires were kindled, thousands were slain.

Still fresh hordes pressed on in bewildering multitudes. Right up the mountain they advanced, scaling rocks and walls, hedges and ditches, the corpses of the slain only serving as bridges to facilitate the progress of the new comers.

Even when the foremost ranks reached the palace of the Emir they did not turn aside to avoid its walls, but climbed straight up and went over the other side. Thus they scaled every house in the town, always going straight ahead, regardless of all obstacles. If it be true, as the saying goes, that 'straightforward makes the best runner' in life, we might, perchance, find worse examples than the locusts!

Hoping at least to be able to protect his own little garden, Dr. Thomson hired a number of labourers to keep up fires, and to remain on watch, beating the locusts off the walls with branches of trees. For some hours this struggle was kept up; but as the irresistible army continued to advance in ever increasing multitude, they gave up the effort in despair, and surrendered to the conquerors.

For four days did this gigantic 'march past' continue, till at length a diminution in their numbers was apparent, and at last there remained only a few stragglers. But alas! for the change in the aspect of the land, which before their approach had been as a pleasant garden, but was now scorched as though the breath of a furnace had passed over it. Large vineyards which had been loaded with young grapes, orchards of olive, fig, and mulberry trees, all promising an abundant harvest, were left clean bare—not a cluster of fruit, not a green leaf remaining, only melancholy naked branches. Vegetable gardens that had been green as a meadow were left bare as a dusty road, whole fields of tall corn were stripped of every leaf, and only naked stalks remained to mock the unhappy husbandman. Not a blade of grass had escaped to reward the most careful search; the pastures had disappeared, and the herds of cattle and flocks of sheep were left absolutely without food.

The rustling noise made by these busy multitudes, when marching and foraging, is, compared to the sound of a heavy rainfall in a forest, when myriad raindrops are pattering on the green leaves, or, to use the image of the prophet Joel, it is like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble.

Our interest in the destructive powers of this insect foe becomes more keenly awakened when we hear of their recent ravages in a British colony; and from the official reports of the High Commissioner of Cyprus (Sir Robert Biddulph) are enabled to form some idea of the magnitude of the task he has undertaken in endeavouring to exterminate these destructive insects.

This is by no means the first time that such a crusade has been

attempted in Cyprus. In the year 1867 the Turkish authorities decided that the voracious locusts must be stamped out, once and for ever, and enacted most stringent measures to that effect, commanding that every man in the island who was subject to taxation should collect one kilo (i.e. a large measure upwards of 16 lbs. weight) of locusts' eggs. Said Pasha, who was at that time Governor of Cyprus, and a most energetic ruler, was determined to enforce these regulations to the uttermost.

He accordingly made a tour of the island from village to village, taking in his company the archbishop, bishops, and all the leading inhabitants, to add weight to his presence. Lest the people should grow weary in their search and fail in the work of total extermination, he threatened them that should they fail to collect the full weight required, he would turn out all the locust eggs again, and let them hatch; and, to prove himself in earnest, he kept all that were brought to him safely stored in locked magazines, and none were destroyed until this strange tax had been paid in full.

So excellent was the result, that in January 1870 the Imperial Government at Constantinople issued a circular, announcing that, owing to the success of the measures adopted, the locusts in the island had been completely destroyed. The said measures are then related in detail, with an intimation that should locusts appear in any part of the Empire the inhabitants are at once to apply to Constantinople for the services of officials skilled in setting up locust-traps, and arranging the whole process of destruction.

The particulars given in this Vizierial Circular are extremely interesting. First, as regards the eggs. Such is the instinct of the mother locust, that in no case has she been known to deposit her eggs in cultivated ground. A million locusts may alight on a field, but not one egg will there be laid. But should there be a barren spot, where the rocky soil has defied the plough, there each mother will deposit her ninety-nine eggs, piercing the hard soil to secure for them a safe nest underground. The more barren and lonely the situation, the better is it suited to her purpose, and the less fear is there of her family treasures being disturbed.

Cyprus unfortunately offers wide expanses of uncultivated land, admirably adapted for locust breeding-grounds. A belt of bare low foot-hills, thirty-seven miles in length by about four in width, stretches along the base of the northern range of mountains, forming a rocky, barren desert, peculiarly suited to the locust nurseries. It is said that the eggs will not hatch at above a given altitude, consequently the breeding grounds are confined to a comparatively low level.

It seems that in most lands the locust pays periodical visits, flying in swarms from one country to another. The Cyprian locust is, however, indigenous to the isle. No evil wind brings him from

Asia Minor or from the Syrian deserts; no blessed breeze wafts him from the shore to a watery grave in the Mediterranean. He is born and bred on the island, where he provides an abundant generation for the coming year, and dies, leaving his dust to fertilise his native soil.

The eggs are deposited in the months of May and June, and remain safely buried till the month of February; or, should the season be cold, they are not hatched till March, when the earth grows warmer.

In the month of July the task of collecting the eggs was commenced in obedience to the Imperial edict. Each man was required to produce his kilo of locusts' eggs, which were duly weighed in presence of the members of the Council, and then deposited in a great pit, which was filled with earth and heavily trodden down to ensure the destruction of all this embryonic life.

But as from the very nature of the ground it was impossible to find all the eggs, and a vast multitude were hatched notwithstanding all precautions, it was decreed that every twentieth man on the island should be appointed locust-destroyer for the other nineteen, who were bound to support him during his term of work. Thus a body of 1,800 workmen was raised, and sent to every district in which locusts appeared, under the orders of special officers and of the Cypriote chiefs, both Ottoman and Christian.

They were provided with special tools for the destruction of locusts—axes, shovels, pieces of coarse woollen cloth fifty yards in length and a yard wide, bound at the upper edge with a strong strip of oil-cloth six inches in width; also strings, poles, and planks of wood edged with smooth zinc. Wherever the presence of locusts was detected, the locality was to be surrounded by these strips of cloth, which were tied to wooden poles, erected about one yard apart, so as to form a cloth wall, the base of which should be buried six inches in the earth. Near these cloth walls long pits were to be dug, along the rim of which were laid the planks with the edging of smooth zinc, so that the locusts which hopped into the pits should be unable to crawl up again. The band of oil-cloth upon the top of the screens served the same purpose. In case any should be so energetic as to hop over the screens, a second row of pitfalls were to be prepared on the other side.

Meanwhile the workmen in attendance were to watch patiently, ever on the alert to beat the shrubs and bushes with branches of palm trees, as for the first ten or twelve days after they are hatched the locusts cannot hop. Even when their wings are developed, they are unable to fly at night, their gauze-like texture being unable to support the weight of dew. It is therefore possible, before the sun rises, for men with bags and baskets to collect great quantities, which can either be burnt or buried in pits.

To ensure this work being faithfully performed, an officer was appointed over every ten workmen, and 'a trustworthy man' for every fifty. In each locality where locusts were found a superintendent was appointed, and an inspector over every four or five superintendents. A truly Oriental system of supervision, and doubtless most necessary, as although all the people complain bitterly of the ravages of the locusts, none like the trouble of killing them, even on their own land, from a selfish conviction that such labour *only* benefits the public, and that fresh hordes of locusts will speedily come from other estates to replace those killed, and so they are wasting their individual labour for the general weal—a truly patriotic spirit!

The measures thus stringently carried out by Saïd Pacha resulted in the apparent extermination of the evil. Certainly, when a strong-headed Oriental does determine to carry out a measure dependent on the labour of his subjects, his total disregard of their individual will or rights does give him an immense advantage.

While English officials have, since the annexation of Cyprus, been cudgelling their brains how best to conquer this resuscitated and hydra-headed plague without unduly burdening the unhappy Cypriotes, the official journal of the province of Broussa contains the following curt announcement from headquarters at Constantinople:—'If the Governor of Koutahiyah does not completely destroy all the locusts' eggs in the Caza of Ouchak within a week, and report the fact to the Government in conformity to orders, he will be dismissed from office.' Just imagine the pressure that must have been put on all the inhabitants of the district to ensure the extermination thus imperatively required!

And all this time, Sir Robert Biddulph and the Home Authorities have been striving to solve the problem of how to subdue the pest without oppressing any man.

That strong and immediate measures were necessary was evident, for the few survivors of Saïd Pacha's raid increased and multiplied in so frightful a ratio that by the summer of 1880 their vast swarms threatened calamity to the island. Wheat, barley, and oats, maize and millet, fruit-trees and vegetables of every description, were alike subject to their ravages. In a few hours after they settled on a field or garden they had stripped it of every green thing, leaving only bare brown stalks rising from the earth, scathed as though fire had passed over the land.

Accordingly, in the month of July, the British High Commissioner resolved to put in force a considerably modified form of the existing Ottoman regulations with regard to the destruction of the foe. Whereas these required that every male between the ages of eighteen and sixty should contribute his quota of about sixteen okes of locust eggs, the quantity now required was only eight okes per

head, to be furnished by January 1, 1881, a discount of one oke^{*} being allowed to such persons as brought in their quota before November 1. It was further intimated that the Government would hire the labour requisite for working the locust-traps, instead of as heretofore requiring the compulsory work of every twentieth man.

It was stipulated that the eggs must be delivered quite free from any admixture of earth, and should be brought to the Commissioners either at Famağusta, Larnaca, or Nicosia, where they should be weighed and destroyed.

Some hesitation seems to have at first been felt as to whether the liberty of the Cypriote in his new character of British subject would not be more fully recognised by allowing the people to collect the locust-eggs of their own accord, on the assurance that the Government would purchase all eggs brought in for sale. It was, however, decided that the necessity of producing a compulsory fixed quantity would compel a more thorough search, and the man who failed to collect his full weight must buy from the surplus of his more diligent neighbours. He who failed so to do was declared subject to a pecuniary penalty.

As the only persons exempted from this tax were the police, the military, and the households of foreign consuls, and as multitudes of men had no inclination to go out egg-hunting in person, a brisk trade was carried on in this commodity, which fetched about a shilling per oke, rising in value towards the close of the season, when seven okes sold for ten shillings.

The advantage of the compulsory collection was very evident, for whereas in the autumn of 1879, when the people had been invited to bring in eggs for sale, only 29,933 okes were collected, the tax in the following autumn amounted to *one hundred and eighty-nine thousand okes*; in other words, TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIX TONS!! It seems difficult to realise the possibility of collecting insects' eggs in such vast quantities.

It seems a pity, too, to think that such a mass of material could not be made use of in some manner. It has been suggested that if, instead of burying the eggs in great pits, they had been killed with boiling water, they might then be turned to account in the manufacture of an excellent bait for shore fishing, and so an important fishing industry might be developed. In the same way, the locusts which are captured are generally burnt in great quantities, whereas on the Bay of Biscay and the shores of Algeria their bodies are pounded into a paste, which is highly prized by the sardine fishers, and it is thought that it might prove equally useful to the fishers of Cyprus. Indeed, if locusts are themselves good for human food, there appears to be no reason why their eggs should not be also utilised.

Admirable as was the result obtained by this vast destruction of

^{*} In official reports I find the equivalent of oke variously stated at from 1 lb. to 8 lbs.

eggs, the collecting question was one by no means devoid of difficulty. One danger which presented itself was that of establishing a trade in locusts' eggs, which might induce the egg-hunters wilfully to preserve a sufficient number to keep up the supply for the following season. Another difficulty was so to regulate the price at which the eggs should sell as to induce people really to search for them in the island, but to prevent its reaching such a figure as should tempt speculators to import the eggs from the mainland.

Then, again, arose the British love of fair play, and it seemed unfair that the poorest labouring man, who had nothing at stake, should be required to furnish the same quota as the large landowner who might suffer damage to the value of hundreds of pounds from the ravages of the locusts in a single day. It was, therefore, proposed that in the following year the personal tax should be reduced to one oke per man, and that the landowners should be required to pay an additional tax in proportion to their acreage (one oke of eggs for every fifteen donums).

Notwithstanding the enormous destruction of locusts' eggs in the closing months of 1880, the mildness of the winter seems to have favoured the hatching of the survivors, and in the early spring of 1881 the foe were once more marshalled in mighty force. Happily, an unusual abundance of wild grass tended to mitigate their onslaught on the green crops, and the harvest was so unusually rich that the locust ravages were less severely felt than usual. Nevertheless, the necessity for vigorous measures was evident, and the locust war was waged with greater determination than ever.

Although a very much smaller price than heretofore was now offered for locusts' eggs, beginning at one piastre per oke (about a halfpenny per lb.), and, as the season advanced, rising to three times that value, the amount collected between July 1881 and February 1882 was five times as great as the total for the two previous years. If the collection of two hundred and thirty-six tons had seemed startling, what shall we say to so amazing an accumulation as 1,063,555 okes, or in plain English, *one thousand three hundred and twenty-nine and a half tons*, which was the weight of locusts' eggs destroyed in Cyprus in the spring of 1882!!

This destruction of the yet unhatched foe was but a small portion of the task that had to be accomplished. It was necessary to organise a scheme for the extermination of the hungry hordes of living locusts, which began to appear in vast numbers, and were not only a present danger, but would inevitably be the progenitors of an ever-increasing multitude.

Preparations for their destruction were therefore made on a very large scale. Upwards of eight thousand locust-traps were manufactured, and 5,500 cloth screens edged with strong oil-cloth like those devised by Saïd Pasha, each fifty yards in length.

These, with tools and materials (amounting to five hundred tons weight) cost of transport, and payment of labourers, together with the sum (12,000*l.*) paid for locusts, involved a total expenditure of 32,000*l.* for the year ending June 1882, a heavy item of outlay for an island with so small a revenue, but one which would assuredly be recouped within a twelvemonth, could it but lead to the total extermination of the foe.

To carry out the campaign, the island was divided into ten locust districts, in which fifteen hundred workmen were distributed, under direction of fifty-two Memours, i.e., overseers, who were responsible to the Nazirs or district superintendents, and these in their turn to the Head Superintendents of the Eastern and Western Divisions. As the labourers were required to keep watch day and night wherever operations were being carried on, it was necessary to provide tents for their shelter, and to form camps and organise a regular commissariat.

The first duty of the overseers was to go over the district allotted to them in search of those places where newly hatched locusts were numerous, and to have these enclosed by cloth screens, or, if the extent and nature of the ground rendered this impossible, then to set up the screens in the direction, in which the foe might be expected to march.

Mr. Arthur Young, the Commissioner of the Famagusta district, reports that the locusts in the Eastern Division of Cyprus chiefly directed their course towards the points east to south. He took by compass the direction in which fifty-two armies were marching, and found that two were steering north, five north-east, twelve east, ten south-east, thirteen south, four south-west, five west, and one north-west. As a matter of preference, they seemed to select small ravines or roads.

When two armies marching in opposite directions met, the smaller force turned and joined the larger.

Nothing seemed to stop these columns; they kept on their course through villages and over walls, and even streams did not check them; indeed the streams only increased the labours of the workmen, for, having been filled by the rains they sometimes carried whole regiments of locusts into districts which had been already cleared of their brethren. The advancing column on reaching such a stream would endeavour to cross it, and although large numbers were invariably drowned, a multitude would keep afloat till they had been carried down stream for a mile or more, reaching some place where they could land in safety.

The rate of progress of the locust army is found to vary with their age. When full-grown they march about two miles a day.

Notwithstanding the enormous destruction of eggs since the last season, the number of locusts in the spring of 1882 proved to be

very much greater than in the previous year. According to some reports they were ten times as numerous.

The hatching commenced in the beginning of March, but as it was found impossible to effect an infant massacre, about a fortnight was devoted to discovering the nurseries and commencing siege operations. The actual work of destruction began on March 21, and was continued till May 7. It was, however, greatly hindered by the rains in the first half of April, as the locusts object to march in cloudy or cold weather, so they lie still, and obstinately refuse to approach the pitfalls so invitingly prepared for them. So the labourers watched in vain, and the canvas screens were considerably injured by exposure to weather.

But if the locusts remained at rest on rainy days, they must have marched to their doom with double zest on those which intervened, for out of 32,220 pits which were filled in the district of Famagusta, 4,280 were the tale for the last ten days of March, 11,188 for the first half of April, 14,741 for the latter half, and 2,011 for May. Each pit contained one cubic yard of struggling insects of about 300 okes weight. *The total weight of locusts thus destroyed in one district was above TWELVE THOUSAND TONS!*

I happened to mention this fact to a celebrated pig-breeder in Yorkshire, and the idea of so much good food being wasted distressed him greatly. He only wished he could have got the whole lot boiled down to fatten his pigs! It does seem strange that if dogs, hyenas, camels, and horses eat the locusts of Northern Arabia with such avidity, no use could be found for these on the island. Doubtless all varieties are not equally good for food, but as four different branches of the great clan locust are mentioned among the slain, we may safely assume that the edible locust is included in the list.

The four sorts specified are, first, the common locust, 'Akritha,' which when newly hatched is white, but almost immediately turns black, but in later life assumes a light brown hue. It is hatched about March 10, lays its eggs about May 15, and dies about the end of June.

Secondly. The Tehakros Acræda, a very small reddish locust, very injurious to the cotton crop. It is hatched in the beginning of April, lays its eggs in July, and dies in the beginning of August.

Thirdly. The Vrouchos, a large green locust, very injurious to trees and cotton. It hatches in April, lays and dies in July.

Fourthly. The Scarnos, a very large light-brown locust, which does comparatively little damage to trees. Born in April, it lays in July and perishes early in August.

The three kinds last enumerated lay their eggs on damp ground, and are more wary in avoiding traps than the common locusts, which march onward steadily and blindly, tumbling over one another, and pressing on so fast that those which first fall into the

trap are smothered by the multitude falling above them. Mr. Young timed the filling of the pits, and found that when the locusts were on quick march, the pits were filled to the brim in about an hour and a half. Late one afternoon he saw the head of a column about four hundred yards distant from a line of screens, where, at one point, ten pits had been dug, joining one another. Next morning at 10 A.M. he visited these traps, and found them about two-thirds full. In one place a dry well, twenty-five feet in depth, was entirely filled with a densely packed mass of struggling insect life. Doubtless in locust history this well at Aya Serghi figures as dismally as that of Cawnpore in the records of India!

From the Western Division of Cyprus, Mr. Inglis, Commissioner of Nicosia, reports that he had never in previous years seen such vast swarms of locusts, and the alarm of the farmers was consequently very great. Owing to deficiency of labour, a large number of locusts were unfortunately suffered to escape, probably upwards of ten per cent. of the whole.

Nevertheless the destruction was very great, and whole districts were cleared. It continued from March 15 till May 5, about which time the locusts commenced to fly, and to traverse the country seeking food, and a suitable place to lay their eggs.

To quote from Mr. Inglis: 'Towards the end of the destruction, when the locusts concentrated, labour was difficult to obtain, and I saw a line of screens, some three or four miles long, which had stopped the progress of a vast column of locusts, but the labour obtainable at the moment was insufficient to open and fill in the pits fast enough, and the locusts were making for the flanks.

'To give some idea of the vast number concentrated here, and which, as they were travelling so fast, might have been totally destroyed in a very short time, had there been sufficient labour on the spot. The Nazirs had pits or trenches from twenty-five to thirty feet long, dug at right angles to the screens. These pits were about four feet deep, and from three to four and a half feet wide, and were lined with canvas screens with the oil-cloth so adjusted as to prevent the locusts from getting out. The locusts were advancing so quickly, compactly, and closely, that the noise of their fall into the chasm was like the sound of rushing water.

'These pits were filled in, and others dug, but not fast enough. Had there been sufficient labour, every locust would in a short time have been destroyed. In this case the overseer worked men by night and I sent out a party of police to assist.

'The peasants were, as I have already found them, very apathetic, and in but few instances would they come out even to assist in the protection of their own crops.'

Such apathy as this speaks volumes in favour of the plenary powers possessed by Saïd Pasha, when he compelled the whole population

without exception to turn out and assist in work for the general weal.

Last year the Archbishop of Cyprus, who doubtless was well acquainted with this characteristic of his flock, urged Sir Robert Bidulph to compel all the people to help in the labour of destruction, but the representative of free Britons deemed that such a measure, though it might not be contrary to public opinion in Cyprus, would fail to receive sanction in England, and that considering the scarcity of labour and the abundance of the promised harvest, it would be unfair to interfere with the agricultural population.

But this inertness in regard to any effort to cope with locusts has often been observed in other countries. In Spain, for instance, when they were ravaging the land in the last century, the peasants could not be roused to any effort for their destruction, but quietly watched them devouring their gardens and their crops. The magnitude of the evil seemed to paralyse effort.

The reports from Nicosia omit to state the weight of locusts there destroyed, so we fail to learn whether it equalled or exceeded the twelve thousand tons of Famagusta. We may safely assume that it could not have been less than two-thirds of the yield of the Eastern Province, and at this estimate the total of the year's produce must certainly have reached twenty thousand tons! No wonder that my pig-feeding friend should so sorely regret the burial of so much good animal food!

The Superintendents and Commissioners agreed in recommending that in this spring of 1883 no effort whatever should be made for the destruction of locusts' eggs, as it was evidently quite useless to expect to find them all. Even on average ground, and under Government supervision, it seems impossible to discover all these hidden treasures, and it is rare that more than seventy per cent. are collected. The subsequent endeavour to capture the locusts hatched from the remaining thirty per cent. involves just as much trouble and expense as if the full number had been developed.

Moreover the destruction of the locusts' eggs necessarily involves that of the larvæ of the Bombyliidæ or bee-fly, which is a most valuable ally, as it devours the locusts' eggs, and five per cent. of those collected in Cyprus in the autumn of 1881 were found to be thus affected, and would consequently have perished without any human intervention.

So, in the present year, all efforts are reserved for the wholesale destruction of the locust legions when they are in full marching order. To this end a very large addition has been made to the number of screens and traps, the latter being edged with well-greased oil-cloth, which answers the same purpose as well-greased zinc in preventing the locusts from passing over it, and is much lighter to carry. With this increase of screens, and a large increase of work-

men and of mounted overseers, it is hoped that this season the greater part of the locusts may have been destroyed ere they could lay their eggs.

'All,' says Mr. Inglis, 'depends upon the traps and screens being placed quickly and with judgment. As fast as the pits are filled, fresh ones should be ready, and as soon as the great mass of the column has been destroyed, or has passed round the flanks, the line should be lifted and put down somewhere else, where most required, and to do this requires not only intelligence on the part of the overseers, but also sufficient labour.'

There was every reason to expect that the work this year would prove quite as heavy as it has been hitherto, more so, indeed, as the locusts' eggs were scattered over a much wider area, and in the Famagusta district, sixty per cent. of the whole were laid in Larnaca, mostly on hilly ground, where it is difficult to manœuvre the screens. The preliminary outlay has, however, been less than in former years, as so large a quantity of screens and traps had already been provided, and the expenditure for egg-purchase, which in 1881 amounted to 12,262*l.*, has also been saved.

Now that the warfare is properly organised, there is good reason to believe that ultimate victory is assured. From the fact of the locust being indigenous, and not a visitor from the mainland, there seems room to hope that it may be altogether eradicated, and this task will become easier if the population increases and cultivation extends. At present the sparseness of the population and the large tracts of uncultivated land are all in favour of the locust increase. The waste lands which now form its favourite breeding-grounds are capable of yielding wine and olives, cotton and corn, in lieu of locusts' eggs, and the insect, which will only deposit its eggs on hard, undisturbed ground, would find an ever narrowing area suited to its purpose.

Meanwhile the locust war of March, April, and May, 1883, has been diligently carried on, and we may trust that its close will find the farmers of Cyprus rejoicing over something approaching to the extermination of their greedy foe.

C. F. GORDON CUMMING.

AIX-LES-BAINS AND ANNECY.

‘*Quis non pecuniâ nostrâ pinguior campus?*’ What country is there in which the Englishman, the *père de famille* and his belongings, may not be found health- or pleasure-seeking? What land is there, or, indeed, what province in any foreign land, accessible by steam or rail, which does not boast of a chalybeate spring and a rising spa? Alike in the secluded valley and on the hillside, sometimes on the very summit of the mountain, springs of healing waters are everywhere discovered, sparkling and bright, or sulphurous and boiling; wherever an *établissement* rises, and doctors establish themselves, the victims follow: the dyspeptic, the hypochondriacal, the sufferers from all sorts and conditions of ill health, crowd into every spa during the season of *la vie des eaux*. There is no better speculation than a new spa. Only discover a fresh spring of water, impregnated with some peculiarly nauseous compound; find a medical analyst who will testify to its efficacy—and a fortune is made. Royat, in Auvergne, was unknown to fame, a village situated at the foot of the Auvergne volcanic range of mountains, a mile distant from Clermont-Ferrand. Long had the little community looked with envy on the diligences and carriages daily conveying those who wished their voices strengthened, the asthmatic and rheumatic, to Mont Dore, some five or six thousand feet higher up, near the Pic de Sancy. Why should they not find a spring to rival that of Mont Dore? Surveys were made and the ground was bored at Royat by scientific men from Clermont-Ferrand, for the provincial capital was deeply interested in the discovery of some elixir which would arrest the travellers who only passed through their town. For a long time the researches were unsuccessful, but one day a man was sinking a well deeper than usual, and suddenly a hot spring gushed forth; the bubbling water sprang into the air and was hailed with delight by the lookers-on. Far and wide the news spread; wonderful cures were soon certified to—the lame leaped about; the croaking voice became clear and sonorous; the asthmatic ran up the hill; then the desert of the slopes of rocky Auvergne was converted by the builder into streets of monster hotels and lodging-houses. Fashion completed what the faculty founded. Smart ladies

mingled with priests and singers, with those who were in search of lungs, and lungs which were in search of exercise, and Royat became a successful rival of Mont Dore, Vichy, and all the health-resorts which exist in this volcanic district.

For those who wish to combine the pursuit of health with a pleasant life and beautiful scenery, there are few places that offer so many advantages as Aix-les-Bains. It is only one day's journey from Paris; and if that journey is too long, Dijon affords a most desirable resting-place, for there are few cities so full of ancient memorials and buildings of historic interest as the capital of Burgundy. Unless baccarat and vaudevilles form a part of the bathing programme, it is well to arrive at Aix early in the season—in July and August. Monaco and the Riviera have sent their contingent to this favourite resort, and Paris is represented, not only by the best of the Faubourg St.-Germain, but by the Chaussée-d'Antin, and other parts of Paris not quite so respectable. At this period of the season the invalid must be very suffering or very young to find the life agreeable, for the public walks and gardens are limited in size and thousands of visitors are cooped up in two or three narrow streets, the fresh breezes from the mountain and lake being every year more intercepted by giant hotels and blocks of houses which are rising on every side. It cannot be said of the modern builder '*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*;' as a rule it is '*nihil tetigit quod non damnavit*'—whatever he touches he transforms and deforms. Aix-les-Bains is no exception to the general melancholy rule—to build cheaply and build hugely. Bricks and stucco furnish the material of the exterior walls, lath and plaster the inner partitions. The new Casino is, however, a building of a higher order, and here all tastes, theatrical, musical, literary, are provided for: a ball-room, a theatre, reading-rooms, reception-rooms of every variety, and very well laid out grounds, are crowded day and night by a motley throng. All nations and classes jostle each other in the rooms or at the *sources*: the pale and languid, the radiant and boisterous; the latest fashion and the russet dress; the singer who comes to exercise his voice, and the singer who wishes to strengthen his; men whom it is an honour to know, and those it is well to avoid—

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
Mendici, minæ, balatrone: hoc genus omne.

Such is Aix at the present time, at the height of the season—very different from what it was twenty-three years since, when it was sold to France, and the Emperor and Empress of the French, at the close of the same year, paid their first and last visit to the glorious inheritance of the princely House of Savoy.

'Perish Savoy!' These words were spoken in the House of Commons in 1860 by one of our greatest orators, the Tribune of the People. It

was during the discussion which arose on the foreign policy of the Government at the time of the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France—an annexation which called forth the eloquent and indignant protestations of Mr. Kinglake, Sir Robert Peel, and others; it was after their magnificent speeches that Mr. Bright rose to vindicate the two Governments whose policy was so vigorously condemned, and that he uttered the sentiment ‘Perish Savoy!’ It was then that Lord John Manners, amid cheers from all parts of the House, expressed his contempt for the unpatriotic utterance. ‘Perish Savoy! says the honourable gentleman. Perish all freedom! Perish constitutional government! Perish everything that stands in the way of a commercial treaty with France!’ On this occasion Mr. Bright was opposed, not only to the majority of the House of Commons, but to the general feeling of the nation; there was an almost universal expression of indignant regret at the ignominious transaction, at the meanness of the sacrifice demanded by Napoleon III., at the absence of all chivalrous sentiment and nobility of heart on the part of the prince who could contemplate the bartering away the ancient inheritance of his fathers. For no sovereign ever succeeded to grander traditions than Victor Emmanuel; the history of the House of Savoy is the history of grand military successes and noble illustrations; every mountain-side and glen of this picturesque principality has been associated with the gallant deeds and glories of their race; and all this for the sake of vaulting ambition was forgotten; all the population whose love and admiration of the princely House had grown with their growth was to be transferred, after a mock plébiscite, to a foreign power, and the House of Savoy ceased to exist.

Those who wander amid the by-ways of Savoy, and mix with the people other than the inhabitants of the bathing towns, will soon appreciate how deeply rooted in the hearts of the whole population is the love of the House of Savoy. As in France until recent days, when all deep sentiment of patriotism seems banished from the country, every cottage contained some print of glorious deeds of arms, some memorial of the Grand Monarque or the Great Emperor, so even now, although a province of France, each home bears testimony of the affection of the Savoyard to the old family; like all mountain people, no change of clime weakens this attachment to the native soil and all its associations. ‘So recently as last April, an address was presented to the Duke and Duchess of Genoa, not by the inhabitants of Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, or of Aix-les-Bains, but by Savoyards residing at Naples; from this distant province issued the expression of the widespread feeling and affection for the ancient race. ‘May,’ says the address, ‘the grace and virtue of the House of Savoy shine on the gentle Princess, and may the genius of his father live in the valiant son of Ferdinand of Savoy. The House of Savoy will never be forgotten.’ This sale and barter of a noble

inheritance was a grave political error for both countries; geographically it has strengthened the position of France, but it cannot be politically advantageous to any nation to incorporate races who will never regard them with affection. Extent of territory is not always extent of power. No increase of dominion is worth having unless it is accompanied by dominion over the hearts of the people. The possession of Savoy by France, as of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany, may flatter national vanity, but adds nothing to the real strength of either nation assuredly in a dynastic point of view. The old sovereigns of Savoy have gained little by the exchange of the grand ancient Duchy for a modern democratic monarchy—a monarchy which has risen on the ruins of the noblest old Italian tradition, and which it is still possible may not be more lasting than the frail edifices which it has erected on the Quirinal.

Happily, the beauty of the scenery, the grandeur of the mountain range, the purple distance, the sweetness of the undulating valleys so rich in their varied wild flowers, the wild solitude of the rocky glens, the beneficence of the water, and still more beneficent air—all the glory and charm of the province is in no way affected by the exchange of rulers, and when the descendant of a proud and princely line deserts his inheritance he cannot take with him the memorials and recollections of the past. Savoy stands where it did, although the French Republic has replaced the rule of the gallant race of Emanuel Philibert. So those visitors who arrive at Aix-les-Bains in the early part of the season, before every favoured spot is thronged with bathers and tourists, will be able to combine all the good to be derived from the healing waters and soft soothing air with a life full of varied interest. Lamartine resided some time at Aix: it was here he wrote *Raphael*, which may serve as an excellent guide-book for the district. He makes Raphael select Aix as a residence because it combines the charm of the beautiful valley and fertile plain with the majesty of Alpine scenery. The district between Chambéry and Annecy does not exceed sixty miles, but these sixty miles are full of objects of interest; and the two lakes of Bourget and Annecy are not inferior in beauty to Maggiore and Como. How deeply Lamartine was impressed with this scenery may be perceived in every page of *Raphael*. If Lamartine has identified himself with the lake of Bourget, Rousseau, in his *Confessions*, has achieved the same result at Chambéry; while his early and later life passed at Annecy has added to the charm of that picturesque town; while his description of the lake invited so much attention to its beauty that many followed his example and built residences on its shores. Like Byron, Scott, and Burns, Lamartine and Rousseau have added to the charm of scenery which is exceptionally lovely; in *Raphael*, Lamartine observes that nature, however grand and absorbing in interest, gains by its association with genius. How

much,' he adds, 'does not Vaucluse owe to Petrarch; Sorrento to Tasso; Venice to Byron; Annecy and Chambéry to Rousseau and Madame de Warens!' and we may now add, Aix-les-Bains to Lamartine.

The impressions which nature conveys to the poet, the poet in his turn conveys to the reader, who finds his feelings and impressions adequately expressed; for to the real lover of nature his pleasure is greatly enhanced by sympathy. And where no kindred spirit is near, the poet who describes the scene is most welcome. 'C'est un triste plaisir de voir un beau pays et de n'avoir personne à qui on peut dire: "Voilà un beau pays."' There are many who sympathise with this sentiment of Madame de Staël, and to all but misanthropes the companionship of those who have lived in the same scenes is ever grateful. It is pleasant to know that the memory of the great minds who have made these scenes their dwelling-places survives in the hearts of those amongst whom they dwelt. Even now Byron's name is not forgotten in Venice; he is named with enthusiasm by the descendants of those who knew and appreciated him—the gondolier will tell many a story of which the great poet was the hero, which has been transmitted to him, for Byron's name will ever be associated with that of Venice. And so at Aix, if the visitor leaves his first excursion to be decided by his driver, he will in all probability be taken to the lake that he may view the Bois Lamartine, whence he can see the group of three trees on which a small flag is always flying, to indicate the spot where the poet enjoyed in his solitude the beauty of the expansive view, with the lake rippling below him. And in like manner at Annecy, the boatmen there point out Rousseau's villa, and recount many anecdotes of his eccentric life. The traveller is at once taken to see the spot where he for the first time met Madame de Warens, who was destined to exercise such an influence over his existence. 'Je dois me souvenir du lieu,' he writes; 'je l'ai souvent mouillé de mes larmes et couvert de mes baisers.' It is in a passage, behind l'Eglise des Cordeliers; it remains as he continues to describe it, with the canal flowing by it separating it from the garden so frequently referred to in the *Confessions*, a portion of which garden now belongs to the Hôtel d'Angleterre. As for Chambéry, most travellers soon visit 'Les Charmettes,' that pleasant little residence surrounded by vine-clad hills, where every path and point of view is connected with Rousseau and the golden days of his prime.

The Abbey de Haute-Combe on the opposite side of the lake of Bourget is in general the first distant object of attraction to those who visit Aix. It is the burial-place of the princely House of Savoy: at present, with all its grand memories, the possession of the French Republic. Once before, in 1792, it was annexed to a French Republic, but then this was by right of conquest, when it became a

Department of France, and was known as the Department of Mont-blanc. The Duke of Savoy at that time might have derived some comfort from the gallant defence he made—

Though it is grander, mightier to succeed,
Yet it is noble for a cause to bleed.

But it now belongs to France by the right of sale and barter; there is no ray of glory cast on the decline and fall of the illustrious House.

The Château de Haute-Combe is built on a granite rock, and dates from the twelfth century; the situation was chosen by Saint Bernard, and the site was given him by Amadeus the Third, the great friend and supporter of the Abbot of Clairvaux, as the most suitable situation for an abbey. At one time it was of great size, but when the Republican General Montesquieu took possession of Chambéry, the abbey suffered in the general devastation and ruin. At the death of Louis XVI., the Convention decreed the destruction of all royal tombs and monuments, when Haute-Combe shared the fate of St. Denis and Rheims; and even after the fall of Robespierre Government commissioners were little less destructive than their agents during the Days of Terror, and all the more valuable marbles and art treasures in the abbey were either removed or put up for sale; the destruction was so great, and the abbey left in so unprotected a state, that soon after the roof fell in, and destroyed many of the tombs that had escaped destruction during the days of persecution; but even more to be regretted than the princely monuments was the loss of the famous library of the abbey. The ignorant invaders despised literature: the most valuable manuscripts and priceless editions were used to light the fires, or were destroyed by the damp, or buried under the crumbling walls. The Château remained in this state of melancholy dilapidation until 1815, when Savoy was restored to its former sovereigns, who at once commenced the restoration of the ancient abbey, and the work was carried on with great energy by Charles Felix, who so little anticipated the future destinies of the abbey that he brought there the many pictures of his ancestors which still decorate the walls, as if in bitter irony of history; and the most prominent object on entering the great hall is a magnificent emblazonment and genealogical tree of the House of Savoy.

It will probably be late in the day that the first visit is paid to Haute-Combe, for at Aix the mornings are commonly devoted to the treatment, which consists of manifold disagreeable processes. The bathers are carried in sedan-chairs from their residence to the establishment, there to be douched, shampooed, and drenched with sulphurous streams. After drinking a certain number of glasses of the water and inhaling a sufficient quantity of the health-restoring vapour they are carried back; but the day's work is not even then finished, for the greater number are sent to Marlioz—another bathing

place, a mile from Aix, where all sorts and conditions of humanity meet in an apparently empty room, but which is really full of the most intolerable-smelling air, to breathe which, on the principle 'Il faut souffrir pour être belle,' should be followed by most beneficial results. When all this is accomplished, and the patient is free, the day is far advanced.

It is at Haute-Combe Lamartine introduces us to Raphael, and the early dawn of his love for Julie. Of all love-romances *Raphael* is the most extravagant in its sentiment. Lamartine considered it his master-work, but calmer intelligences must regard it as the very ecstasy and exaggeration of passion and sentiment; but wild and fanciful, almost amounting to the ridiculous, it is still a poem in prose. The description of the lake and the surrounding scenery are beautiful as the views they picture; the plot is of slight interest, but it serves to bring forth all the intensity of the poet. We cannot greatly sympathise with the hero when he sees Julie caught in a sudden storm on the lake near the shore at Haute-Combe, her frail boat overpowered by the violence of the tempest, and reaches the Abbey just in time to see her washed on shore, and to receive in his arms her almost inanimate form; that this rescue should be followed by declarations of mutual attachment was of course what might have been expected, and has been described over and over again, but seldom with such beauty of language as Lamartine can command; and never before has been painted in such glowing colours the scenery amid which this and many succeeding love-passages occur. Few artists can convey by their pencil such a sense of beauty as Lamartine by his pen. He takes his romantic lovers to all the most charming spots in the district: the mountain-path, the foaming cascade, castle-abbey and secluded village, will be long associated with them. Raphael is especially made to express his raptures at the view from the Maison Chevalier, at the upper extremity of the lake: there from the terrace he saw the rushing Rhone, where the swift waters cleave their way; in the distance the huge, waving, snowy summits of the Alps. It is not until these spots are visited, *Raphael* in hand, that even the admirers of Lamartine can fully appreciate his wonderful powers of description.

It would be monotonous to follow the lovers in all their wanderings; but there is one excursion which Lamartine makes in the person of Raphael where it will be interesting to accompany him, for it is the homage which genius pays to genius. Few reside any time at Aix without visiting Chambéry and making a pilgrimage to Les Charmettes; few spots are so interesting, because few are so entirely identified with those who so long and happily dwelt there. To see the Charmettes is to realise the lives of Rousseau and Madame de Warens. The house, the garden, with its arbour, the terrace, with its distant view, are all entirely unchanged. 'It was while

residing at Annecy,' says Jean Jacques, 'that we resolved on changing our residence to Chambéry, and, after much consideration and discussion, we decided on taking the little house called the Charmettes, which is situated only a short distance from the town, but retired and solitary as if it were a thousand leagues distant. It is situated up a narrow valley, through which a stream flows over pebbles and moss; in front of the house is a terrace, from which there is a beautiful view; at the back a small vineyard, then an orchard, crowned with a chestnut wood, which extends to the top of the hill on the slope of which the house is situated; a small fountain in the garden, the water sparkling in the sunshine, or scattered on every side by the breeze, soothes the heat. It was a small but complete demesne.

Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aque fons
Et paullum sylvæ, super his foret.'

'Here,' he continues, 'I found true happiness; I knew every path through the woods, I climbed the mountain-side and followed with delight the streams in the beautiful valleys, I read, I idled, I worked in the garden, and gathered the fruit, I also assisted in all the household work; happiness attended me in all I did; it seemed to attach itself to every object; and yet all this enjoyment came from within, every object round became a part of my daily life.'

It was while at the Charmettes, he says, 'he satisfied his mind as to a future state.' The process by which he became convinced, and expelled the doubts which possessed him, is so curious that he had better tell it in his own words.

'Un jour, pensant à ce triste sujet, je m'exerçai machinalement à lancer des pierres contre les troncs des arbres, avec mon adresse ordinaire, c'est à dire sans jamais en toucher aucun; tout au milieu de ce bel exercice, je m'avisai d'une espèce de preuve pour calmer mon inquiétude. Je me dis, je m'en vais jeter cette pierre contre l'arbre qui est vis-à-vis de moi; si je le manque, signe de damnation. Tout en disant ainsi je jette ma pierre d'une main tremblante et avec un grand battement de cœur, mais si heureusement qu'elle va frapper au beau milieu de l'arbre, ce qui véritablement n'était pas difficile, car j'avais soin de le choisir fort gros et fort près; depuis lors je n'ai plus douté. Je ne sais, en me rappelant ce trait, si je dois rire ou gémir sur moi-même. Qui riez sur ma faiblesse, félicitez-vous; mais n'insultez pas à ma misère, car je jure que je le sens bien.'

Such was Rousseau. If ever there was a spirit antithetically mixed, it was his; it might be said of him what was said of another great man, 'his body is all vice and his mind is all virtue, for some men's hearts, like a chapel in a palace, remain unprofaned while all the rest is tyranny, corruption and folly.' No one expressed nobler thoughts in nobler language, no one did more ignoble deeds. But to him has

been granted the power to give an interest to all his haunts and every spot associated with his name; and thus Lamartine in the person of Raphael with his Julie—another Julie like Rousseau's own creation in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*—paid his homage to the shrine of genius, to the Charmettes, the love of which never deserted Rousseau, for in his later years he wrote, 'I ever look back on the happiness of my youth, and frequently find myself saying with a sigh, "Ah! but this is not the Charmettes."' "

Lamartine's description is full of poetic charm, and his readers can sympathise with his emotions on visiting Charmettes, for, as has been observed, nothing is changed since Rousseau resided there. Lamartine describes it truly as a mere cottage, a small building of grey stone, a door in the centre and two windows on each side; from the entrance a narrow stair leads to the upper floor, where there are three rooms, with that amount of scanty furniture which satisfied Rousseau's ideal; the pictures of Madame de Warens and of Rousseau still hang on the halls. Over the entrance is the inscription:—

Réduit par Jean Jacques habité,
Tu me rappelles son génie,
Sa solitude, sa fierté
Et ses enlours et sa folie.
A la gloire et la vérité
Il osa consacrer sa vie;
Il fut toujours persécuté,
Ou par lui-même, ou par l'envie.

'No matter,' writes Lamartine, 'how ordinary was the abode, it was consecrated by genius. Here was the room in which he felt the tender emotions he expresses; here was the arbour where he sat with one he loved so well; here were the chestnut trees of which he writes.' As Raphael and Julie strolled through the grounds, they stopped from time to time to turn to the *Confessions* and identify the different sites.

Nor is it Rousseau's memory alone that affects the great poet. The present generation, he says, at Chambéry still recall the traditions of Madame de Warens' excellence and beauty. 'I pictured her,' he writes, 'as she must have been at that age when she was widely known for her goodness and tenderness as for her beauty.' 'It is to his friendship with Madame de Warens that Rousseau is indebted for his sublime and tender style, his warm susceptibilities, his intense love of nature. If we wish to judge Madame de Warens, it must be as Rousseau describes her when he was ardent and young, and when she was the heroine of his poetic nature—not as he wrote in his cynical and morose old age.'

These visits to the favoured places in the immediate vicinity of Aix-les-Bains are a great relief to those who have seriously to follow the treatment; and however numerous the visitors, there are abundant means of conveyance. In all these respects Aix is highly

civilised; the best hotels leave nothing to desire, and the bathing establishments are admirably managed. How the waiters, the bathers, the servants do without sleep is a problem; for in the height of the season the baths open as early as two in the morning, when the baccarat players take their bath and refreshing douche before they retire. By four o'clock the bustle of the little town begins; all the baths are occupied. The earliest arrivals have the privilege of selecting the most convenient time for their bath; but that time, when fixed, must be strictly adhered to. The doctors at Aix are great disciplinarians, and insist on a strict conformity to rules. These gentlemen—who are so numerous that even the number of patients can scarcely afford occupation for them all—in their long frock coats and tall hats present a dignified and serious appearance. They stand solemnly by while their victims are going through the various processes of 'pulverisation,' 'aspiration,' 'inhalation.' They take good care that the shampooers throw all their vigour into the kneading processes. It is not their fault if all the weaknesses of humanity are not washed away by the abundant waters which their patients receive within and without.

Such is the daily life at Aix-les-Bains; not in itself very interesting, but well calculated to make the sufferers from maladies, real or imaginary (and as Sir Walter Scott observed, when he was told that his complaint was all imagination, 'What is worse, gentlemen?'), if not younger at any rate older, the more feasible result. But during the treatment a period of rest is in general required, and then longer expeditions can be made. Happily, besides the favoured localities in the immediate vicinity, there are others more distant full of beauty and interest—the Grande Chartreuse, Geneva, Grenoble, Chamounix, are all within a few hours' journey by rail; but nearer than these, and incomparable in its loveliness, is the little town of Annecy.

After a long experience of travel, seldom have I seen any place combine so much to charm and interest as Annecy. The lake not only flows up to the town, but through canals which are crossed by narrow bridges; and on either side are quaint old houses, such as Prout loved to sketch: which, although many of them of wood, have remained unchanged for centuries. Those who love symmetry must not penetrate into streets and lanes of Annecy; but the artist may find subjects for his brush to occupy many a day: every turn presents a fresh object of delight to the student in pencil or pen. It is strangely diversified in appearance. There are stately houses in the old Venetian style, with balconies of highly-finished ironwork, and decorated architraves, where old families still reside in dignified retirement. Commanding the town is the quaint old castle of the Dukes of Genevois-Nemours, dating from the fourteenth century—with its towers and massive keep, its ramparts and battlements, which so frequently and successfully defied the power of France, and

averted that conquest which has now been achieved by purchase. Annecy is a Bishopric and Prefecture; and as troops are always garrisoned there, there is enough animation to add to its mediæval interest. The dignity of a Prefecture has led to the formation of delightful gardens on the shores of the lake, which is about twelve miles long by three wide, and is surrounded on three sides by Alpine snow-covered mountains. Thus Annecy adds to the loveliness of Como the grandeur of Lake Leman.

'Como' has been called by Chateaubriand '*le débarcadère de la gloire et de la passion. Que de grandes dames,*' he writes, '*qui ont abandonné le monde dans un jour de fièvre chaude, ont cherché asile dans ce monastère!*' Great ladies have not sought for seclusion at Annecy, but many illustrious men have found their rest in retirement on its shores. Eugène Sue, Custine, and Rousseau passed the latter years of their lives there. The '*Maisonnëtte de Chavoires,*' now called the '*Maison de Rousseau,*' where he dwelt so many years, still exists, although falling into ruins. Jacques Replat, president of the '*Société Florimontaine,*' gives no exaggerated description of the beauty of the view from Rousseau's house:—

It is situated three-quarters of an hour from Annecy, a little above the village of Chavoires, in the commune of Veyrier. From the terrace the view is superb; it embraces the undulating shapes of the mountains with the picturesque villages of Sévrier and Menthon, the gorges of the Beauges, and Mont Rossane, the giant sentinel of the Alpine pass—the distant glaciers may be seen through the haze that partially conceals their beauty. Then there are the azure slopes of Salève, which Lamartine has sung; the promontory of Clère, that bathes its heather-covered base in the transparent waters; then the wide rich plain around Annecy, which little town with the lake washing its walls gives it the appearance of a seaport. How frequently at sunrise and sunset have I sat on the steps of the '*Escalier de Rousseau,*' and endeavoured to imagine the thoughts which must have crowded in his mind at the contemplation of this scene.

The mention of the Académie Florimontaine, that illustrious society that had for its emblem an orange-tree covered with fruit and flowers, with the motto '*Flores fructusque perennes,*' recalls one other association very dear to Annecy, that of François de Sales and Antoine Favres, who founded this academy, which was destined to become very celebrated, and which anticipated the Académie Française, instituted by Richelieu eighteen years later. The Académie Florimontaine, like the Académie Française, was limited to forty members; it consisted, we are told, of '*les plus habiles maîtres des arts honnêtes, comme peintres, sculpteurs, artisans, architectes, et semblables, qui venaient suivre les cours professés par les Académiciens.*'

The Académie Florimontaine held its sittings in the ancient episcopal palace, where François de Sales lived. No name was so honoured and loved as this Apostle of the Alps. He died in 1622, and was buried in the beautiful cathedral. In such estimation was

his memory held by the people that when the city was taken by the French in 1630 one of the six articles of capitulation was that the body of François de Sales should never be moved from the city.

Even those who take little interest in spots associated with genius such as Rousseau's, or in noble lives such as Saint François de Sales' (he was canonized in 1658), or who only visit Annecy for change of air or love of beautiful scenery, will be grateful to be invited there. There are few spots where the love of retirement can be more pleasantly indulged, and there is sufficient movement to prevent the painful sense of solitude. It is very charming to sit in the beautiful park and watch the lights and shadows on the rich wooded hillsides, while far beyond are seen the mountains of the Val d'Isère; and still further distant the snowy summits of the Dauphiné Alps. Another advantage is that Annecy, although less than two hours distant from Aix-les-Bains, is comparatively little known to tourists. It is fervently to be hoped that no sulphurous spring may be discovered, and that it may remain a little city to flee to from the *balnea strepitumque* of Aix. After a few days spent there the invalid will return with increased energy to complete his treatment, and often amid the varied health-occupations of the morning, or during the afternoon, stroll to the sulphur bath of Marlioz; or in the evening, when the excitement and glamour of the glittering Casino is at its height, he will recall with pleasure the days passed in the peaceful beautiful little town of Annecy.

LAMINGTON.

OUR INDIAN STEWARDSHIP.

As a humble unit of the great English public, I have read with feelings of dismay the terrible indictment brought by Mr. Seymour Keay, in the last number of this journal, against our Indian administration. Hearing such things we must all ask ourselves to what extent are the charges set forth in 'The Spoliation of India' well founded? The allegations are specific, and involve charges of national breach of trust on a great scale. How are such charges to be either proved or disproved? England is herself ultimately responsible for the work of her servants in India. What means does she possess of taking an account of this Indian stewardship, so that her servants in the far East may be either acquitted or condemned? In the parable, the householder planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. But a day of reckoning came at last. Wherever there is a trust, due account should be rendered. If the present charges are false, they should, after proper inquiry, be declared so, in justice to the Indian administration. If they contain even a portion of truth, still more necessary is it that justice should be done in fulfilment of a great national duty.

Mr. Seymour Keay does not blame individuals or even classes. He blames the system. And the essence of his argument is that the defects of our rule in India are simply what, under such circumstances, must be expected from the ordinary and admitted weaknesses of human nature. Individuals will always be found who follow the golden rule of unselfishness. But ordinary men naturally prefer their own interests to those of others. And he points out that a government of officials, not responsible to the people of India, and practically unsupervised even by their own countrymen at home, would naturally and almost unconsciously establish a system favourable to their own patronage and power, 'a system providing too much for the interests of the governors themselves, and too little for the welfare of the governed.' A presumption of this sort seems not unreasonable. It is in accordance with our experience of bureaucratic rule in France and other European countries. And the evil is naturally intensified where the officials are foreigners, and aliens in race and language. Relentlessly following up this clue, the writer examines one after

another the great departments of Indian administration; the army expenditure, the land revenue, the civil courts, the police, salt, opium, and spirituous liquors; and as regards each he adduces evidence to prove that the institutions we have set up are unsuited to the people of India, and that their great cost is with difficulty provided by means of excessive taxation. * Summing up his case he maintains that 'after making full allowance for the not inconsiderable benefits conferred on India by its connection with this country, the balance is still woefully against our Indian Government; that it is still an alien bureaucracy living chiefly for itself, with little or no sympathy with the people; that, while sadly unsuitable to the wants of the people, it is ruinously expensive; that its ruinous expense is now only defrayed by a resort to the most merciless expedients, and that the result is poverty, ruin, and starvation to the people.' * So miserably poor are these our Indian fellow-subjects after all these years of our rule, that forty millions, or one-fifth of the whole population, go through life on insufficient food, while it is officially admitted that upwards of six millions of men, women, and children, have died from actual starvation during the last seven years. Such is the accusation, and such are the facts brought forward in evidence. And the appeal is made to the people of this country on behalf of two hundred millions of their law-abiding and inoffensive fellow-subjects, who are unrepresented and unable to help themselves or even to make their voice heard.

Now let us try to approach this great question in a business-like way. An independent Englishman of undoubted personal acquaintance with India has brought these charges. As public accuser he has done his part. What is now our duty as members of the English public? What can we do in order that this appeal may be heard by a competent tribunal, and decided in accordance with justice and those broad principles of public morality which have been accepted by the English people, and set forth in the memorable words of the Queen's Proclamation in 1858?

In former days the whole administration of India was subjected by Parliament at prescribed intervals to an impartial, intelligent, and searching inquiry. On each occasion before the East India Company's Charter was renewed, there was a reckoning and stock was taken; so that once at least in twenty years the British nation looked into Indian affairs, and scanned narrowly the conduct of their agents in the East, a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them who did well. Then every grievance was sifted before the House of Commons. The veil of secrecy was removed, and a Burke and a Fox arose to judgment. A wholesome jealousy also existed of the powers and privileges of the Company, and this sentiment operated in favour of the Indian races. If periodical inquiries of this scope and solemnity were held at the present day, we might well be content to await the

decision of such a tribunal upon the charges now brought forward. For when we look into history we find that the renewals of the Charter were the epochs when abuses were checked, when great reforms were initiated, and the most valuable principles asserted for the governance of our great Eastern Empire. In this way the commercial monopoly was removed, India was opened to the private enterprise of Englishmen; while for natives were secured the rights of citizens, and a claim to a fair share in the administration of their own country. Further, by means of these debates a salutary feeling of responsibility with regard to India was maintained among English public men, who kept a watchful eye upon the doings of their countrymen in the East, recognising the fact that the Company could not be trusted to carry out in practice the mandates of the English people. Accordingly, when complaints were made, strong men were found ready to insist that justice should be done, and the offender was brought to public trial, even though his services were as illustrious as those of Lord Clive, and though he was as highly placed as Warren Hastings. Now, unfortunately, since the old Company has disappeared, and the Crown has taken its place, this periodical stock-taking, this day of reckoning and of judgment has been lost to India. As there is no Charter to be renewed, there is no Parliamentary inquiry, and the Indian administration drifts on from year to year without independent scrutiny or control. Thus it happens that since 1858, when the Crown took over charge, a quarter of a century has elapsed without any independent audit of this great Indian trust, this estate of 576 millions of acres and 200 millions of souls. The actual management remains in the same hands as before. And the practical effect of the change is simply to relieve the Indian officials of their responsibility to Parliament, and to make perpetual the temporary lease of power which they before enjoyed. Moreover, the change from the Company to the Crown, though in many respects a mere change of name, has had a mischievous effect in lulling the wholesome jealousy and watchfulness of our public men in England, so that people are apt to indulge in a careless optimism, trusting that all is well, and that our great official hierarchy is administering India with singleness of heart for the good of the people, unswayed by personal interests or by the prejudices of class and race.

If a formal Parliamentary inquiry, such as was considered essential at each renewal of the Charter, is not now practicable, what is the substitute in the existing order of things? What are the resources at the disposal of the English nation for testing the results of the Indian administration during the last quarter of a century, and for controlling its future action? I will try to indicate what these resources are, as they appear to one of the outside public deeply interested in the welfare of India. I will also submit some suggestions, in the hope that the question of an independent check

and control may be taken up by those specially qualified to advise. But before doing so I would repeat that the demand for inquiry is made in no unfriendly spirit to the great Indian Civil Service—a service of noble traditions—a service which Lord William Bentinck pronounced to be superior to that of any country in the world. On the contrary, it would appear that an independent audit is required in justice to the Indian administration itself, as well as in the interest of the peoples of India and the people of England. The agents of our great Indian estate are probably the best agents, the most honest, enlightened, and laborious, that the world has ever seen. But that is no reason why the English nation should keep its eyes closed and neglect a manifest duty as master and trustee. Even if the management were a simple affair and invariably successful, still an account should be taken; for otherwise the good name of the administration is open to attack not only from genuine complaint, but also from railing accusation. Much more, however, is it necessary, when the estate is so vast and the interests so complex, that absolute success is impossible for poor human efforts. If after all our labour the bulk of the Indian population remains so perilously near the verge of subsistence that deaths by starvation can be counted by millions, we must with sorrow confess that we are but unprofitable servants; and the best worker in the Indian vineyard will not ask for himself a judgment more favourable than that which was inscribed on the tomb of Sir Henry Lawrence, ‘He tried to do his duty.’

What machinery, then, is there for making an impartial, intelligent, and searching inquiry, in order that the Crown, with the Parliament representing its people, might know, by itself making the inquiry, how has been carried out the spirit of the Queen’s Proclamation of twenty-five years ago, proclaiming with regard to our relation to the native races, governed by the Crown *without* Parliament and without people, that there are to be no race distinctions; that where there is fitness the employment of natives and Europeans is to be alike; that race is not to be a qualification or a disqualification; that, in the words of the Queen herself, ‘our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge’?¹

¹ ‘The broad policy was laid down by Parliament, so long ago as 1833, that no native shall, by reason of his religion, place of birth, or colour, be disabled from holding any office; and Her Majesty’s gracious Proclamation in 1858 announced her will that, as far as may be, ‘our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.’

‘Since that period several of my predecessors in office, and especially Lord Halifax, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Duke of Argyll, and Lord Salisbury, have pressed upon the attention of the Government of India that the policy of Parliament, enforced as it was by the Royal Proclamation, was not to remain a dead letter, and

Such an inquiry is now imperatively called for. What are the present resources in England from which a tribunal may be constituted to make inquiry and exact an account of the Indian stewardship? What is it to be? By whom is it to be made?

By Parliament? Parliament will not make it; it counts itself out. It is clear that some standing machinery is necessary: this is proved by the impossibility of getting members of the House of Commons to give careful consideration to any Indian question.

India has no members to represent it.² Members are responsible to their own constituents, and are too busy and pre-occupied. Indian questions are difficult and distasteful, and without technical knowledge an independent member can hardly speak effectively. Hence even for the Indian Budget once a year forty just men can hardly be brought together to keep a House.

Might it be possible (I speak as a fool) for independent members who take interest in India to organise themselves into a voluntary committee, so as to sift complaints, rejecting those undeserving of support and co-operating to bring forward effectively in the House any real grievance?

By Select Committees of the House of Commons? . . .

These have done good service in throwing light upon Indian affairs, especially Mr. Fawcett's Finance Committee, but that committee never made a report or produced any direct results. Parliamentary committees have some want of purpose, some want of definiteness. They are an inquiry, somewhat desultory, and nothing more—there is no execution of judgment. If the voluntary committee referred to were to bring questions before a Select Committee, the Select Committee might make a preliminary inquiry and prepare issues for trial by a more specially constituted tribunal.

By the Secretary of State for India in Council?

This is the statutory machinery through which it is at present sought to enforce Parliamentary control over the administration of India. So far as the will of Parliament makes itself felt through this machinery, the influence is for the most part good. The machinery is defective, (1) because the appointment of the Secretary of State depends upon the exigencies of party, so that usually he is not chosen for special knowledge of India and seldom remains long in the office, and (2) because his Council (by which the current work of the India Office is performed) is filled almost exclusively by representatives of the Indian official classes. It is chiefly an assembly of the retired officials whose admirable work in India may be called the world's wonder. But, speaking generally, public opinion scarcely

two Acts of Parliament were passed to give further effect to it.—*Lord Cranbrook's Despatch to Lord Lytton's Government*, November 7, 1878.

² We are tempted to quote Pitt's splendid peroration of 101 years ago and to paraphrase it, but this would lead us too far.

sanctions our considering a tribunal quite unprejudiced which sits upon the administration of which they were themselves a distinguished part.

And may one not go even further and ask if the Council scarcely represents more than the dominant party or views among Indian officials; for naturally those who coincide with that party, or adopt those views, are likely to attain such high position in India as will give them the chance of selection for the Council in England?

We have seen such great men, and men of such different cast of greatness, sitting on the Indian Council, that this question might well be answered in the negative, were it not that every year our position in India is changing. We have ourselves worked great changes, unexpected to ourselves. The undercurrent of feeling or opinion among the natives scarcely finds its way to England—nor even the great bulk of the facts which the comparatively unknown English officials might tell us.

But, however this may be, when the successful official dies he goes to Westminster. When there, he can hardly be regarded as an unprejudiced and disinterested judge to sit in appeal on the measures which he himself initiated, and on the men whom he himself placed in authority. It is almost impossible for the Secretary of State, unacquainted with technical details, to hold his own against their Indian 'experience' and knowledge of official technicalities.

The India Office cannot rightly, in accordance with English ideas, sit upon itself. These truly great Indian proconsuls and Indian officials who now sit in England, under whom the present system has grown up, who are responsible for the present official routine, the *status quo*, are hardly constituted by English polity, it is said, to sit in judgment upon their own work, excellent as it is. [The more excellent the work the less they must desire it.] They are said to give a sort of piecemeal judgment, as it were, from day to day, upon the system they have created or grown up in.

Yet is this not the only audit? Does a company appoint its manager, however great and well deserved the confidence reposed in him, to audit his own accounts? Yet the largest company's affairs are a mere toy compared with these over which the Government of India presides. These are the affairs of 200 millions of people—a fifth of the human race. And there is no representation, and scarcely can there be at present; nor yet hardly any public opinion or publicity. Far less, to use a yet more homely simile, would an English proprietor ask his coachman or his gardener what stable or garden retrenchments should be made. Yet there seems no ultimate court of appeal to decide this stupendous question of retrenchments, concerning not hundreds or thousands, but millions of pounds sterling a year.

Ought such an independent account-taking to be?

Will it unsettle the natives ?

Will it wound the *esprit de corps*, the high principle, the disinterested conscience, of the Civil Service ?

Will it embarrass the Government of India ?

To the first question it may be answered that Lord Ripon's measures have, instead of unsettling the natives, given them for the first time a feeling of rest and peace. Instead of their being like toads under the unwilling harrows of various departments, they begin to realise that England means them to have some local self-government.

With regard to the just *esprit de corps* of the Civil Services: it is the privilege of the Civil Services, as it is of the Government of India, to have a trial.

Compare, for instance, charges brought against a military officer. He calls for a court-martial. It is his privilege that he should be tried, so that the world shall know whether he has been acting fairly, honestly, intelligently, according to his instructions.

With regard to the ruler who is carrying out for the first time the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation, the instructions of successive Secretaries of State, the Acts and resolutions of successive Parliaments, so honestly and bravely, such an inquiry would be welcomed as tending to help, as it may most effectually, and not to embarrass him.

As all who understand how actual parties really stand will see, the onslaught of Mr. Seymour Keay's paper, above briefly noticed, is no attack upon the present Viceroy, but an attack upon a system which the present Viceroy is steadily but tentatively resisting, in pursuance of the decisions of Crown, Cabinet, and Commons at home—no complaint against Lord Ripon's Government, but against the evils which he is so manfully struggling to subdue. To prove that this is the case, in a subsequent paper will be noticed some of the leading measures of Lord Ripon's policy. Practically the great controversy is between this policy and those who oppose it.

As to the question between the Cabinet which gave the instructions and the Viceroy who carried them out, English public opinion will not be inclined to ask for reports and opinions from local officials. This is constituting *them* the judges. The Viceroy is the Cabinet's agent. If any man has a quarrel with his policy, the quarrel is with the Cabinet. The policy is theirs. If, as now, numerous complaints are lodged against this policy, English public opinion would insist on a court of appeal, if it existed, hearing the other side. This other side is rarely or never heard in England on Indian affairs as it is on all others.

Is the inquiry then to be by the English people ?

The public can give a mandate and insist with no uncertain voice that a trial should be held before a competent tribunal.

But how are the British public (of whom the present writer is one), with neither technical nor official knowledge, to ask for an account to be taken and judgment to be given, it cannot even say by whom? It cannot say how judge and jury are to be appointed. But the British public fulfils an important function by sitting in Court, as audience, watching that justice be done, according to the principles approved by the British people and declared in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858—not indeed saying *how* it is to be done. They cannot try the issues, but they can suggest—indeed, it might almost be said they can demand—that the issues shall be tried. We are in the attitude of the inquiring public, not in that of disposing of the question. No one can find fault with us for desiring to be led. The author of the 'Spoliation of India' has pointed out many serious evils, and these he attributes not to any individual, but to the system. These allegations ought to be inquired into and decided upon by some competent tribunal. The indictment is brought. What is to be the tribunal? Not the India Council—the British public represented by Government. Let us, the British people—not partisans, but impartial listeners—acquit ourselves of our responsibility to the people of India. Let us consult together how best to perform our duties. It is evident that from want of knowledge and organisation we cannot ourselves carry out the trial.

What is wanted is that account should be taken and judgment given from time to time by a more specially constituted tribunal, whether by Royal Commission or otherwise, presided over by men with conviction of their responsibility, determined to learn the facts, forming their policy while inquiring into the condition of things.

We have seen the President of a Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army after the Crimean War, Sidney Herbert, making such an inquiry into facts, not opinions; then, when afterwards Secretary of State for War, embodying its decision in an effective policy and administration.

This seems to be the most hopeful method for trying great issues of Indian policy.

What is a Royal Commission? It is the Crown.

The Crown has assumed the direct government of India, and it seems fit and proper that the Crown should take account from time to time, in order to see that the servants of the Queen are fully carrying out the orders laid down for their guidance.

The members of such a commission would be public men of the highest standing and reputation, such as would be suited to hold the office of Viceroy, or Governor of a Presidency, or Finance Minister of India—such men as, *e.g.*, it might be Lord Dufferin or Mr. Goschen—such men as sit in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The natives of India ask for no new concessions. They simply claim the fulfilment of the pledges and assurances already given.

But the public in England are perhaps not aware of the very important steps which Lord Ripon has already taken to deal with these and other evils of the same class which have not been mentioned.

How does Lord Ripon's policy seek to deal with the grievances complained of?

The chief grounds of complaint, as stated above, are (a) the unsuitability of our institutions, and (b) the great cost met by excessive taxation.

Lord Ripon has struck at the very root of both these evils by his measures of decentralisation and local self-government, and by the steps he has taken for the employment of natives.

Under the local self-government scheme, much of the work now done by highly-paid foreigners and by low-paid corrupt native underlings will for the future be done for little or nothing by the villagers themselves; while by the due employment of natives in official positions great economy in salaries will be effected, and the administration, it is said, will be gradually brought into conformity with the needs and wishes of the various races.

The measure known as Mr. Ilbert's Bill is an integral, by no means the most important part of this policy; offices of responsibility cannot be conferred upon natives unless they are at the same time granted the powers required to perform the duties of those offices.

In considering Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government, these two points must specially be kept in mind, (1) that the measure is a necessity forced upon the Administration by financial and political considerations of the most pressing kind; and (2) that village and municipal self-government is no novelty in India, but a wholesome return to the ancient and natural order of things. The fact is, the strain upon our centralised official machinery has been greater than it can bear, and it threatens to break down altogether. To quote the words of an important State paper, 'The task of administration is yearly becoming more onerous as the country progresses in civilisation and material prosperity. The annual reports of every Government tell of an ever-increasing burden laid upon the shoulders of the local officers. The cry is everywhere, for increased establishments. The universal complaint in all departments is that of overwork. Under these circumstances it becomes imperatively necessary to look around for some means of relief; and the Governor-General in Council has no hesitation in stating his conviction that the only reasonable plan open to the Government is to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as may be, the management of their own affairs.' This dilemma has long been admitted. It was long ago seen that on the one hand

the limit of taxation had been reached, while on the other hand additional funds were urgently required to remedy defects in our administration, and to provide roads, irrigation, schools, &c. On the one hand we incurred odium by employing a horde of ill-paid native subordinates who spread over the country like an army of locusts. On the other hand, if we sought to pay them better, and thus secure a better class of public servants, we incurred fresh odium while wringing the necessary funds from the over-driven ryot. All this was plain enough. And both Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo took important steps to relieve the official strain by measures of decentralisation and municipal extension which have answered admirably; Lord Lawrence pointing out as early as 1864 that the people of India 'are perfectly capable of administering their own local affairs.' But it was reserved for Lord Ripon to deal effectually with the ever more pressing danger, both political and financial, and to do so in a way eminently satisfactory to the conservative instincts of the Hindoo race. By his cautious yet comprehensive scheme of local self-government he has gone to the root of the whole matter, restoring life to the ancient village and municipal institutions, under which, *with due guidance*, the real needs of the people can be supplied, cheaply and without oppression, by and through the people themselves. No greater mistake can be made than to suppose that anything novel or newfangled is being introduced. The object is not to import a foreign exotic, but to revive and strengthen a plant of home growth, stunted by ill usage and weakened, but firmly rooted in ancient custom and in the habits of the people. Philosophers and historians have always dwelt lovingly on the Indian village community as the natural political unit, and as the best type of rural life; self-contained, industrious, peace-loving, conservative in the best sense of the word. Upon this basis we must build. And we may hope some day to see the village communities throughout India not only restored to their ancient independence and prosperity, but further developed in their aspirations and public usefulness, furnishing a firm foundation upon which a great and a prosperous empire may safely rest.

I shall hope in a subsequent paper briefly to notice the directions in which, during the three years of his past government, Lord Ripon has been taking practical steps towards carrying out the best principles of our administration which have often been laid down.

The Viceroy is supposed to be a romantic statesman. But the policy he has pursued has been, as already said, in accordance with the instructions of successive Secretaries of State, with the Acts and policy of successive Parliaments, and with the proclamation of the Queen on assuming the government of India.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

ITALIAN POLICY IN THE EAST.

It has been said that politics are the prudence of justice. Certainly greater prudence has never been manifested in so just a cause as the action of Italy in her political relations with the East during the last few years. •

Any action of Italy in the East is always necessarily determined by its geographical and ethno-geographical conditions in their mutual bearings and relations. Exclusively a Mediterranean Power, with no other outlet but the sea which bathes the coasts of Africa and Asia Minor and extends to the threshold of the Sublime Porte, she constitutes the most advanced portion of the European Continent towards those regions. In fact, Oriental civilisation, under the powerful assimilating influence of the Roman Empire, spread through Italy in the West, and Christian civilisation, following the banners of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, strove in the opposite direction to that beaten path to save Europe from that barbarism by which the East itself was threatened.

Although one of the great Powers which carried on that work of civilisation has vanished, and the other has politically fallen from its eminence, the position of Italy in the East has not been affected. If Italy's mode of action has completely changed, her office as mediator between the East and West has been constantly exercised in a more modest form, even during the long period when, politically speaking, she had disappeared from among nations; so great in international politics is the influence exercised by the natural conditions of place and race, and by historical traditions and reminiscences, which assert themselves in spite of the combinations and aims of statesmen.

During the period when the small Italian States had no weight in the scales of European politics, numerous Italian colonies spread along the whole Oriental seaboard of the Mediterranean from the coast of Barbary to the Dardanelles, and, undeterred by the vigilant and jealous policy of Russia, they extended along the coasts of the Black Sea to its furthest limits. The Italian missionaries, proceeding from so extensive an area, advanced to the most distant regions of the ancient Orient. The harbours of Italy have long

been the starting-point of Oriental commerce. Owing to the frequency and facility of communication, and to the special advantages of similarity of climate and uninterrupted traditions, Italians, especially those from the coast, succeeded better than other nations among the Oriental populations, and introduced their language, which is still the most popular of European dialects in those parts.

This international service, this beneficial work of mediation between the Crescent and the Cross, has been conducted by Italy since the fall of Venice without pretension to glory and with little profit, solely as the natural sequence of her developed activity.

Italy, having again become a nation in a political sense, should immediately have resumed, with improved position and more adequate means, her ancient office; and her influence might have favourably and continuously affected the interests of civilisation and the prosperity of the Eastern and Western World. From that period, on the contrary, dates a decline both of her influence and her activity in the East. Her beneficial and conciliatory action, which reached its highest point at the Congress of Paris, continued to decrease up to the Congress of Berlin, where it declined to zero, yielding to the violent action of those pretenders who disputed among themselves for the inheritance of the Sick Man whose dissolution appeared imminent.

We will not speculate on this difficult question, nor attempt to decide between the two solutions of the Oriental enigma, one of which was experimented on rather more than twenty years ago in the first Congress, and the other initiated in the second Congress. Avoiding such intricate controversies, which must be ultimately solved by the preponderating force of circumstances, we shall limit ourselves to the indication, from our point of view, of the coincidence of the decline of Italian influence and activity with the opening of the question of the Oriental inheritance, calling attention to the divers clouds of all sorts which accumulate above this new phase of events, or, speaking prosaically, to the disputes which threaten at every step to compromise the succession. This coincidence has a serious significance when we consider the results of the two systems: the first, a gradual partial modification by means of the relations and interests of the different Oriental regions, according to the requirements of their divergent conditions; the second, the formation of new principalities, designed and constructed on the ruins of the old State. From this point of view, the obscure, modest, and imperceptible influence of Italy in the East becomes a matter of peculiar importance, and proves such a just cause as should be upheld in the interest of peace in Europe. But, being neither an aggressive nor an invading Power, Italy has been quietly set aside, if not actually turned out, as soon as the hour struck for dismemberment and annexation. Apart from occasional manifestations of public opinion,

more or less justified, but leading to no result, Italy has shown an unlimited amount of forbearance.

Having extolled her quality of justice, we must now ascertain whether her prudence has reached the same high standard. On this point we entertain no doubt. We need hardly adduce general reasons, namely, that as the last comer among nations Italy should even at a certain sacrifice justify her appearance, not as a pretender, but as an element of peace; besides that, being newly constituted and still enfeebled by old and secular woes, and by severe recent trials, she should give her whole mind to the ordering of her domestic comfort and her political and economical organisation, rather than endanger them in new adventures. Apart from these reasons of a general character, had Italy ranged herself among the number of claimants, her special office would have been compromised. Instead of individually representing a system, an order of ideas, an independent conception of the intricate question, she would have increased the difficulties and the universal confusion, and without deriving advantage she would have compromised the peace of Europe. This consideration so rapidly gained root in Italy, that, notwithstanding some very partial and temporary excitement, public opinion soon abstained from throwing difficulties in the way of the development of military action on the part of Austria in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. When the burst of irritation, easy to understand after the painful surprise of the conquest of Tunis, had subsided, Italy refrained from all acts of hostility or reprisals.

But if Italy has acted wisely in not entering the arena of complications at the sacrifice of most precious interests, would it be compatible with her honour and with her duties, would it be in the interest of Europe herself, if Italy were to abandon her peaceful and conciliatory work in the East? We do not enter, as we have already said, into an examination of the two systems, one of which, established by the Congress of Paris, had for its object the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the other, inaugurated by the Treaty of San Stefano, revised and corrected by that of Berlin, and afterwards crudely realised by the occupation of Tunis, aims at the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and the resuscitation of the era of conquest on both the Asiatic and the African continents.

Owing to the force of circumstances, the former of these systems can no longer be strictly applied; the mere possibility of the adoption of the alternative system creates a feeling of horror when the results are duly considered. Imagine the charms of an Algeria permanently established on the Asiatic and African coasts, with an indefinite number of Schamyls and Abd-el-Kaders fighting for the salvation of Mussulman faith from Morocco to the Caucasus, and Mahometans rushing from the furthest parts of India to renew the bloody struggle between the Crescent and the Cross in the Eastern regions now open to commerce, traffic, culture, and science!

We can then foresee the reaction arising in Europe from invasion in the East—the rivalries, the distrust, the jealousy. And in what a camp! When respect for the *status quo*, when the implicit acknowledgment of the existing conditions in Africa and Western Asia give place to the good luck and the insolence of the first occupant, who can foresee the fate of two entire continents abandoned to rapacity, and held in check by European military forces of incomparable superiority? Europe, rich, civilised, and prosperous, would in all probability pay dearly for her insane policy. These latter extreme results may possibly be averted, but it seems opportune to point out that, the first steps in this direction having been taken, a host of questions, too long to enumerate, arise on all points affecting the two continents.

Tonquin and Madagascar have followed the exodus of Tunis. The old rancour and pretensions of Russia keep up a constant fermentation threatening social revolution, and masses of people are placed in the dilemma of becoming instruments of conquest or seeing the destruction of their national institutions. The Austro-Hungarian Empire has by the force of circumstances been driven into the same direction. Greece, needing extension, endeavours to get it by means of the Greek elements which populate the East. Will poor and populous Germany, with her industry and her courage, having long endured the emigration of her laborious and unassuming people, refrain from the general hunt? All these symptoms, partly evident, partly latent, must excite the attention of European statesmen.

Certainly no one can indulge in scepticism as regards accomplished facts, nor hope to avoid the repetition of such proceedings. In spite of the progress of the human mind, the last word depends in most cases on force, and on what the ancients termed fortune. But should this be the basis of future international policy in general, and of Oriental policy in particular? Evidently Europe would rapidly feel the consequences of such a system—the actual negation of intellectual and moral progress—the probable destruction of European prosperity, which can only flourish under the gentle rule of peace and reason. Hence it is the interest of all to return to a rule which respects great international facts brought about by causes of long duration and complex nature, causes that can only be modified by the development of the arts of culture and by the legitimate influence and moral superiority of advanced and civilised nations. In this sphere competition will be free from danger, and conquest will prove permanent and fruitful.

The two nations more especially called upon to guide European policy in this direction are incontestably England and Italy; the former with everything to preserve and little or nothing to gain in the great markets of the world; the latter with nothing—save her existence—to preserve.

As for England, the existence of her empire is due to the excellence of her colonial policy. As mistress of a great part of Asia, and—

thanks to the judicious distribution of her colonies and her possessions—of universal trade, she has met with little resistance from nations subject to her rule, and with very little opposition and distrust from European States. Her legislation, her economical system, her habits are such that wherever her flag is planted the native finds his existence ameliorated; and the European thus gains a guarantee not only for his security but also for his interests. This state of things, strengthened by long experience, has necessarily from the beginning made England unwilling to countenance the general competition for conquest beyond the seas. On the other hand, if the great European interests were consulted individually, few would prefer to see another standard set up in place of the British flag in the principal centres of commercial transactions.

As regards Italy, she is neither sufficiently strong nor rich to enter upon distant enterprises. Her political constitution, the foundation on which she has risen, do not permit her to indulge in foreign conquests. Under these circumstances she cannot become an object of envy and jealousy to any European Power. Still, placed in the middle of the Mediterranean, with three thousand miles of sea-board and a population especially adapted for navigation, and being rather poor than rich, with a strong tendency to distant emigration towards southern countries, Italy has evidently a mission to fulfil in compliance with an imperative necessity—namely, to renew her industry in the Eastern countries nearest to her coasts, to carry on her trade, introduce her culture, establish her peaceful colonies as in days gone by, and quietly and gradually to prepare those Oriental regions for future and more thorough modifications, without exciting the ill-will of the natives or the jealousy of the European Powers. This system of slow and patient influence was already undertaken and applied by England when driven by the force of circumstances to intervene in Egypt. There she carefully abstained from innovations either in the internal condition of the country or its existing relations with the Sublime Porte, and through these delicate proceedings she clearly perceived the advantages of an Italian alliance. If the Italian Government declined the proposed common intervention, it was on account of the suddenness of the movement and the natural disinclination to embark a young State unprepared in an undertaking pregnant with undefined complications and dangers. Nevertheless, the fact proves the spontaneous connection between the policy of two nations in similar undertakings. Italy's abstention, however, prevented ulterior complications, and left England free to protect her own interests, and carry out without hindrance her work of pacification. As for England, she has benefited as much by Italy's abstention as she would have done by Italy's help. It may be said of all natural and true situations that they appear in their true light from all points of view.

We do not doubt that, of the two systems open to European policy in the complex Eastern question—one which proposes to solve the difficulties, according to the exigencies of circumstances, with the least resort to force, and chiefly by the powerful auxiliaries of modern civilisation, and the other which opens up a wide field for rapacious and insolent conquerors—the former system is the only one that can be adopted in the interest of the peace and the safety of Europe. We believe that the adoption of this system altogether coincides with the modest and disinterested office exercised for many centuries by Italy, following the bent of her traditional habits in the East. Italy's work having, since her reconstruction, become more efficacious, should be adopted by the rest of Europe as a pacific means of solving the most intricate and dangerous questions. This may be accomplished on two conditions: the first, that Italy should not change her present policy by untoward aspirations for territorial aggrandisement; the second, that the Powers interested should not seek to impede Italian enterprise in the two Oriental continents.

We have praised and encouraged the wise policy of Italy in the Oriental question, even if some sacrifice be required, but it cannot go so far as to ignore and imperil material interests. If the policy inaugurated in these latter years should be indefinitely developed, the existence of Italy, not only as a maritime but as a Mediterranean Power, would be gravely compromised. Should the two coasts of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean be occupied by the troops of Powers exercising a jealous and exclusive rule, and should the influence of Italy be banished from Asia Minor as well as from Egypt and all those interests which centre in the Suez Canal, she would remain paralysed and suffocated in the vast field designed by Nature for the exercise of her functions. This state of things becomes insupportable, and what is insupportable cannot endure. Impelled by despair, the weak like the strong, the small like the great, are capable of producing unexpected results, as was the case with the small ancient Italian States. Therefore, in the interests of Europe, this abnormal state of things, by which Italy is impeded and driven back and deprived of her legitimate influence in the East, should not be maintained.

Still, we must bear in mind that the present position of affairs, although recently aggravated, commenced in the epoch preceding the admission of Italy among the nations of Europe. It behoves the new-comer to act wisely in the presence of rights established through distrust and jealousy. Not yet possessing a political organisation of sufficient consistency to undertake alone the carrying out of this policy in spite of its eminently pacific character, the prudence of justice demands that she should perform the function on the basis of a grand and solid alliance. We have already pointed out that England need not entertain the slightest apprehension in respect to Italy;

her fleet and her finances are as yet too weak to justify any fear of rivalry, although sufficiently developed to render her a valuable ally. We have alluded to the interests of England in following up a policy of rational and possible Conservatism in the East rather than a policy of mutual concession, of bribes and of spoliation; a policy which at the start has produced many embarrassments, and which may lead to ulterior complications highly prejudicial to British interests in the East.

We have also shown how Italy is bound by all her precedents to such a Conservative policy, and how unwise it would be on her part to indulge in a policy of adventures which might prove fatal to herself and also to others. Lastly, we have explained why Italy feels at her ease wherever the British standard is hoisted. For what does Italy require in pursuance of her pacific mission? She demands liberty to barter, facility of access, freedom and facility of action; and for these requirements no other flag can offer an equal guarantee in distant and neighbouring seas. Thus public opinion in Italy viewed with indulgence the British conquests around her, and, while objecting to others which present an exclusive and hostile aspect, would, we have no doubt, look favourably on the alliance we have pointed out in spite of the fable of the lion, where one party has all and the other nothing.

Apparently such a policy would meet with the support and sympathy of Germany—a country occupied, like Italy, with its internal organisation, and therefore disinclined in view of her own interests to enter into distant adventures. But whatever may be her future course of policy, Germany cannot now view with indifference any radical changes in favour of other Powers in Oriental regions, and far less would she care to learn that the peace of Europe had been jeopardised without her sanction or cognisance. Like all those who are strong, she can afford to wait. To those who know how to wait, everything comes in due season.

We unhesitatingly assert that just as the alliance conceived and brought about between Germany and Italy has saved the peace of Europe, an alliance between Italy and England would be conducive to the peace of the world.

As far as Italy is concerned, she saw her star rise under the auspices of an alliance with England in support of the integrity of the ancient Orient; an alliance evidently less calculated for Eastern interest than for the progress of European civilisation. We do not doubt that if she proceeds on her course under the same auspices, she will secure the advantages due to her, and justify the position she has assumed among the States of Europe.

F. NOBILI VITELLESCHI.

THE CHOLERA AND OUR WATER-SUPPLY.

THE interest which has been awakened in the sanitary bearing of water-supply is, largely due to the development of the germ-theory of disease. According to this theory several, at least, of those diseases which are propagated in the manner of epidemics diffuse themselves by living germs or spores, which, finding a suitable nidus in the bodies of animals, there multiply and produce that specific disturbance of the normal functions which characterises a disease of the zymotic class. It is, in fact, believed by the advocates of this theory that those diseases which are known by the name 'zymotic' are the result of the development and growth within the body of the affected individual of minute organisms akin to those which are known to induce fermentation, and the vitality of which is taken advantage of in brewing and other allied industries.

Although the germ-theory of disease is still *only* a theory, yet it is supported by the evidence of such numerous facts and observations as to be almost irresistible. Moreover, recent pathological research tends to show that other diseases, such as phthisis, which have not hitherto been regarded as belonging to the zymotic class, are very possibly communicated by minute living organisms of the same kind.

It is not possible here to enter into the evidence upon which this theory is based, inasmuch as it is a physiological question which is only indirectly, although most closely and vitally, connected with the subject of water-supply.

A clear understanding of this theory is, however, necessary for those who would deal with the subject of water-supply from a sanitary or hygienic point of view; for it is no theory, but a stern and established fact, that water may be, and frequently is, the means of propagating zymotic disease.

In the case of two zymotic diseases, and these the most fatal and destructive of the entire class, namely, Asiatic cholera and typhoid fever, it is proved beyond all doubt that water contaminated with drainage which has been infected by patients suffering from these

diseases, is capable of inducing the same diseases in persons drinking of this infected water.

It is impossible here to detail the experiences which have placed these facts beyond doubt, but I am tempted, in the presence of the danger from cholera with which we are now threatened, to refer briefly to the irresistible evidence afforded by the epidemics of this disease to which the metropolis has been subjected.

The scale on which the propagation of cholera by drinking-water was put to the test was there so vast, and the results of the experiments, which were involuntarily made during these epidemics, so terrible and destructive, as to be peculiarly interesting and instructive in connection with this subject.

London has been visited on four different occasions by epidemics of Asiatic cholera; these visitations occurred in the years 1832, 1849, 1854, and 1866. The mortality in 1832 was undoubtedly great; at that time there was no official registration of the causes of death, but, according to the report of the Privy Council, it appears that the deaths of 5,275 persons in London were referred to cholera. Taking into consideration the population of London at that time, this represents a mortality of 31·4 per 10,000 inhabitants.

In 1849 deaths attributed to cholera in the metropolis amounted to 14,137, or 61·8 per 10,000.

In 1854 there were 10,738 victims, or 42·9 per 10,000; whilst in 1866 cholera was fatal to 5,596 persons, or 18·4 per 10,000 inhabitants.

Now let us examine what was the state of the metropolitan water-supply during these several epidemics. It will be seen that during the period from 1832 to 1866 this water-supply underwent important changes.

In 1832 a considerable part of London was supplied with water abstracted from the Thames and the Lea, the remainder being obtained from shallow wells. At that time the river-waters within the metropolis cannot have been nearly so much polluted as subsequently, owing partly to the smaller population upon their banks, but chiefly to the absence of an efficient system of sewerage in the metropolis. In 1849 the sources of water-supply remained substantially the same, except that the river-water had probably more and more taken the place of the shallow well-water. In the meantime, however, the sewerage system had become fully developed in London. The drainage of nearly the whole population was thus rapidly conveyed into the three rivers from which the water-supply of London was drawn, namely, the Thames, the Lea, and the Ravensbourne.

These rivers thus became proportionately fouled before distribution. *In fact, at this time the water-companies rapidly restored to the inhabitants of London the drainage matters which the sewers*

had discharged. It was in this epidemic that London suffered most severely, the mortality from cholera amounting to nearly 62 per 10,000 inhabitants. On examining this mortality more in detail, we find, upon the evidence of the late Dr. Farr, medical adviser to the Registrar-General, that amongst the population supplied with water taken from the Thames at Kew cholera was fatal to 8 in 10,000, whilst in the district supplied with water taken from the river at Hammersmith it was fatal to 17 in 10,000, and again in the population supplied with water abstracted from the river below Chelsea Hospital it was fatal to 47 in 10,000, whilst the districts drawing their supply still lower down—namely, at Battersea, and between Hungerford and Waterloo Bridges, where the river was still more foul—suffered to the extent of 163 deaths per 10,000 inhabitants.

Before the next visitation in 1854, a small portion of the water abstracted from the Thames within the metropolis had been replaced by a corresponding volume taken from the river above Teddington Lock, and consequently beyond the reach of the London sewage. Corresponding to this improvement in the water-supply, we find a reduction in the mortality from cholera, which in the subsequent epidemic of 1854 was only 43 per 10,000; although in the same epidemic we find that in those districts still supplied with the foul water below Teddington Lock, the mortality was actually greater than in 1849. Thus on the south side of the river the two great competing water-companies are the Lambeth Company on the one hand, and the Southwark and Vauxhall Company on the other. Of these two companies in 1854 the Southwark and Vauxhall still pumped from the Thames at Battersea, whilst the Lambeth had removed their pumping-station to Ditton above Teddington Lock. The houses supplied by these two companies were in the same district, the pipes of the two companies interlacing and sometimes actually running parallel in the same street, so that, excepting as regards their water-supply, the conditions affecting health in the two sets of houses may be safely assumed to have been identical; *but whereas the mortality amongst the population supplied with the comparatively pure water of the Lambeth Company was only 40 per 10,000, that of the population supplied with the foul water of the Southwark Company was 130 per 10,000 inhabitants.*

In the last epidemic, which occurred in the year 1866, all the companies drawing from the Thames had fortunately removed their intakes to points above Teddington Lock, and corresponding to this improvement we find that the mortality fell in this epidemic to 18 per 10,000 inhabitants. It is, however, in this epidemic that perhaps the most striking evidence of the propagation of disease through infected drinking-water is to be obtained. In this year, certain parts of the East End of London suffered most severely from cholera.

These parts of London were in the area of one water-company, and what makes the case the more remarkable and conclusive is, that not the whole area of that water-company suffered. The water-company gave two waters, and the high cholera mortality was apparently restricted to those parts of London which received one of these two supplies—so to speak, to half the district of the East London Company. The source from which this company supplied this half of its district was a source peculiarly exposed to contamination from a foul part of the river Lea.

On August 1 of that year, 1866, the Registrar-General gave notice to the East London Company of the danger of distributing this polluted supply, and from this day the intensity of the disease began to abate, and within the month the number of deaths from cholera was less in the East End than in the other parts of London.

It would be possible to produce abundant further evidence as to the propagation of cholera, not to speak of typhoid fever, through the medium of drinking-water.

But, from what has been already said, it will be seen how vitally is the health of a town, especially in times of epidemic disease, connected with its water-supply. Since then this is the case, let us turn to the water-supply of the metropolis as it is at present, and consider whether it is calculated to promote the interests of health.

The water at present supplied to London is drawn from three sources, namely, the river Thames, the river Lea, and, thirdly, from deep wells sunk into the chalk formation.

First, as regards the water drawn from the Thames, this is supplied regularly by five companies, namely, the Chelsea, West Middlesex, Southwark, Grand Junction, and Lambeth Companies, and occasionally also by the East London Company. The intakes of these several companies are all situated within a few miles of each other, above Teddington Lock, and are thus protected from contamination with the metropolitan sewage which is discharged into the river at Barking and Crossness.

But how are these intakes of the several companies situated as regards the sewage which enters the river above Teddington? They manifestly enjoy no such immunity as regards this source of pollution. The sewage of a population estimated at upwards of half a million enters the river above Teddington, and it is Thames water mixed with the sewage of this half-million of human beings that the companies abstract for the consumption of their ratepayers.

It may naturally be asked how such a revolting practice can be justifiable even in the eyes of a board of directors whose interest it is to continue supplying such water. Numerous theories and apologies

have been framed to meet the case, but it is possible here only to deal with one of the more ingenious of these excuses.

The doctrine known as the self-purification of river water is one of the most remarkable of the theories which have been started to soothe the conscience of the river-polluter on the one hand, and of the purveyor of polluted river-water on the other.

As its name implies, this doctrine alleges that noxious organic matters discharged into running water are rapidly destroyed in the course of a few miles' flow. A doctrine more utterly dogmatic than this it is difficult to conceive, inasmuch as it not only does violence to all previous knowledge concerning the properties of organic substances in general, but is unsupported by any facts or accurate observations. On the contrary, the late Rivers Pollution Commissioners conclusively proved that water once polluted by sewage is but very slowly purified, either by violent agitation on a small scale in the laboratory, or by the aëration to which it is subjected in passing over weirs and falls in a river-bed. Again, recent research clearly shows the extreme tenacity of life which is possessed by the low organisms or bacteria which are supposed to be allied to those capable of communicating zymotic disease, a tenacity which will certainly not yield to the hardships of a few hours' bath in river-water.

Moreover, that the Thames water reaches the intakes of the water companies with a but slightly diminished quantity of organic matter, is unanswerably attested by chemical analysis.

Owing to the official surveillance which for some years past has been kept over the metropolitan water-supply, the appearance of the water as it reaches the consumer is very different from what it is in the river itself at the intakes of the companies. For no company would now venture to supply water which was actually offensive to the eye.

Of the eighty-four samples of Thames and Lea water that passed through my hands during the past year, nearly all were, as far as eye-judgment is concerned, unimpeachable. But it must not be supposed that this has always been the case. All of us must be able readily to call to mind occasions when the water drawn in London was, in appearance, not so far removed from that of the river-water at Hampton.

Now this amelioration, as far as the appearance of the water is concerned, is effected by means of storage and filtration. By providing ample storage capacity, the companies are enabled to avoid drawing from the river when the latter is unusually foul or in high flood; moreover, during storage a large proportion of the matters held in suspension by the running water is deposited. The second process of purification, namely, filtration, consists in allowing the water to percolate through beds of fine sand and gravel. Now when

this operation is carried out efficiently—that is, when the filters are not overtaxed and are frequently cleansed—the water leaves the companies' works perfectly clear, and, when seen in small volume, almost perfectly colourless.

But chemical analysis shows that this process of filtration through sand is very much less effective in dealing with those organic matters which are dissolved in the water than with those which are only held in suspension. Recent research, moreover, shows that filtration through a *far* greater thickness of sand than could be used by any water-company is quite inadequate to remove those minute organisms which are believed to propagate zymotic disease.

It is far from my desire to depreciate these precautionary measures taken by the water-companies, but I wish to point out that they are very distant from affording any absolute safeguard.

That the river-water supplied in London has undergone a marked improvement since the days when the Thames was tapped at Kew, Chelsea, Battersea, and Hungerford, is undeniable and palpable to all; but what I wish to insist upon is, that this improvement is *in degree and not in kind*.

The Thames at Hampton is a river polluted with sewage, just as is the Thames at Battersea, the only difference being that at Hampton it is fouled with the sewage of about half a million persons, while at Battersea it is liable to pollution by more than six times that number.

In order to effect an improvement in kind as well as in degree, it will be necessary to altogether abandon the river Thames as a source of supply. It has not been found difficult to suggest substitutes for Thames water; schemes have been proposed in which the sources of the Severn, the upland surface waters of Derbyshire, and even the waters of the Cumberland lakes, were to be called into requisition.

These proposals, some of which are not a little startling, were all made at a time when it was not known, as it now is, that the valley of the Thames abounds in water of the very best quality. I refer to the vast quantity of water obtainable from the chalk and oolite beds.

Now it is to this source of pure water that the only London water-company which has entirely abandoned the polluted rivers flowing through the metropolis has turned. Already, before 1866, and since, the Kent Company has continuously supplied water derived from deep wells sunk into the chalk.

Chemical analysis, and a consideration of the source of this deep-well water, are alike convincing as to its immeasurable superiority over Thames water. Over a space of many years this water has remained of almost uniform purity, and this without being subjected to any artificial filtration at the hands of the company.

For this water has undergone an inimitable process of natural filtration through vast thicknesses of porous strata, thus removing nearly all matters in suspension, and reducing almost to zero the organic matters in solution. This water, when seen in large volume, has a fine blue colour, which is not surpassed by the waters of the purest lake in Switzerland.

Again, this water possesses a great advantage in maintaining an almost constant temperature throughout the year, whilst river-water is subject to great extremes of heat and cold according to the season.

The quantity of this water available in the valley of the Thames must be very great indeed; thus, in a small enclosure at Deptford, there are three wells 250 feet deep, of which one yields $1\frac{1}{2}$ million, and the other two each $4\frac{1}{2}$ million gallons daily, and the engineer of the Kent Company states that this quantity could be greatly increased if required.

There is only one point in which this deep-well water is inferior to the river water, and that is in respect of hardness. This hardness, although not in any way prejudicial to the wholesomeness of the water, is disadvantageous for laundry, steam, and most other manufacturing purposes; it may, however, be almost entirely removed, even on the large scale, by a process of softening to which I shall presently refer.

Thus, without troubling the Derbyshire hills, or defacing the Lake-district with embankments and aqueducts, it is possible to obtain in and around London a plentiful and wholesome supply of water. It was in the following terms that the late Rivers Pollution Commissioners expressed themselves concerning this matter:—

The supply of such water, either softened or unsoftened, to the metropolis generally, would be a priceless boon, and would at once confer upon it absolute immunity from epidemics of cholera. We are decidedly of opinion that the metropolitan companies should receive from your Majesty's Government sanction for increase of capital, only on condition that such capital shall be expended on works necessary for the supply of this palatable and perfectly wholesome beverage.

The improvements and alterations in water-supply hitherto referred to can only be realised by parliamentary measures, and are wholly beyond the control of private individuals. I shall now turn my attention to matters connected with water-supply which do lie within the scope of individual action and enterprise.

First, as regards the softening of water. The so-called 'hardness' of water is occasioned by the presence of salts of lime and magnesia dissolved in the water. These salts decompose soap with formation of insoluble curds, and it is not until the whole of the lime and magnesia has been precipitated as curds that a lather is obtainable with soap.

Thus all water, before it is available for cleansing with soap, must be softened, that is, deprived of its lime and magnesia salts in solution. Under ordinary circumstances this softening is effected by means of the soap itself, which refuses to lather until the whole of the lime and magnesia in the water has been removed as curds.

Now soap is a very costly article, and forms, as is well known, a formidable item in household expenditure. Since far the greater proportion of this soap is not used in cleansing at all, but simply in preparing the water for this purpose, it follows that a very great household economy would be the result of employing some less costly article than soap for thus preparing the water for washing.

Now such an article exists in the shape of lime itself, which, when added in the right proportion, effects this preliminary softening of the water at a very much cheaper rate.

The process of softening water by lime is known as Clark's process, and the following numbers show what an exceedingly valuable process this is. Thus, to soften a quantity of water which requires 1 cwt. of lime, the cost by Clark's process would be 8d., whilst if the same water were softened in the ordinary way with common yellow soap, to say nothing of the more delicate preparations in general use for toilet purposes, the cost would amount to 47l. 1s. 8d.

Clark's process is, however, only applicable to water which owes its hardness, entirely or chiefly, to the carbonates of lime and magnesia—so-called *temporary hardness*; whilst water which is hardened by sulphate of lime or sulphate of magnesia—the so-called *permanent hardness*—cannot be thus softened. The water supplied in London, both from the rivers and from the deep wells in the chalk, is particularly well adapted for softening by this process.

There is at present but one company in the London district that supplies soft water well fitted for washing, and this company—the Colne Valley Company—furnishes this soft supply by treating with Clark's process the hard water obtained from the chalk. Although this process is somewhat too cumbrous to be conveniently applied in private houses, yet in hospitals, workhouses, and large establishments it may be adopted with great advantage.

By means of Clark's process a considerable reduction in the amount of organic matter in the river water is also effected, this being mechanically carried down by the precipitated chalk.

The second improvement in water which lies within the scope of private individuals is that of *domestic filtration*.

The subject of domestic filtration is one which, in a town with a water-supply like that of London, possesses peculiar interest, and is of no little importance. Most people imagine that by once going to the expense of a filter they have secured for themselves a safeguard which will endure throughout all time without further trouble. No

mistake could be greater, for without preserving constant watchfulness, and bestowing great care upon domestic filtration, it is probable that the process will not only entirely fail to purify the water; but will actually render it more impure than before. For the accumulation of putrescent organic matter upon and within the filtering material furnishes a favourable nest for the development of minute worms and other disgusting organisms, which not unfrequently pervade the filtered water; whilst the proportion of organic matter in the effluent water is often considerably greater than that present before filtration.

Of the substances in general use for the household filtration of water, spongy iron and animal charcoal take the first place. Both of these substances possess the property of removing a very large proportion of the organic matter present in water. They both, in the first instance, possess this purifying power to about an equal extent; but whereas the animal charcoal very soon loses its power, the spongy iron retains its efficacy unimpaired for a much longer time. Indeed, in spongy iron we possess the most valuable of all known materials for filtration, inasmuch as, besides removing such a large proportion of organic matter from water, it has been found to be absolutely fatal to bacterial life, and thus acts as an invaluable safeguard against the propagation of disease through drinking-water.

It is satisfactory to learn that in countries where the results of scientific research more rapidly receive practical application than is unfortunately the case amongst us, spongy iron is actually being employed on the large scale for filtration where only a very impure source of water-supply is procurable. I refer to the recent introduction of spongy-iron filter-beds at the Antwerp waterworks. It would be very desirable that such filter-beds should be adopted by the London water companies until they shall abandon the present impure source of supply.

Animal charcoal, on the other hand, far from being fatal to the lower forms of life, is highly favourable to their development and growth; in fact, in the water drawn from a charcoal filter which has not been renewed sufficiently often, myriads of minute worms may frequently be found.

Thus spongy iron enables those who can afford the expense to obtain pure drinking-water even from an impure source; but this should not deter those interested in the public health from using their influence to obtain a water-supply, which requires no domestic filtration and shall be equally bright and healthful for both rich and poor.

Many towns in Great Britain have abandoned an impure water-supply. Glasgow drinks the waters of Loch Katrine; Manchester is supplied by the unpolluted water collected on the high ground of

Derbyshire and Cheshire, and a supplementary supply is now being brought, under protest of the Kyrle Society, it is true, from Thirlmere in Cumberland.

How long will it be before London insists upon having the equally wholesome water which nature has brought far nearer our doors than Loch Katrine is to Glasgow or Thirlmere to Manchester? We will hope that it may not require another epidemic of cholera to teach the inhabitants of this city that, in the interests of temperance and health, the rivers Thames and Lea must be wholly abandoned as sources of water-supply.

PERCY FARADAY FRANKLAND.

'THE SPOILIATION OF INDIA.'

Erratum.—In the article with the above title published last month, on page 7 the figures of Mr. John Bright's Parliamentary return giving the number of Europeans in the Indian Military Department, each drawing more than 100*l.* a year from the Indian Treasury, and the total amounts drawn by them, were, by an unfortunate error, very much understated, the argument being of course correspondently weakened. The total amount thus drawn by military Europeans is 5,958,067*l.*, instead of 4,736,000*l.* The total number of persons receiving it is 12,930 instead of 8,103. Of these the absentees number no less than 6,069, or not far from 50 per cent. of the whole; and the amount received annually from the Indian Treasury by these absentees should have been given as 2,170,484*l.* instead of 815,736*l.*

J. SEYMOUR KEAY.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. LXXIX.—SEPTEMBER 1883.

SENTI, SENTI, ANIMA MIA!

[To the Italian language, so rich in poetry, the Hymn, in our sense of the word, is almost unknown. Religious exercises were supplied, within the Latin communion, with the Latin hymns: and hymns in the vernacular, both here and in Germany, may be considered, I presume, as a product of the change which restored the use of the mother tongue in the services of our Church.

Although the want has not been felt in Italy, the language in which Dante wrote cannot be incapable of the force and the compression, both in form and substance, proper to the Hymn.

The circumstances may give a certain interest to this slight attempt at translating into Italian Cowper's well-known hymn. Such I have found to be the case on the part of Italian friends who, since the translation was written, have given me the benefit of their skilful counsel.]

I.

SENTI, senti, anima mia

(Fu il Signore che sentia);

Gesù parla, e parla a te:

‘Di’, Figliuolo, ami Me? ¹

¹ The more usual Italian form would be *m'ami*. It is thus in modern renderings of the great threefold interrogation to Saint Peter (St. John xxi. 15-17). But in older versions I find *ami tu Me*, and an arrangement placing the pronoun after the verb is almost essential to the force of the original. I may cite the version of Antonio Brucioli (Venice, 1544), and that published by Guglielmo Roville (Lyons, 1552).

II.

‘Te legato svincolai,
Le tue piaghe risanai,
Fuorviato rimennai,
Notte in dì per te mutai.

III.

‘Vien la madre a quando a quando ²
Il suo parto obbliando ?
Donna il può, nol posso Io ;
Mai non viene in Me l’obblio.

IV.

‘L’amor mio sempre dura ;
Alto, più d’ogn’ altr’ altura,
Tocca in giù le nere porte,
Franco e fido, in fino a morte.

V.

‘Tu la gloria mia vedrai,
Se la piena grazia avrai ;
Te del Trono meno al piè :
Di’, Figliuolo, ami Me ?’

² ‘Compartendo la vista a quando a quando.’—Dante, *Purg.* xxv. 126. The first two lines of this verse have been thus rendered by an accomplished Italian friend :—

La sua prole obblia talvolta
Chi nel grembo l’ebbe accolta.

VI.

Ah ! Signor, mi duole il cuore
 Pel mio stanco e fiacco amore ;
 T' amo pure, e vo' pregare
 Che Ti possa meglio amare.

W. E. G.

August, 1883.

[It may be convenient to append the original hymn.

Ed. *Nineteenth Century*.]HARK, MY SOUL !³

I.

Hark, my soul ! it is the Lord ;
 'Tis thy Saviour, hear His Word ;
 Jesus speaks, and speaks to thee,
 ' Say, poor sinner, lov'st thou Me ?

II.

' I delivered thee when bound,
 And when bleeding; healed thy wound,
 Sought thee wandering, set thee right,
 Turned thy darkness into light.

III.

' Can a woman's tender care
 Cease toward the child she bare ?
 Yes, she may forgetful be,
 Yet will I remember thee.

³ No. 260 in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern.'

IV.

' Mine is an unchanging love,
Higher than the depths above,
Deeper than the depths beneath,
Free and faithful, strong as death.

V.

Thou shalt see My glory soon,
When the work of grace is done ;
Partner of My Throne shalt be :
Say, poor sinner, lov'st thou Me ?

VI.

Lord, it is my chief complaint
That my love is weak and faint ;
Yet I love Thee and adore ;
O for grace to love Thee more.

IRELAND AND THE EMPIRE.

IN an article I contributed to this Review for June 1882, I endeavoured to show that the deplorable condition to which Ireland had been reduced was the natural consequence of the unwise policy which has been pursued in its government since the year 1868. I pointed out how lawlessness, encouraged by yielding to it, and by legislation avowedly proposed under the pressure of violence and intimidation, had created a state of anarchy and insecurity absolutely fatal to all hopes of the advance of the country in industry and prosperity. I also explained my reasons for believing that the laws which had been passed with regard to the occupation of land were opposed to sound economic principles, and were not only ruinously unjust to the owners of land, but must also prove in the end injurious to those for whose supposed benefit they had been passed, as well as to the public at large. Such were the conclusions I sought to establish more than a year ago in the article I have referred to. Fresh evidence of their soundness is supplied in what has happened in the eventful months that have gone by since it was written, and to this I desire now to call the attention of the public. I also propose to discuss in the following pages some of the schemes that have been suggested for curing the evils Ireland is labouring under, and further to point out how these evils and their causes are likely to affect the welfare of the Empire at large.

In the first place I have to remark that, although the adoption of more severe and better directed measures for the repression of crimes of violence than those which had previously been tried in vain has been attended with considerable success, there are no signs of any improvement in the general welfare of the people of Ireland, or of any diminution of the spirit of lawlessness that prevails among them or of their hatred for England. These feelings, though kept down for the time by strong pressure, have not been mitigated, and are obviously ready to break out again with the old violence if the pressure were withdrawn. Those halcyon days to which in 1868 we were so confidently assured we might look forward as the fruit of the new Irish policy then recommended to the nation have not yet begun to dawn. On the contrary, the newspapers have been full of complaints of the dire distress which has prevailed in many districts;

and even in the most fruitful districts we hear of things which are quite inconsistent with the existence of general welfare amongst the people. In both Houses of Parliament speakers of the most opposite political opinions have concurred in giving very dismal accounts of the actual condition, and prospects for the future, of the population of Ireland. Mr. O'Connor Power in the House of Commons, and Lord Dunraven in the House of Lords, have more especially described the present state of things as deplorable, and have adduced very convincing evidence in support of their statements. Lord Dunraven has clearly proved by statistics, which I will not weary my readers by quoting, that, while after the potato famine of 1846 and 1847 there was a slow but steady improvement in the general welfare of the Irish people up to the year 1871, since that year (when the first of the new Land Acts came into operation) there has been a marked change for the worse. The extent of land under cultivation has been diminished, and, as Lord Dunraven has shown, 'this is not to be accounted for by the change of arable land into pasture, since instead of an increase there has been a notable diminution in the numbers both of cattle and sheep, and in spite of a rise of prices the value of live stock in Ireland has fallen off by above a million and a half. The fisheries, which were already declining, have continued to dwindle away, and Lord Dunraven says that 'with scarcely an exception all the other industries in the country appear to be also languishing.' Lord Carlingford, in replying on behalf of the Government, did not attempt to contest the correctness of these statements of Lord Dunraven's—all he had to say was that there were encouraging symptoms of a mitigation of the exceptional pressure of distress in the west of Ireland, but he did not deny that the habitual condition of the people in these districts was as wretched as it has been described to be both by Mr. O'Connor and the present Secretary for Ireland, nor could he point out signs of any real improvement in the general state of the country, of any advance in the skill and industry applied to the cultivation of the soil by the farmers for whose supposed advantage so much has been done, or of better employment for the labourers who hold no land.

How is this state of things to be accounted for? Why have we to lament this absence in Ireland of that progress which is always going on in a healthy society? Why is it that the country, instead of being richer, is apparently poorer than when Parliament, thirteen years ago, undertook the task of endeavouring to increase the welfare of the Irish people, and especially of the tenant farmers, by a reform of the land-law? We are told that the poverty and distress of Ireland arise from the fact that there is little employment to be found there for the people, except in the cultivation of the soil, and that consequently there is an over-competition for land. But we must ask again why is there no other employment? We are sometimes told

that this deficiency of other fields for the employment of industry has been produced by the unjust measures of the British Parliament in the last century for the discouragement of Irish manufactures. Nobody now defends these measures, but their effect has long since passed away; for more than eighty years the Irish have had exactly the same facilities as the English and the Scotch for engaging in every branch of industrial enterprise, and in that time in this island many important branches of manufacture have been begun, and have risen to prosperity. Had there been as much enterprise among the Irish as among their fellow-subjects on this side of the Channel, there was nothing to prevent them from achieving similar results. Nor does the want of capital account for the absence of industrial enterprise in Ireland. English capital would have flowed there in abundance if it had not been discouraged from doing so. The want of natural resources in Ireland is another of the causes alleged for its backward condition, but this allegation cannot be sustained; the evil is not that natural resources are wanting in Ireland, but that these resources have not been used as they ought to have been. Even agriculture, which forms the occupation of the great majority of its people, is notoriously carried on so badly that its soil, it has been asserted, would yield double its actual produce under intelligent cultivation. This is probably an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that the produce of its land ought to be far larger than it is. Sir R. Kane has also shown in his excellent work on the natural resources of Ireland that these resources would yield large returns of wealth to well-directed exertion in various branches of industry.

These explanations cannot, therefore, be accepted as accounting for the poverty of Ireland; the real reason why the country is so poor is very different, and has often been pointed out; it is simply that enterprise and industry have not been encouraged by security. It is a truth universally recognised, that it is only by enterprise and industry that nations can hope to rise to high prosperity and wealth, and that they cannot flourish as they ought if those who devote their labour or money to the work of production have not complete security that they will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their exertions. This complete security never has been enjoyed in Ireland; the want of it so far as agriculture is concerned has long been complained of, but it has been felt also in various other branches of industry. It would not be difficult to mention several promising industrial enterprises which have failed, owing to the losses suffered by their promoters from violence and the spirit of lawless combination among those whom they employed. If I am not mistaken, about half a century ago the business of building and repairing ships at Dublin was beginning to rise into considerable importance, when it was driven away by conduct on the part of the shipbuilders which was condemned in language of just

severity by O'Connell. No doubt Parliament and the Government have been much to blame for allowing this state of insecurity to arise and continue ; it could not have done so if the administration of Ireland had been wisely conducted, and the faults of the people are chiefly to be traced to their having been misgoverned and mismanaged during a long course of years. Still we must recognise the fact that, however they may have been produced, there have been, and still are, great faults in the character of the Irish people, and that these faults have not only been the cause of the insecurity which has prevented industry from flourishing, but have also in other ways tended to keep Ireland poor. In addition to lawlessness and the disposition to enter into secret societies, which punish even with death all who venture to disobey their mischievous mandates, we must note among the faults of the Irish people their want of self-reliance, and their being so easily led to look for an improvement in their condition, not to their own efforts, but to what may be done for them by others, and especially to what may be gained for them by political agitators. They have also the unfortunate habit of being content to live on in a state of semi-barbarism, so long as they can obtain a supply of the merest necessities from a patch of land they are allowed to mismanage as they please, when a very small amount of well-directed exertion would enable them to obtain some at least of the comforts and decencies of civilisation. But they are apt to regard and treat as enemies all who urge them to such exertion and to abandon the wasteful practices to which they are wedded for better modes of cultivation.

These faults of the Irish character, with the want of security to which I have adverted, fully account for the poverty of Ireland ; it is not, therefore, surprising that this poverty should have become worse during the last few years, because the measures that have been adopted, though they may have been well meant, were calculated and have had for their effect to make the enjoyment of property, and of the fruits of industry, not more but less secure than formerly, and to encourage, not to cure, the chief faults of the Irish character. In proceeding to explain the grounds on which I hold this to have been the real tendency of recent legislation with regard to Ireland, I abstain from adding anything to what I have said in a former article as to the encouragement given to lawlessness by the repeated concessions to Irish agitators which have been recommended to Parliament by Her Majesty's Ministers under the pressure of intimidation. The bad effects in this way of their policy have been so often exposed both in Parliament and elsewhere without eliciting from them any effective answer to the charge, that it is needless to say more on the subject. But the sense of insecurity which paralyses industry may arise from a different cause than violence and lawlessness, and is sure to be created whenever the government of a nation resorts to measures that

violate the rights of property. This important consideration has been lost sight of in the recent land-legislation for Ireland. There can be no doubt that an amendment of the law on that subject was required, and that, previously to the passing of the Land Act of 1870, the efforts of tenants to improve their farms had been much discouraged by their not having sufficient facilities for making improvements with the certainty of enjoying the fruits of the labour and money they might so employ. This chiefly arose from defects in the law which I have elsewhere pointed out,¹ and which might easily have been remedied by means to which no just objections could have been made. But while it was very necessary to make it easier for tenants to apply labour and money to the improvement of their land with full security for reaping the benefit of their exertions, it was not less necessary to take the utmost care that what was done for this purpose should not affect the security of property generally. For the welfare of Ireland it was far more important that no mistake should be made on this point than that the land-law should be immediately improved. This law, as it stood under Mr. Cardwell's Act of 1860, was right in principle, and it was only owing to flagrant faults in its machinery for carrying that principle into effect that in exceptional cases it worked injustice, sometimes to the owners of land, more frequently to their tenants. And though its cumbrous provisions threw difficulties in the way of the improvement of land, still in spite of these difficulties improvement was going on, if less quickly than was to be wished, yet very decidedly, and in the ten years in which this Act was in force a notable advance was accomplished in Irish agriculture. An amendment of the land-law, therefore, though highly desirable, was not of such urgent necessity as to require legislation before there had been time to ascertain how this amendment might be best effected, and by what means the real grievances of tenants might be redressed without doing anything which should tend to create a sense of the general insecurity of property, to increase the difficulties of landlords in improving their estates, or to encourage those faults in the people which had contributed so largely to prevent the nation from rising to prosperity.

In all these ways the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, and the Arrears Act of 1882, were calculated to do harm. I thought so when they were proposed, and their actual working has more than justified my apprehensions. On the all-important point of guarding in legislation against giving any shock to the sense of the security of property, the defects of these Acts and their evil results are too clear to be questioned. Nothing can be more certain than that, when any government or legislature deprives a large class of its subjects of property of which they have for many years been the recognised owners, without making them due compensation, the

¹ See this Review for June 1882, pp. 287-90.

confidence of all owners of property in its security must be greatly shaken. Nor is it less clear that, by the operation of the Acts I have referred to, a very large proportion of the value of land in Ireland has been absolutely taken away from those whom Parliament had a very few years before recognised as its undoubted owners, and of which no small amount had been bought under the provisions of an Act by which their title to it was made a Parliamentary one. When the recent measures were brought forward, it was denied that the owners of land would be deprived by their operation of any part of that which legally belonged to them, and to which their title rested not only on the recognition of Parliament, but on long and undisputed possession; but the fact has now become so evident that any attempt to dispute it has been virtually abandoned. We now know, beyond all doubt or question, that confiscation upon a very large scale has taken place in Ireland. It was begun by the Act of 1870, by which it was soon found that the owners of land had been practically deprived of no small proportion of the value of their property, those who had done most for the improvement of their estates and taken most pains to benefit their tenants being the greatest sufferers. The evil, however, that was done by this Act, serious as it was, might in time have been got over if the declaration that it was to be a final measure, and that for the future contracts in Ireland would be respected and enforced, had been adhered to. But this was not to be; the confiscation begun in 1870 proved to be only a step towards the more sweeping confiscation effected by the Act of 1881, passed at the instance of the very Minister who in 1871 had so solemnly assured Parliament and the owners of land that the settlement then made would be maintained, and who had then urged such conclusive arguments against all the leading principles of the measure he now brought forward. And this measure has been worked with the same unblushing disregard of previous declarations and assurances which had been displayed in proposing it.

When the Bill of 1881 was in progress, Her Majesty's Ministers in both Houses stated in the strongest manner that the most important provisions it contains—those for establishing a new Land Court with power to fix judicial rents—were only directed against the exaction of excessive rents. It was acknowledged that as a rule the rents paid for land in Ireland were considerably lower than those usually paid for land of similar quality in England, and it was stated that all the new law was intended to do was to prevent more than fair rents being insisted upon in exceptional cases, so that no injury would be inflicted on those owners of land who had dealt fairly with their tenants. It was further stated that before judicial rents were fixed, there would be a careful inquiry by competent persons into the value of the farms, to which they were to apply in order that the rents decreed by the Court might be really fair.

Clauses were introduced into the Act to give effect, as it was said, to this intention, and to provide the means for properly investigating the value of farms. On the faith of these assurances, Parliament (very unwisely as I thought at the time) consented to pass an Act which was in flagrant violation of the first principles of sound legislation. We now know how far these assurances have been fulfilled. From the reports of the proceedings of the Land Court in the newspapers, and from the evidence taken during two sessions by a Committee of the House of Lords, as well as from other sources, we have very complete information as to the manner in which the new law has been worked. From all this information it is clear that there has been no serious attempt to ascertain by proper inquiry the true value of farms, and to fix the judicial rents accordingly; still less has the rule been observed of making reductions only in the case of rents shown to be excessive. Rents which had been paid without difficulty or complaint for periods of thirty, forty, or even over fifty years, have been reduced.² Even when it was shown that the rent paid by the tenant was the same as that to which the farm was subject when he had purchased the right of occupying it from a preceding tenant (thus proving that in his judgment the farm was not over-rented), this has not prevented the rent from being reduced. With very few exceptions indeed, all the rents brought under the consideration of the Commissioners have been reduced, and the Lords' Committee has reported that the average reduction made by the Land Court approaches 20 per cent., and rises in many cases to 30 per cent. The reductions decreed seem to have been so irregular and so 'hap-hazard' as to defy every attempt to discover any other rule by which they can have been governed except the various views or caprices, or the greater or less desire for popularity, of the different sub-Commissioners whose advice has been followed by the Court. The reductions awarded are stated by some of the witnesses to have often been as large or larger on rents which were already low as on those which were greatly higher.

If the process of fixing judicial rents is to be continued as it has been begun, somewhere about one-fifth of the whole rental of Ireland will be taken from the former owners of the land and made over to their tenants. To a large proportion of the smaller proprietors this

² I have been furnished with the following statement made by a gentleman to whom I know that perfect confidence may be safely given. He says: 'I had four tenants who had paid their rents for fifty-seven years, and never had them altered, or in fact thought of asking for this until the Land Act came; they then asked for a reduction and I sent Mr. —, a large farmer and valuator under the Board of Works, to go over their farms and value them, telling him that if he went to either side, I wished it to be on the tenants' side. His valuation came to just about the rents they were paying, and I wrote to say I would make no reduction, considering I had a very good case, and that the men were very fairly rented. However, when they went into court they were all reduced, and I was advised by my lawyer that it was only throwing money away to appeal, so I left it so.'

will be nothing short of ruin. In a multitude of cases, what is taken from the landowner will be the whole of his real income, even if the reduced rents were for the future to be regularly paid, of which there is little prospect. There are probably but few small estates altogether free both from family charges and from mortgages on which interest has to be paid. In many cases the margin left to the owners of land after meeting these demands was not more before these difficulties arose than what is now to be taken from them. Thus absolute ruin will have been inflicted by Parliament upon a numerous and important class in the community. Nor is it only the owners of land who will suffer; already many of those who had charges on land, often constituting their only income, have been reduced to destitution from the non-payment or reduction of the rents by which these charges ought to have been met.

Such is the account we are given of the manner in which the Land Act of 1881 has been administered, and of the effects it has produced, by the Committee of the House of Lords, and by the witnesses it examined. A reply to these statements has been published in the shape of a long paper of observations on the Fourth Report of the Committee by the Land Commissioners, but I do not find in it either a denial of the fact that the reductions they have decreed in the rents formerly paid in Ireland have been as general and as large as had been asserted, or any satisfactory explanation of the principle upon which these reductions have been determined. The explanation offered is more especially unsatisfactory with regard to the general reduction of rents which had been paid without complaint for a long course of years. The Commissioners also not only do not deny, but, on the contrary, expressly admit that there has been the want of uniformity in the decisions of the sub-Commissioners which has been complained of. They remark: 'It appears strange that in a matter involving so many diverse conditions and circumstances, uniformity in the decisions of the sub-Commissioners should have been expected.' Certainly it was not to be expected, but it affords a striking proof how false in principle the law they had to administer must have been, that we are now told that it was 'strange' to look for uniformity in their decisions, though the absence of it obviously implies that those subjected to their jurisdiction have been treated with inequality and injustice. A landowner cannot but feel aggrieved when he finds that perhaps 30 per cent. has been deducted from the rent he had been receiving, while his next neighbour in precisely similar circumstances may only have been deprived of 15 per cent. And no greater evil could have been inflicted upon a nation than to have the owners of property thus mulcted of a part of what legally belonged to them, at the absolute discretion of men who have no rule or principle laid down for their guidance in exercising the terrible power entrusted to them, and who, whether justly or unjustly, have undoubtedly failed to command the

confidence of the public. I have said that the amount of income of which landowners are to be deprived is at the 'absolute discretion' of the sub-Commissioners; for though by the Act their decisions are liable to be reviewed by the Land Commissioners, it is well known that appeals have so rarely been successful, even against decisions which have appeared to be manifestly unjust, that landowners are now generally advised not to appeal, although they may have what seem to be the strongest grounds for doing so. This is the advice a prudent counsel naturally gives to his client when the question is whether it is wise to incur the expense of appealing against a decree, however clear its injustice may seem, to a court which has been found almost uniformly to reject similar appeals, and which has adopted the practice of giving no reasons for its judgments. This practice of the Commissioners has contributed much to render almost nugatory the right of appeal to them conferred by the Act on those who are dissatisfied with the decisions of the sub-Commissioners. When it is found that appeals are almost uniformly rejected, while the public are left absolutely in the dark as to the reasons for their being so, a person who may feel much aggrieved by the decision of a sub-Commissioner has no means of even guessing what would be the opinion of the Commissioners on the grounds he might urge against it, or what probability there would be of his obtaining the relief which is generally refused.

The Commissioners state that they do not conceive it to have been the intention of the Legislature to require that the Court, in fixing judicial rents, should in each individual case give reasons for the result arrived at. On what they found this conclusion is not apparent, and certainly their refusing all explanation of the grounds of their decisions has been unfortunate in its effects. Not only has it made it hazardous for those aggrieved to seek the redress Parliament had professed to provide for them, but it has also removed what would have been a valuable check on the misuse of the enormous power conferred upon the Commissioners. If it had been the rule that the Land Commissioners should state in public their reasons for the judgments they pronounced, it is improbable that these judgments would so generally have confirmed decrees of the sub-Commissioners for reducing rents which had been paid without difficulty for terms sometimes exceeding half a century, or which had not been raised since money had been paid for the right of occupying their farms, subject to those rents by the tenants to whom reductions were awarded.

Strong disapprobation of the manner in which the new law has been administered must, I think, be felt by all impartial men who read the evidence given before the House of Lords' Committee, and the very unsatisfactory defence of their conduct which has been offered by the Land Commissioners; still, in justice to them and to the sub-Commissioners, it must be observed that the task assigned to

them was an impossible one. They were called upon to decide under the forms of a court of justice questions having nothing of a legal character, and with which no judicature could be competent to deal. The proceedings of the Courts of the Commissioners and sub-Commissioners afford a new and striking proof how wisely the inexpediency of referring to any such authority questions as to the terms of contracts men make with each other was insisted upon by Burke, in the well-known passage in his admirable thoughts on scarcity, to which I have already had occasion to refer.³ But whether the law or its administrators may have been most to blame makes little difference, and it is clear that, under the Acts of 1870 and 1881, a confiscation of property has taken place upon a scale unparalleled as I believe in any civilised nation in modern times. And confiscation of this kind could not be inflicted, by the authority of Parliament, on the owners of one description of property without producing its natural effect of taking away the sense of security with respect to property of all kinds. Accordingly we find that confidence in the security of property generally has been greatly impaired, while with regard to land it may be said to have been destroyed, and land has now become almost unsaleable in Ireland, at prices far below what could have been obtained for it even four years ago, when the evil was already beginning. Capital which was flowing from England to improve Irish land to some extent before 1870 has ceased to do so; not a shilling can now be borrowed here on Irish security, and those who are unlucky enough to have previously lent money upon it, are anxiously looking for opportunities for withdrawing their investments even at a large sacrifice.

The injury inflicted upon all classes in Ireland, where capital is so much needed, by having thus arrested its influx is incalculable, but it constitutes only part—perhaps not the chief part—of the evil which has been worked by recent legislation. Remembering that the welfare of the whole population can only be increased by increasing the total produce of the national industry, and that of this total produce by far the largest part is derived from agriculture, it is plainly of the highest importance that the land of Ireland should be cultivated with skill; but, as I have already remarked, this skill is sadly wanting. I have never heard it denied, by any competent observer, that agriculture in Ireland, taking the country as a whole, is carried on in a most barbarous and wasteful manner. There are, or at least there were, many exceptions to the general rule, and there are farms—of which the number was gradually increasing up to 1870—which have been cultivated with a skill and success offering a striking contrast to what is to be observed on most others. Mr. Bence Jones's and Mr. Mahoney's pamphlets have shown how very largely the produce of the land has been increased under this better cultiva-

³ See *Nineteenth Century* for June 1882, p. 397.

tion, and also how much resistance was offered by the ignorant peasantry to the introduction of a more intelligent system of managing their land than that to which they had been accustomed. And it is a fact, of which there is ample evidence, that wherever we find improved cultivation in Ireland, the improvement has been chiefly due, directly or indirectly, to the efforts of intelligent and educated owners of considerable estates. They have had to struggle in many cases against obstinate resistance, both active and passive, from those for whose real good they were working; but patient perseverance had already accomplished much, and was in the fair way of accomplishing much more. Not only was a change for the better effected on the estates of those landlords who used their power and influence to restrain their tenants from resorting to some of the worst and most improvident of their traditional practices, and to require them to substitute better modes of cultivation; but the example of these better-managed farms was beginning to make some impression on neighbouring tenants. The estates of judicious and improving landlords thus became centres from which improvement was gradually spreading in very many parts of Ireland. The change in the law has deprived the owners both of any inducement to take pains in improving their estates, and of the means of doing so if they wished it. Of this no better evidence can be given than that which is furnished by a very remarkable letter in the *Times* of February 8, 1883, from a gentleman who signs himself 'Edward W. O'Brien, late Assistant Commissioner under the Land Act.' This Act is called by Mr. O'Brien (who must naturally be disposed to regard it favourably from having been employed in its administration) 'a revolutionary measure,' and he describes it as having produced a state of things which makes the further interference of Parliament indispensable. He tells us that—

'The State has reversed its policy. Hitherto it has relied on the initiative of the landlords to promote the improvement of the land. The functions which it expected of them were, it is true, imperfectly discharged, less through their fault than through the circumstances in which they were placed. Still they did a large amount of valuable work, far more than they got credit for. The motives for that initiative are now cut away, and not that alone, but by the complete emancipation of the tenants new and perhaps insurmountable difficulties are thrown in their way. Their places as promoters and organisers of industrious enterprise cannot be left void; somebody must step into it.'

Such is Mr. O'Brien's account of the effect produced by the recent Land Acts in disorganising previously existing arrangements, which he acknowledges to have been at least partially successful in providing for the improvement of land in Ireland. His testimony upon this point is of the greater value, because far from condemning the policy of the Acts of which he thus describes the operation, he only sees in their effect a reason for going further in the same direc-

tion, and for adopting new measures conceived in the same spirit with those that have wrought the evils which he recognises as now so urgently requiring a remedy. The effect Mr. O'Brien admits the new Land Acts to have had in putting a stop to the exertions of landlords to improve their estates has not been compensated by their tenants having been stimulated to greater industry and the adoption of better modes of cultivation. On the contrary, it is certain, not merely that there has been no improvement as yet in this respect, but that already the new law is working in the other direction. Small Irish tenants, when left to themselves, are notoriously apt to resort to very reckless and wasteful practices in order to get some immediate return from their land. The only effective check to this was that arising from the authority of the landlords, and that check has now been removed. According to the best accounts of what is now going on, the consequence has been a manifest deterioration in the cultivation of the land, of which one of the worst and most obvious signs is the now frequent neglect to keep open the mouths of drains. And at the same time that the former check on mismanagement has been removed, a new temptation to exhaust their land and then to leave it has been given to improvident tenants by enabling them to sell their right of occupation. These sales are also calculated to cause the land to fall very often into the hands of men who have spent what money they possessed or could borrow in purchasing the right of occupying their farms, which they will be left to cultivate as they can, without capital to manage them properly, and without a chance of assistance from their landlords. The accounts which are continually appearing in the newspapers of sales of tenant-right at extravagant prices show how fast this process is going on. The wit of man could have devised no scheme more ingeniously calculated to throw back Irish agriculture, to diminish the produce of the soil, and to make the rural population poorer and more miserable than before.

There is another effect of the measures I have been considering which must not be left unnoticed. Before they were adopted, signs were observable of the beginnings, at least, of a highly desirable change in the mode of occupying land. The smallest holdings, which would be insufficient to maintain their occupiers in decent comfort even if they had no rent to pay, were gradually being consolidated, or the land was being converted into pasture where, owing to the soil and climate, it could not be tilled with advantage. The former cottier tenants were either emigrating or seeking out and *finding* other employment for themselves. They did so under the pressure of that desire to escape from want and to better their condition which in men of all countries and in all times has been the mainspring of exertion and the source of all social improvement. Though the Irish peasants yielded with greater reluctance to the

necessity for a change in their mode of life than men of a different race probably would have done, and though they bore longer the hardships and misery of their lot, it was becoming more and more evident that they were not insensible to the motives which influence so powerfully the conduct of men in general, and that they were beginning to give up the smallest holdings where their prospects were most hopeless. What I have now said applies chiefly to the wilder districts, but even in those of a less ungenial character there was a tendency to a gradual increase of the size of farms, as well as to an improvement in their cultivation. In this manner a great and beneficial alteration in the social organisation of Ireland was going on, slowly, no doubt, but surely. Had this natural process been allowed to proceed unchecked, still more had it been encouraged by judicious legislation, a change for the better in the condition of the agricultural population of Ireland would gradually have been brought about, which would have been nothing less than a social revolution. But, unfortunately, this natural process was interfered with; the immediate effect of the Land Act of 1870 was somewhat to check the disposition of the small occupiers to give up their hopeless struggle to win a decent livelihood from patches of land where the soil and climate were against them. The subsequent Act of 1881 and the Arrears Act of 1882 have had a far more powerful operation in the same direction. They have encouraged tenants to cling more than ever to small holdings; while they have fostered their unfortunate want of self-reliance and their habit of trusting to what might be done for them by others instead of to their own exertions. This has done the more harm because it is to what could be won for them from Parliament by political agitation that the people have been taught to look for help, thus giving a fresh stimulus to this agitation (which has long done so much to retard material improvement in Ireland) and increasing the influence of the agitators.

The pernicious effects of unwise legislation have been augmented by no less unwise attempts that have been made to relieve distress in those parts of Ireland in which it is chronic, by profuse gifts or loans of money both from the State and from private benevolence. For many years it has been the practice, whenever this chronic distress has been aggravated by one of those bad seasons which so often recur, to give relief to the sufferers in food, in money, or in seed for the cultivation of their land. Within the last four years a large fund was raised for this purpose by the benevolent exertions of the Duchess of Marlborough. The money raised on this and on former occasions of the same sort has been spent 'in supplementing poor incomes and relieving distress,' as Mr. O'Connor truly says, without doing any real or permanent good. On the contrary, it has proved to be a cruel kindness to those whom it was intended to benefit. It has really injured and demoralised them, just as the agricultural

labourers in the south of England were injured and demoralised by the profuse parish relief given to them before the reform of the poor law in 1834. Of course, when starvation was imminent, the population in the distressed districts of Ireland could not be left to perish, but such a calamity might have been averted by means which would not have tended to perpetuate the state of things out of which the danger of it had grown. Her Majesty's Ministers are now, as it appears, wisely refusing to grant help to the distressed, except through the poor law, while they also refuse to relax the provisions of that law with respect to outdoor relief. On the 22nd of June a discussion was raised in the House of Commons, in which some of the Irish members pressed the Government very strongly to allow outdoor relief to be granted in the most distressed unions. In resisting this demand, Mr. Trevelyan conclusively proved the great mischief that would be done by acceding to it, and explained exceedingly well the importance of abstaining from any measures calculated to weaken in the minds of the people their sense of the necessity of exerting themselves instead of looking for help from others. Nothing could be more sound than his argument; it is only to be much regretted that the principle he laid down so well was not understood and acted upon sooner by Her Majesty's Ministers. Had it been so, the Land Act of 1870 would not have been passed, much less the still worse Acts by which it has been followed.

The explanation I have now offered of the causes of Irish distress, and of the reasons why that distress has been aggravated instead of being diminished by the attempts made to relieve it, is I am convinced, the true one, and it leads to an important conclusion as to the policy that ought now to be pursued. The failure of the measures already adopted with regard to Ireland ought to teach us that, in those now to be taken, the principles of good government and of sound legislation which have been laid down by the highest authorities ought not again, upon any pretence whatever, to be departed from. Judging, however, from the various schemes for improving the condition of Ireland that have been brought forward, and from the reception they have met with, there seems to be little ground for hoping that this useful lesson to be drawn from our past experience will be learned. Among these schemes, one of the most popular, but I fear also one of the most visionary, is that for attempting to create a class of peasant-proprietors by the aid of the State. Though this project has been urgently recommended by the leaders of the Opposition, as well as by Irish members of the House of Commons, and though Her Majesty's Ministers have also expressed an opinion in its favour, I do not think that it will stand the test of examination. Even if it were certain that Ireland would gain as much as is commonly supposed from possessing a numerous body of peasant-proprietors, it would still remain to be considered whether it is possible to create such a class artificially, and whether anything

but evil could result from attempting to do so. No government or legislature can confer upon men who do not possess them the qualities of patient and persevering industry and thrift, which are necessary to enable peasant-proprietors to cope with the difficulties they must encounter. These difficulties are very formidable; the life of those who depend for their subsistence on the cultivation of small portions of land, whether as owners or occupiers, is everywhere found to be a hard one, unless perhaps in exceptionally favourable circumstances, and when certain special kinds of produce are raised. Even a mere livelihood can seldom be obtained by such persons without excessive toil, and the closest and most pinching economy. How much this is felt in France is shown by the fact (which has been stated on the authority of M. Decouteux, Professor of Rural Economy in the Institute of Paris) that out of eight millions of proprietors in that country three millions are exempted from the payment of taxes because they are inscribed on the list of 'indigens.'⁴ Lady Verney⁵ has published a very graphic account of the life of French peasants, and has shown how difficult they find it to support themselves, with all their wonderful thrift and industry. In these qualities the Irish are far inferior to them, and are therefore much less fitted to struggle with the difficulties they would have to contend with from the soil and climate. The wilder parts of the western counties, moreover, are altogether unsuitable for cultivation, and even in the more fertile districts of Ireland it may well be doubted whether small proprietors, even if not under the deadening influence of having been placed on their land by State-aid, could maintain themselves in comfort. Experience proves that small farmers lie under great disadvantages in competing with those who occupy large farms. They cannot possibly cultivate their land with equal economy because they are unable to apply the principle of the division of labour to the same extent. In England there is a tendency towards a gradual absorption of the smallest farms in larger ones, and I remember many years ago one of the best farmers in the north of England pointed out to me that this process must go on, because land cannot be well and economically cultivated upon a very small scale. He said that small farms implied small fields, and that the mere increased cost of ploughing land in small fields, from having to turn the plough so often, became a very serious disadvantage to the small farmers in their competition with those who held larger farms.

And it is not only in agriculture but in every other branch of production that in the progress of society the small producer becomes more and more unable to compete with the large one. In my own memory the small corn mills which were to be found

⁴ See the evidence of Mr. H. M. Jenkins before the Commissioners of Agriculture, question 68, sec. 53.

⁵ See *Contemporary Review* for April 1882.

scattered over the country, which they contributed so much to adorn, have very generally disappeared, and the flour consumed by the population is either imported, or ground in large mills where all modern improvements can be used. In like manner small tradesmen and artificers are giving place throughout the kingdom to large establishments, in which the division of labour and economy, both in production and in the management of business, can be carried to the utmost, and we find that there is a continually increasing tendency to concentrate both production and retail trade in the hands of great capitalists or great companies. There is much in the change which is going on which we cannot observe without regret; it is painful to see the lot of the smaller shopkeepers and producers of various goods gradually becoming a harder one, and their number diminishing, while huge establishments and companies increase. But, on the other hand, we must not forget that the increase and cheapening of production means a better and more abundant supply of the comforts and necessities of life to the whole population, and a general improvement in the scale of living. And instead of the class of men who used to carry on trade and production on their own account on a small scale, and who are now gradually disappearing, another class is growing up of men who find in the higher employments under capitalists or under companies (in which sometimes they become shareholders) perhaps a better and more assured living than they could make by doing business for themselves.

No one has as yet dreamed of any interference on the part of the State to enable the small tradesmen to hold their ground against the great capitalists; it has been understood that it would be madness to attempt to stop the irresistible tide of change, which under the operation of economic laws is gradually advancing and altering the organisation of society. The operation of these economic laws will be found as irresistible with regard to Irish peasants as it is proving to be to the small tradesmen in country towns and villages, and an attempt to create in Ireland a class of small proprietors is, therefore, in my opinion doomed to certain failure. If there were no other obstacle to the success of such an attempt, an insurmountable one would be found in the difficulties these small proprietors would be exposed to in bad seasons. Such seasons will always occur from time to time, and must in all countries, and under all circumstances, cause losses and difficulties to the cultivators of the soil. In the earlier stages of society bad seasons bring with them extreme privation, and sometimes absolute famine, to the tillers of the land. In our more advanced state of civilisation this does not happen, because the organisation of our society provides a safeguard against such extreme evil. Trade secures us a supply of food from abroad, and though bad seasons still bring their difficulties to the whole community, and especially to the farmers, these difficulties are far less serious than they were. Farmers, if they have sufficient capital and intelligence to

carry on their business as they ought, calculate what are likely to be their average returns, taking one year with another, and make their arrangements accordingly, so that it is only a very exceptional succession of bad harvests which ought to hurt them seriously. But the case is different with regard to those who cultivate small properties of their own. Such men have seldom the means of passing through even a single bad year without suffering great privations, and two or three bad years in succession generally bring them into very deep distress. To escape from absolute destitution, they are often compelled to borrow money on the security of their land, and thus it comes about that general indebtedness usually becomes the scourge of a state of society resting upon peasant-proprietorship.

From the difficulties and distress to which peasant-proprietors are liable from bad seasons, the agricultural labourers of England are exempt, and, except in those of the southern counties which have not yet entirely recovered from the fearful deterioration of the moral and social condition of the working classes produced by the maladministration of the Poor Law before its reform in 1834, they enjoy far more of the comforts of life than any peasant-proprietors of whom we have an account. In this county (Northumberland) the agricultural labourers are well fed, well clothed, and now also for the most part well lodged, the wretched dwellings which were common fifty years ago having almost entirely given place to good and comfortable cottages. If we enter one of these cottages, we shall generally find in it a pleasing air of cleanliness and comfort, with good furniture and books, and prints on the walls, bearing evidence of the welfare and civilised tastes of its occupier. In all the outward circumstances that contribute to make life happy, they have a great advantage over the small holders of land in other European countries, and the advantage is still greater to their wives, who know nothing of the cruel drudgery which is the lot of peasant women in France. And this superior welfare of the English agricultural labourers has been little, if at all, affected even by the almost unexampled succession of bad harvests we have had in the last seven or eight years. In Ireland, on the contrary, every bad year leads to intense distress among the small occupiers, and if they were converted into owners instead of occupiers this would still be the case. I do not put forward these considerations with the view of suggesting that measures should be adopted in order to bring about a change in the social organisation of Ireland by which the petty occupiers of land should be made to become labourers for hire; I should strongly disapprove of any endeavour to effect such a change artificially. What I maintain is, that these are matters which ought to be left to regulate themselves by the operation of economic laws, and that only mischief results from the interference of the State with regard to them. A terrible mistake was committed, as I have tried to show, when an attempt was made to bolster up by

artificial help the unsound system of land-occupation which has long prevailed in Ireland, and it would be to repeat this mistake if Parliament were now to seek for an escape from the evils produced by the false steps it has already taken, by the passing of fresh laws for the purpose of converting the peasantry of Ireland either into labourers or into landowners.

Another favourite scheme for the relief of Irish distress is that a large reduction of what are supposed to be the superfluous numbers of the people should be effected by a great system of emigration at the expense of the State. I do not doubt that emigration may be very valuable for the relief of certain districts from what has been called a local congestion of population, but I am convinced that emigration, in order to be really useful, must be effected either by the spontaneous efforts of the emigrants, and of those who expect to benefit by their departure, or by the aid of private benevolence, and that there are insurmountable objections to a large system of emigration carried on at the public cost under the direction of the Government. The Government could not undertake the conveyance of emigrants to a new home without arresting, or at least very greatly checking, the voluntary exertions of those who wish in this manner to better their conditions. If free passages were given to emigrants who could not find the means of paying for them, very few indeed would go at their own expense. The consequence would be that, if not the whole, much the greater part of the very large sums of money which are now applied to this purpose without any demand on the public purse, would have to be supplied from the Treasury, thus imposing a needless and unjust burthen on the taxpayers, and this burthen would be incurred to no purpose. In all probability the tide of emigration would be checked instead of being increased by the interference of the Government. The State would also incur an inconvenient and dangerous responsibility both as to the selection of emigrants and as to the mode of sending them out, and of providing for them when they reached their destination. If the most distressed families and those least able to help themselves were sent to the United States and to our own Colonies, remonstrances it would be impossible to disregard would soon come from the Governments of both. Already the sending out of only an insignificant number of paupers has led to loud complaints in the United States, and to the sending back of those who had arrived. If, on the other hand, the best labourers were selected and sent out, there would be not less loud nor less just remonstrances from the counties which would thus be deprived of their most useful hands, while left to bear the burthen of the distressed and incapable among the population. The responsibility for the emigrants after their arrival would also be very onerous. When emigrants find their way out for themselves they know that they must depend upon their own exertions, they make very great exertions accordingly, and submit to the hardships they must generally at first encounter; but if the

State had sent them out, they would know that it could not leave them to starve or to become a burthen to the places where they had been sent, and their efforts to help themselves would undoubtedly be greatly relaxed. The difficulties which would thus arise could not fail to prove exceedingly serious. Again, if emigration were carried on by the State, it would not only be impossible to prevent the abuse of giving free passages to persons able to pay for themselves, but it would also be difficult to avoid the risk of sending away too many or too few emigrants. If more were sent than real necessity required, it is obvious that the productive power of the nation would be injuriously diminished; if too few, the desired relief would not be obtained. And the very fact that men might expect free passages to some place offering to them greater advantages than they enjoy in their own country would tend powerfully to prevent them from making the efforts they might to improve their lot at home, and would thus impede the advance of the nation in wealth and prosperity. No evidence has been, or I believe can be, adduced that the population of Ireland is at all larger than it could well maintain if its industry were properly exerted and directed; surely, therefore, it could not be good policy to spend public money in encouraging the Irish people to try to better their condition by leaving their native land, instead of by endeavouring to develop and improve its resources.

These were some of the reasons which in 1847 and 1848 induced the Government of that day to refuse to comply with the very urgent demands that were pressed upon it to undertake the task of sending from Ireland, at the public expense, a large number of those who had been left destitute by the failure, in two or three successive seasons, of the crops of potatoes on which they had depended for subsistence. After full deliberation the Cabinet of Lord John Russell came to the conclusion that, while it was most desirable that many of the people thus reduced to grievous distress should seek elsewhere for a living, they could not safely be enabled to do so at the public expense, and that it would be wise to limit the interference of the Government in the matter to the two objects of guarding against the great abuses which had occurred in the conveyance of emigrants across the Atlantic, and of affording to those who went to British Colonies all the assistance in finding employment for themselves which could be granted to them without the risk of encouraging helplessness. Measures for these purposes were adopted with the cordial and very efficient aid of the Colonial Governments in North America. The result of this policy was that in the six years ending December 31, 1852, the total number of Irish emigrants is stated by the Emigration Commissioners, in their report for 1853, to have been 1,313,226. These were the six years in which the distress in Ireland produced by the potato blight was most severe, and in which it might have been feared that it would be most difficult for the destitute population to find the means of seeking new homes without the

pecuniary aid of the State; yet without any such aid the above large number of emigrants, which it was generally believed at the time was quite as large as was desirable, left Ireland, chiefly for North America. The whole expense incurred, with the exception of the small cost of superintendence, and a sum voted by Parliament in aid of the hospitals established in the North American Colonies for the relief of the sick, was provided for without any demand on the British Treasury. By far the largest part of the expense was met by remittances made by the first emigrants to assist their friends to follow them. So early as 1849 it was believed by the Emigration Commissioners that three-fourths of the Irish emigration was paid for in this manner, and in 1853 they state in their Report that the amount returned to them by the principal mercantile houses connected with America, of the remittances of this kind made through their hands in six years, was no less than 7,520,000*l*. There must have been much more money remitted for the assistance of emigrants by their relations through other channels, of which the Commissioners had no means of obtaining any account, and, in addition to what was received from abroad, large sums were contributed at home in aid of emigration by Irish landlords and others. I believe one Irish landlord alone, the late Lord Fitzwilliam, spent no less than 50,000*l*. in enabling those of his tenants who were reduced to the greatest distress to emigrate.

There was a large diminution of the number of Irish emigrants after the year 1854, when the unusual distress caused by the destruction of potatoes by the disease had been to a great degree surmounted, but still up to the present time there has been a large, though fluctuating, emigration from Ireland, and a very large proportion of its cost has been defrayed by remittances from settlers to friends they have wished to assist to join them. It appears by the papers relating to the census that have been laid before Parliament that somewhat more than two millions and a half of persons had emigrated from Ireland in the thirty years ending in 1881. A paper laid last year before the House of Commons by the Board of Trade, also shows that remittances to a very large amount continue to be made by settlers in North America to their friends at home, most of these sums being meant to assist emigration. The amount remitted last year in this way to the United Kingdom was above a million and a half, and I believe that double that sum is supposed to be paid annually for emigration by money provided from private sources at home or abroad. Unfortunately, I am not aware of any accessible information as to the proportion of this large expenditure which is incurred on account of emigrants from Ireland, but I cannot doubt that both the money expended without making any demand on the Treasury for Irish emigration, and the number of emigrants so sent out, must be so considerable as to make it highly inexpedient to take any steps which might be calculated to interfere with the tide of natural and healthy emigration which is now going on upon so great a scale,

without cost to the State. Even the comparatively small grants in aid of emigration hitherto made from the public purse I consider to be of very questionable expediency, as they are calculated to check voluntary exertions. To go further, and embark in a great scheme of State-emigration, would, I am persuaded, be most unwise, and prove most mischievous.⁶

There is only one more of the schemes proposed for the improvement of Ireland, to which I think it necessary to advert—it is that for the undertaking of great works for the reclamation of waste land at the cost and under the direction of the Government. Though this project has had some very enthusiastic advocates, its impracticability seems to have been too generally recognised to leave any occasion for my saying much about it. Even if it could be shown, which it certainly has not been, that there is any considerable extent of waste land in Ireland which could be made to pay for being reclaimed, it would still remain to be proved that the work could be undertaken with advantage by the State. Experience is very decidedly opposed to the belief that industrial enterprises can be successfully carried on by Governments. The failure of the national workshops in Paris after the revolution of 1848 affords a conspicuous example of the results to be expected from such attempts, and I am not aware that a single instance can be quoted of success in trying to carry on the work of production with public money, and under the direction of Government officers. Industrial enterprises seem never to prosper except in the hands of men acting under the stimulus of their own interest, and it is irrational to suppose that the wealth of a community can be increased by withdrawing money by taxation from private individuals who would use it under this stimulus, in order that it may be applied with less efficiency by the State. Nor ought it to be forgotten that to take money for such a purpose from the Imperial Treasury for the exclusive benefit of one part of the United Kingdom would be unjust to the general taxpayers.

Similar objections would generally apply to the employment of public money in other industrial enterprises, but I am not prepared to assert that there may not possibly be some great works, such as the construction of railways, which would so facilitate production in Ireland that they might fitly be executed at the cost of the State in the present condition of that country. It is, I think, owing to a wholesome jealousy and fear of abuse that it has been left mainly to private enterprise to create the magnificent works which in the

⁶ Since these observations were written I have learnt that Her Majesty's Ministers have a scheme in contemplation for settling 10,000 emigrants from the west of Ireland on farms of wild land in the Dominion of Canada. I see no grounds for hoping that such a scheme can end otherwise than in the complete disappointment of all concerned in it. In order to succeed as a settler on wild land a man must possess not only industry but skill, with habits of prudence and self-denial. Will the intended settlers possess these qualities, and if they should, would they need any aid from the State?

last hundred years have been accomplished in England and in Scotland, and among the few of such works which form an exception to the rule by having been effected by public money, the greater number have only served by their result to show the wisdom of the rule generally followed. Still it must be admitted that the mistakes made by Parliament and the Government have brought about a state of things in which it is difficult, if not impossible, that public works should be executed in Ireland by private enterprise; if therefore it can be shown that there are any which are really wanted, and well calculated to promote the development of its resources, it would not be unreasonable that they should be executed at the public cost, or by the help of the public credit, though this ought only to be allowed after very strict inquiry into each case in which it may be proposed that assistance should be given.

Perhaps it may be asked what, then, is to be done? Ireland, it is said, cannot be left in its present state; Parliament must do *something*. I would answer that it would be the merest folly to allow the supposed necessity for doing *something* to drive Parliament into measures from which there is no rational ground for expecting real and permanent benefit, and which would be more likely in the end to aggravate the evils they were intended to cure. The case of Ireland may be likened to that of a man who has put himself into the hands of quacks in the hope of getting rid of some real or fancied ailment, but who after long using their various nostrums, finds himself much worse than when he began. Such a man, if he were wise, would then consult some really scientific and honest physician, who would very likely say to him, 'You certainly are very much out of health, but I can hold out to you no hope that any medicine I can prescribe will make you well again; what I advise is that you should leave off the drugs you have been taking, and observe a strict regimen, trusting that in time nature will restore you. I will give you what I can to help this process, but medicine can do little for you; it is to nature, if not thwarted by mistaken treatment, with time and patience, that you must look for regaining even so much health as you enjoyed before you began the unfortunate course of doctoring which has done you so much harm.' So it is with Ireland; that unhappy country has for nearly fifteen years been in the hands of political quacks. Under their advice, which has been followed with unfaltering obedience, strenuous attempts have been made to improve its condition by measures which are not denied to have been in direct contradiction to the principles laid down by the greatest political writers, and to the economical laws which (as these writers have explained) govern all human society. It was contended—and Parliament unfortunately accepted the plea—that the greatness of the evils to be dealt with justified a departure from principle, and that economic laws might be good for the inhabitants of Jupiter and Saturn, but could not be allowed to stand in the way of measures designed for the relief of a people suffering like

the Irish. When such a defence was offered for the proposals of the Government, it cannot have been remembered that little can really be done to improve the condition of any people except by themselves, that the effect of what is done for them by a Government is often the very opposite of what it is intended to be, and that measures which involve a departure from sound principle invariably prove in the end to do harm instead of good to those they are meant to benefit.

The economic laws by which human society is governed proceed from the same divine wisdom as the physical laws to which men's bodies are subject, and as surely as a man's disregard of physical laws leads to disease or death, every violation of economic laws is followed by its appropriate punishment in the evils it brings upon the nation that is guilty of it. This is what Ireland is now feeling; the evils it is suffering under are only the natural results of the unwise measures that have been adopted, and there is no hope that these evils can be cured except by returning to the policy of obedience to economic laws. We cannot expect that the injury done by past mistakes can be speedily repaired, or that Ireland, even if now wisely and firmly governed, could in less than several years recover the ground she has lost since 1868, when a new system of Irish policy was entered upon, in reliance on magnificent but delusive promises as to the wonders of good it was to effect. But though no rapid change for the better can be looked for, Ireland, like the man who has been the victim of quacks, may hope in the end to obtain relief from her troubles by discarding quackery. There is no reason why she should not in time rise to a prosperity she has never yet enjoyed if her people will but cease to seek in aid from the Government for an improvement of their condition, which can only be worked by themselves, and will learn to rely on their own exertions. But this can only be looked for when the Government shall on its side relinquish its fruitless and mischievous attempts to do what is beyond its power, and confine its efforts to maintaining for all its subjects security for their persons and property, and to removing whatever obstacles may now stand in the way of the free development of industry. This is all that can be done with advantage by any Government in order to promote the welfare of its subjects. A Government may indeed, and should, provide absolutely necessary relief for the really destitute (which may be done without producing evil consequences by a good and well-administered poor law), but, if it goes further, and attempts to enable any part of the population to escape from privation, and obtain a larger share of the comforts of life otherwise than by their own honest exertions, it must injuriously weaken the motives which in human society, as constituted by divine wisdom, impel men to effort, and are the mainsprings of industry. A further and a frightful cause of demoralisation is added when men are led by the acts of a Government to look for an improvement in their condition, not

simply to what may be done for them, instead of to what they do for themselves, but to advantages they may gain by having unjustly given to them that which rightfully belongs to others. This is what has been done by recent legislation in Ireland.

In the preceding pages I have only considered what ought to be the character of the economic legislation adopted for Ireland, without touching on the more difficult question as to how the dangers of its political condition are to be met? These dangers are most formidable. Almost half of the Irish members of the House of Commons have declared themselves to be more or less in favour of what is called 'Home Rule,' while the result of the election for Monaghan indicates that in the next Parliament a still larger proportion of the Irish representatives will be pledged to the same opinion. This proves that a feeling exists in the Irish nation which must make its being governed by the British Parliament a matter of extreme difficulty. Nor is this the whole or even the most serious part of the evil. That there should be a large number of members in the House of Commons who, instead of seeking to promote good legislation and government for the whole British Empire, are persistently endeavouring to thwart and embarrass the action of Parliament and of the Government, till they can gain their object of obtaining a separate legislature for Ireland, constitutes so grave a peril as to call for immediate and serious consideration. There are some persons who believe that the only way to meet this difficulty is to grant the demands of the 'Home Rulers,' and allow a Parliament to sit in Dublin to deal with Irish affairs. The number of persons on this side of the Irish Channel who are prepared to adopt this expedient seems as yet to be very small, but there are alarming signs that the number may not be so small of those who would be willing to make some concession at least to the Home Rule party in the hope of averting a struggle. I am, therefore, anxious to make some remarks in order to show, in the first place, that it is absolutely necessary for the welfare, and even for the safety, both of Great Britain and of Ireland that the two islands should remain under the authority of one strong Government; and, secondly, that any concessions which could be made to the Home Rule party could have no other effect than that of increasing their power in pressing for a complete surrender to their demands; so that, unless the nation is prepared for this surrender, it ought to take its stand at once upon maintaining the authority of the Imperial Parliament unimpaired, and ought resolutely to refuse to give one inch of ground to those whose object is the breaking up of the United Kingdom. But this subject of the political condition of Ireland as affecting that of the whole Empire is too large to be entered upon at the end of an article; I must therefore reserve what I have to say upon it for another number of this Review.

THE LIBERAL IDEA AND THE COLONIES.

We lately heard
A strain to shame us : keep you to yourselves,
So loyal is too costly ! Friends, your love
Is but a burthen : loose the bond and go.
Is this the tone of empire ?—TENNYSON.

ACCORDING to the most recent calculations the population of the globe may be reckoned at 1,400,000,000. Of this number upwards of 100,000,000 speak the English language, and inherit, and for the most part are proud of inheriting, the common traditions of English history.

Within a period not very remote this English-speaking population will be the most numerous community enjoying the gift of a common tongue upon the face of the earth. It may at first sight seem arrogant to talk of a time when French, German, and Italian will be, comparatively speaking, provincial and unimportant forms of speech, but it is scarcely an exaggeration to predict that such must be the case within a period which it is not impossible to forecast. When we enumerate the countries in which English is not only the language of the present, but seems absolutely certain to be the language of the future, we shall be able to realise the grounds upon which so sweeping an assertion is based.

In area these countries cover no less than 10,841,000¹ square miles, or eighteen times the extent of Germany, France, and Italy united ; they comprise three-fourths of the North American continent ; the giant island of Australia, itself as large as Europe deprived of Russia ; and New Zealand, the England of the southern hemisphere. All these are, practically speaking, English for all time and in their entirety. Add to them our African colonies, where in the long run English must prevail,² and lastly the innumerable ports and islands, east and west, north and south, where our language is the instrument of government,

¹ Not including India.

² The present white population of the Cape and Natal is 348,000, of whom 157,000 are English. There is, however, a rapid and increasing immigration, chiefly from the United Kingdom. The balance of population is therefore daily altering in favour of the English element, a fact which has been too much overlooked of late.

of commerce, of religion, and of intercourse with the civilised world, and the boast, or the prediction, call it what we will, must appear to be no idle one. Whether such a result is desirable—whether the extension of the English language at the expense of German, French, and Italian, may not be in some ways a matter of regret—it is not material to consider. No regrets, however sincere or well-founded, can alter the result, which is inevitable and wholly beyond our control. That the future of civilisation is in the hands of the English-speaking race is as sure as any unaccomplished fact can be. What will be the relations of the different branches of that race to one another, and what will be our own position with respect to them, is, on the other hand, a problem impossible of solution, though not wholly incapable of being influenced by our present action. Of the hundred millions above referred to, upwards of fifty millions—thanks to the wisdom of a few far-sighted statesmen—are firmly united in the bonds of a federal union which has already stood the test of the greatest war of modern times.

The fortunes of the remaining millions, whose goodwill and whose co-operation we have not yet thrown away, are of more immediate interest to us in this country. It is intended in this paper to enquire whether by any action on our part we can influence for good the development of these growing nationalities, and secure for ourselves a participation in their great future. It is intended to show that such an influence can be exerted and such a participation can be obtained. It is intended to suggest some of the methods by which these results may be arrived at, and, lastly, it is intended to supply a reason why the steps recommended can be most wisely and most effectually undertaken by a particular party in the State.

For the purposes of this argument it is necessary to start with an assumption, which, though by no means incapable of proof, would require a long and detailed demonstration to establish it by documentary evidence. The assumption briefly is as follows, that the prevailing and growing opinion among advanced Liberals is averse to drawing closer our connection with the colonies, and that Liberalism should favour, according to some of its chief exponents, rather than discourage, ultimate separation from the mother country. Passing over for the moment the evidence in support of this assumption, it will be well to lay down with equal clearness the contrary proposition which it is proposed to establish. It is to this effect: 'That separation from the colonies is not part of the true Liberal idea; that, so far from being a part of it, it is in fact diametrically opposed to that idea, rightly understood; and, lastly, that the drawing closer of the bonds between this country and the colonies ought to be a prominent part of the Liberal programme.'

Before, however, proceeding to discuss these propositions, one preliminary point must be disposed of. It may be asked, and fairly

asked, why any importance should be attached to the question whether the Liberal or the Conservative party should take the lead in promoting a great movement for the national good. And indeed if success were equally assured to either party which assumed the task, it would not be easy to furnish a reply. It is not, however, hard to suggest valid reasons why no such equality of conditions is likely to exist. In the first place, whatever may be the ultimate form of our political institutions, the present in no small degree, and the future in a still greater degree, are in the hands of advanced Liberalism. There may be ups and downs, there may be temporary reactions, but in the main it can hardly be doubted that each succeeding generation for a long time to come, will be imbued more and more with the spirit of what is now called Radicalism—Radicalism not necessarily in a revolutionary sense, but rather in the sense of the removal of all artificial inequalities, and the equalising of all political and social institutions throughout the world. This being so, it is only natural to wish that a consummation which appears to be of the greatest importance to the world at large, and to this country in particular, should receive the aid, instead of the opposition, of the great onward forces of civilisation. In the second place there can be no doubt that so essentially national a movement as any general re-arrangement of our Colonial relations must be, could not be conducted in the face of the opposition of any large body in the country. It must be admitted, however melancholy the confession, that under the present conditions of party warfare the chances of Liberal opposition are sensibly increased by the mere fact of Conservative support. And lastly, a movement, which, to be successful, must be thoroughly in sympathy with democratic institutions, will obviously be best carried out, when once properly understood, by the popular party.

Assuming therefore that, in the interests of all parties, it is desirable that Liberals should take the lead in any scheme which may be adopted with the purpose of uniting us more closely with our kinsmen beyond the seas, it becomes necessary to inquire what, in the first place, is the present attitude of that party with regard to Colonial questions; how far that attitude is commendable in itself or in harmony with the true principles of Liberalism; and, lastly, what is the course that those principles, rightly applied, should lead us to adopt.

As to the present attitude of the party, it is sufficient to assert generally, that it is one which is calculated, if persisted in, to produce the absolute and certain dissolution of the Empire as it has hitherto existed. Whether such a dissolution would be a result to be deplored, need not for the moment be discussed. Beyond all question it is contemplated, if not with satisfaction, at any rate with indifference, by an appreciable number of those who are concerned in forming public opinion.

Fortunately, however, the charges to be brought against the Liberal party on this head, are for the most part for sins of omission, rather than of commission. There is, as has been hinted, a small party of active propagandists who are really anxious to hasten the day of final separation which under our present arrangements must inevitably arise. To the great bulk of the party, and indeed of the country, the question of our future relations with our colonies has scarcely presented itself in any definite shape whatever. Public opinion as a whole is purely indifferent upon the matter. In addition to these two classes, there is happily a small number of persons both here and in the colonies who perceive the vital nature of the question, and are anxious to furnish a solution. It is most satisfactory to note that this active and growing section draws its recruits from both of the political parties alike.

The situation thus described will at once appear to those who have studied the methods of modern politics to be a most critical one. It is impossible to ignore the extent to which bodies created for the purpose of giving effect to public opinion have over-stepped their proper limits, and have undertaken the task, for which they are almost wholly unqualified, of forming the opinion which they are supposed merely to represent. The mere fact that a large body of indifferent opinion exists upon an important question greatly increases the danger to be apprehended from the sudden appearance of some programme or manifesto prescribing a certain course of action as the accepted doctrine of Liberalism, which, once stereotyped as the 'Liberal cry,' promotes the individual doctrines of a few zealous politicians into the accepted Shibboleth of a whole party.

To those who believe that there are indications that the men who hold in their hands the most effective means of reaching and influencing the minds of the indifferent mass, are likely to use those means for propagating a set of opinions as ill-considered and short-sighted as their adoption must be disastrous, it becomes an imperative duty to state, as strongly and persistently as possible, the reasons which animate them in wishing to enforce contrary conclusions. To do this it is plain that two conditions must be observed. In the first place, as the end in view is above all the attainment of a given result quite independently of the advantage to any party, the greatest care must be taken to conciliate and persuade wherever possible, and to try and induce the co-operation of even the most extreme. To conduct such a campaign at the expense of any party must be to condemn it to failure, or at any rate to forfeit half the fruits of success.

In the second place it is essential to meet opponents upon their own ground and with their own weapons. To ask members of the Liberal party to abandon their traditions and to sacrifice their principles, for the sake of any particular measure, would be both impracticable and foolish. To convince them that they are in grave

danger of forsaking their traditions and misapplying their principles is a legitimate and useful task.

Let us pause for a moment to consider what, roughly speaking, these traditions and principles really involve. The maintenance of peace, the spread of commerce, the removal of artificial barriers, the extension of common institutions, and the encouragement of common action for worthy ends, are the great objects to which all the minor and detailed enterprises of Liberalism are supposed to tend. It will not be hard to show that the line of colonial policy which seems likely to find acceptance must inevitably militate against the attainment of these objects.

First of all, let us consider how far the question of peace or war is likely to be affected by allowing the continuance of our present want of organic connection with our colonies. There is no evil against which every exponent of Liberal opinions has more consistently or more justly declaimed than that of settling disputes by an appeal to the sword. It is not too much to say that the maintenance of the existing state of things renders an eventual war between England and one or more of her colonies something like an absolute certainty. It is perfectly idle to delude ourselves with visions of universal peace, and of the good time coming when differences between nations shall be settled by purely pacific means. No amount of assertion can make any alteration in this matter. As long as different nations exist side by side with different interests, and working for different aims, war is a possibility. At present we are doing all in our power to ensure the creation of a large number of such separate nations, actuated by no common aim, having no common institutions, and possessing no method of adjusting any differences which may arise, save through the rude arbitrament of the sword.

It is hard to imagine a set of arrangements less calculated to bear the strain of a misunderstanding, however slight, than those by which the relations of the mother country with the colonies are at present supposed to be maintained. Without representation, without a common interest in administering the affairs of the Empire, without even the ordinary civility of official treatment which is accorded to foreign nations, the colonies are in a position which presents every possible inducement to permanent separation as soon as the slightest divergence arises between them and the home Government.

It is probable no doubt that, in the present state of public opinion, and in the absence of the sanction which a federal union can confer, the secession of any colony from the Empire would be permitted without a struggle. This being so, the question naturally arises whether war—which between two sections of the same people, whose institutions, whose laws, whose aims and ambitions are the same, who in common assembly are wont to discuss their common needs, is almost an impossibility—is not, between two nations divided by the

rivalry that comes from want of sympathy, from want of comprehension of each other's aims, from pride, and from prejudice, well-nigh a certainty?

Separation means a new nationality; it may mean future misunderstandings which must end in war. If England and her colonies ever take different sides in arms, it is certain that, though they may again become friends and even staunch allies, they can never again become one people. In so far therefore as it implies an increased possibility of war, separation from the colonies cannot be part of true Liberalism.

“But every people know their own interests best, and if the colonies wish to separate from us, it is presumably because they know their own interests best, and it is not for us to gainsay them.” This is one of the commonest and cheapest fallacies which has been tossed up on the great sea of clap-trap, and fashioned into an argument for application in this one connection only. As to the suggestion that this country should interfere by force of arms to prevent the secession of any colony, as it is never made by any responsible person, it would be well if it were not so often repudiated with so much solemnity.

But the doctrine of the divergence of interests merits a word of consideration in view of its supposed harmony with Liberal principles. If there is one proposition more than another which has been dinned into the ears of this generation, it is that in reality the interests of all nations properly understood are the same. The argument is at the root of every cosmopolitan theory, is the basis of Free Trade, and is the groundwork upon which every appeal against the indulgence of international prejudices is built up. To suppose that anything but advantage can arise from the extension of similar institutions and similar laws to different communities the members of which speak the same language, and are capable of receiving the same impressions, is so thoroughly illiberal an idea that it seems almost sufficient to state it to demonstrate its unsoundness.

To say that the colonists, even if they take a wrong view of their own interests, should not be interfered with, is an elementary proposition; on the other hand, for a Liberal to encourage a divergence which he knows to be artificial, and in the long run prejudicial, is an abandonment of the first principles of his faith. In so far, therefore, as the growth of cosmopolitan ideas is a part of Liberalism, separation from the colonies is not part of the true Liberal idea.

Again, it is contended that colonial institutions are, and must inevitably be, of a democratic character, not in harmony with those of this country; and that to endeavour to assimilate the one with the other must be harmful to the colonies, and without advantage to ourselves. This surely seems a strange argument to be found in the mouth of the leaders of a party which is essentially democratic. There are probably no popularly-governed communities in the world

which realise so fully the ideal '*la carrière ouverte aux talents*' as do the British colonies. With their vast resources, their unformed traditions, and their magnificent future, they seem to present an almost perfect opening for the display of the Liberal statesmanship of the future. To argue that this country, because it does not possess, should not be allowed to share these fortunate prospects; to contend that we are so weighted in the race that we can never hope to come in to line with our more advanced brethren, is in truth a faint-hearted argument for a sincere Liberal to make use of.

A little foresight would probably convince our popular leaders that nowhere could they find more powerful aid in furthering the extension of their principles than by bringing the people of this country into close political contact with men of their own race who are seeking the same goal under more favourable conditions. In the interests, therefore, of the extension of democratic principles and popular institutions, separation from the colonies is not part of the true Liberal idea.

And, lastly, there remains one other consideration, which, while strongly favouring our contention, is certain to be of very great weight with a large section of the community. It is not a gratifying confession for a member of the Liberal party to have to make, but it is undoubtedly the fact, that, judged at any rate by the arguments they are wont to use, a considerable body of our public men and of their followers deliberately place money considerations before all others when forming their decisions in matters of public policy. Fortunately at times we are better than our professions. Still it cannot be doubted that there are many, professing to be teachers and leaders of the people, who, in dealing with national affairs, would deliberately give the first place instead of the last to the question, 'Will it pay?' Nowhere is this tendency more conspicuous than in our dealings with colonial questions. To say that a certain course will involve a slight temporary charge upon the British Exchequer is frequently considered to be a final and unanswerable argument against its adoption.

Recognising, therefore, the extent to which pecuniary considerations undoubtedly prevail, it will be well to show that, even on the most rigid calculation of profit and loss, separation from the colonies is undesirable. Indeed, the sooner it is made perfectly clear that such a separation may mean practical ruin to this country, the better shall we be able to meet the friends of disintegration on their own ground.

That this is no exaggeration it is not difficult to show. That 'trade follows the flag' is a truism which is in everybody's mouth, but of which few appreciate the real significance.

A few figures will show what the phrase implies in connection with our colonial trade. The following table shows the amount of

our exports of produce and manufactured articles during a period of eleven years.

Amount of Home Product and Manufactures exported from the United Kingdom.

Year	To British Possessions	To other Countries	Percentage of Total	
			British Possessions	Other Countries
	£	£		
1870	51,814,000	147,772,000	·25	·75
1871	51,250,000	171,815,000	·23	·77
1872	60,555,000	195,701,000	·24	·76
1873	66,328,000	188,830,000	·26	·74
1874	72,280,000	167,278,000	·30	·70
1875	71,092,000	152,373,000	·32	·68
1876	64,859,000	135,779,000	·32	·68
1877	69,923,000	128,069,000	·35	·65
1878	66,237,000	126,611,000	·34	·66
1879	61,002,000	130,529,000	·31	·69
1880	75,254,000	147,846,000	·33	·67

From these figures it will appear that, while there has been a decrease in the percentage of our exports to foreign countries of 8 per cent., there has been a corresponding increase in our trade with our own colonies and possessions; and that, whereas the value of the former has stood still or diminished, that of the latter has risen from 51 to 75 millions. Still more instructive is it to note the relative proportions of British and foreign commodities imported into various countries. The figures are as follows:—

Proportion of Imports into various Countries from the United Kingdom and British Possessions.

	Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.
Queensland . . .	·87	South Australia . . .	·93	India . . .	·91
New Zealand . . .	·90	West Australia . . .	·95	Canada . . .	·45
New South Wales . . .	·88	Tasmania . . .	·98	Cape of Good Hope . . .	·90
Victoria . . .	·90	Mauritius . . .	·87	Natal . . .	·88
<i>Foreign Countries.</i>					
Italy . . .	·21	Russia . . .	·26	France . . .	·13
United States . . .	·41	Spain . . .	·28		

* Including imports from Canada.

It would not be right to pass over without comment the percentages of Canada, on the one hand, and of the United States on the other. It is obvious that the mere fact of physical contact and a common language will of themselves suffice to increase the volume of trade between two countries. But that these elements alone are not sufficient to secure the results which are obtained in other cases is plain from a reference to the figures in the above table, and receives additional illustration from the case of one of our colonies, to which it is worth while specially to refer. The island of Mauritius was

taken from the French at the beginning of the present century. Its inhabitants speak French, the Code Napoléon is administered in the Courts, and the nearest land is the French island of Réunion, and yet, with all these apparent prepossessions in favour of intercourse with France, the colony in question furnishes one of the most remarkable examples of the paramount influence of the Imperial connection in directing the current of commercial enterprise. In 1881, the imports into Mauritius from all parts of the world amounted to 2,506,000*l.* Of this total, no less than 1,912,000*l.*, or 76 per cent. of the whole, were from the United Kingdom and British possessions; 391,000*l.* only was from France or her dependencies. With regard to the exports, the case is even more striking: out of 3,571,000*l.* worth of goods exported, 3,110,000*l.*, or 83 per cent., were shipped to the United Kingdom and British possessions. The value of the total export to France was 97,000*l.*

The enormous commercial advantage which we derive from our connection with the colonies has been made apparent. It is hardly too much to say that, were it not for the colonies, we should be in serious danger of actual retrogression in our national receipts, and this despite the fact that the colonies, no less than continental countries, are hampered by a severe protective system, and that they are treated by this country, with a shortsighted narrowness which we shall some day regret, on precisely the same footing as the alien nations of the Continent.

It is not easy to explain away these facts. It is easy to account for them. As long as human nature remains what it is, men will invariably prefer to transact their business with those whose institutions they understand, whose laws they share, and in whose future they are to some extent bound up. At present, in conducting their operations with this country, the colonists still feel that, to some degree, at any rate, these conditions exist. We are doing our best by our indifference, by our want of sympathy, by our positive efforts to disintegrate the Empire, to destroy these conditions, and thereby ensure the disappearance of the beneficial results they were calculated to produce.

From the purely commercial standpoint, therefore, separation from the colonies is not part of the true Liberal idea. And before leaving entirely the commercial aspect of the question, it is worthy of remark that in exact proportion to the endeavours of home governments to form and work their colonies upon a purely pecuniary basis has the result been disastrous to the colony on the one hand, and to the parent State on the other. The colonies of Spain and Portugal were founded and conducted upon strictly commercial principles. The question of profit and loss was the key-note of the policy under which they were administered. It is hard to say which has suffered most: Spain, from the possession of her colonies; or the colonies, from their

connection with Spain. On the other hand, the policy of this country has not hitherto admitted the 'love of money' as the prevailing motive in colonial matters. We have spent men and treasure to extend the Empire and to maintain the integrity of the Empire. The question of value received has not been first considered. The result has been that English ideas, English influence, and English commerce have overrun the world, and are safely established beyond the reach of any danger, save that which may come from the penny-wise and pound-foolish policy of Englishmen at home. There are many, however, who, while admitting all these conclusions, will eventually fall back upon the *non possumus* which seems to some the wisest and most statesmanlike way of dealing with this question. 'We are ready to admit,' say the professors of the despondent school, 'that the alienation of the colonies under present conditions is a certainty, and that that alienation, when it takes place, may be disastrous to this country. But that by any active steps we can postpone or avoid such a result we do not admit.' And in support of this view we are referred to every particular instance, such as the institution of protective duties, in which the colonies have adopted a line not in conformity with the view of parties at home, and are asked, by way of final and convincing demonstration, if we are prepared to insist by force upon an assimilation of all our institutions, which is supposed to be the necessary prelude to a closer union.

It is not intended in this paper to dwell at any length upon the propositions which have been plentifully made by the friends of Federation, and of the very existence of which the exponents of the desponding policy seem to be unaware. But, before doing so at all, it is necessary to point out that many of those who are under the impression that they are following their own principles and allowing the evolution of this great question to be accomplished by time, are in reality taking an active part in hastening its development by the worst means and in the most unfortunate direction that can well be conceived. Living, as we do, in an age in which cosmopolitan talk is the fashion of the day, and when, despite somewhat notable exceptions, we are wont to respect the susceptibilities of foreign nations with a scrupulous and sometimes almost excessive care, it is hard to understand on what principle some of our public men regulate their speech when referring to their fellow-countrymen in the colonies. It requires a somewhat extended and careful study of the utterances of public men and public prints to realise the extent to which the feelings and prejudices of our colonists are gratuitously offended.

While it is not permitted to enumerate, much less to strengthen, our own armaments, for fear of giving umbrage to Continental powers, while disrespectful or critical allusions to foreign countries are

rebuked, and rightly rebuked, with befitting solemnity, no criticism is too severe, no imputation too serious to be made with regard to the actions, the motives, and the aspirations of our colonial fellow-countrymen. Much that is true may be said to the prejudice of young communities, contending against difficulties both within and without, of which we have no experience, and much fault may justly be found with governments which have to deal with the rough material that we ourselves have discarded. But if those who give expression so freely to these easy strictures were aware how little good, and how much harm, is done by their utterance, they would perhaps refrain from indulging in them, even at the cost of depriving their audiences of a smart sneer or a high-flown rebuke.

No one is convinced, nobody's opinion is altered, no action is taken or refrained from in consequence, and the net results are a temporary glow of self-satisfaction in the mind of the speaker, and a permanent and dangerous sense of aggravation in the minds of the colonists, who find neither sympathy nor knowledge in quarters where they had most right to expect both. It is by their want of consideration in these respects that many of those who sincerely believe that they are allowing the question to work out its own natural solution, are in reality prejudicing the issue far more certainly and far more fatally than those who openly deprecate any drawing closer of the bond between England and her colonies.

That such a course is being pursued at home, any careful student of political writing and speaking may satisfy himself; that the fact is well recognised and is doing infinite mischief in the colonies, everyone who is acquainted with colonial literature, or who has conversed with colonists familiar with the public opinion in their own countries, must be well aware.

The illiberality of such a policy is only to be exceeded by its folly. At present the colonies owe much to us, and are beyond all doubt less important factors in the world than the mother country. How much we already owe to the colonies has been shown. That we must eventually owe more to them than we can possibly confer is as certain as any unaccomplished fact can be. What is the position which they will ultimately take among the nations of the world it is impossible to foresee; but that it will be a still more important one than that of the country which gave them birth there seems little reason to doubt. At present the colonies are, like all young communities, particularly sensitive to criticism, particularly ready to receive and appreciate the sympathy of older nations. If every speaker in the Liberal ranks would bear in mind and give effect to these maxims in his public utterances, he would do more to promote the true principles of his party than he is likely to accomplish by any vague generalities about international amity and the blessings of peace.

But to return to the practical method by which effect can be

given to the wishes of those who are anxious to see our colonial empire united by something stronger and more durable than the fortuitous arrangements which at present exist.

In part these methods must be *material*, and must consist of organic changes in our political institutions. To a still greater extent they must be *spiritual*, and must consist in a change in our ways of thinking, speaking, and hoping with regard to the future of our race. As to the material changes, it is often contended that, however well devised, they can do nothing to prevent the ultimate dissolution of the empire, which must be the inevitable result of forces which are beyond artificial control.

By some, this theory has been elevated into the dignity of an axiom. As a matter of fact, it is not an axiom at all. That closer relations between communities can be created by the assimilation of their laws, by the concentration of their interests, by the removal of the artificial barriers which separate them from one another, is on the other hand perfectly obvious to any student of history.

It is to this end that those who wish to help the cause of English unity by any active measures can most profitably direct their efforts. The strongest guarantee against separation must be the knowledge that it will involve a wrench in every department of administration—a loss in commerce, a break in social relations, and an amount of departure from the routine of everyday life which would be felt on all hands to be intolerable. It is impossible to do more than to hint at the measures which might make the realisation of these conditions possible. The more gradually and imperceptibly they are taken, the more effectual they are likely to be. The extension of the penny postage to the colonies, on the ground of their being the colonies, would doubtless involve an initial loss of revenue; in the end it would probably be remunerative; in any case the gain must far outweigh the loss, if it brought home to the Englishman abroad that he had not ceased to be an Englishman when he crossed the seas. Again, as, in political no less than in individual life, no material advantage is likely to be a benefit which does not contain some informing principle, so it is plain that an extension of the privileges of empire to the colonists can be of little avail if they are not allowed to share its responsibilities. Hence it is eminently desirable that our Canadian and Australian fellow-countrymen should receive every facility and encouragement towards entering and attaining distinction in the different branches of the imperial, military, and civil service.

Above all, it is desirable to grant to the colonists a share, not only in name but in reality, in the administration of our great Indian dependency.

With regard to the question of similar laws and commercial customs, there is no need to aim at a uniformity greater than that which exists in the States of the American Union. Local pecu-

liarities in an empire so extended must inevitably call for local and special regulations. But when we recollect that, with a few exceptions, all the English-speaking colonies actually possess the same body of law as ourselves, the possibility of maintaining and extending its general provisions throughout the English-speaking world becomes evident. The advantage of such an extension not only from a political and commercial point of view, but from the point of view of every Englishman who desires to change his habitation but to retain the knowledge of the laws and institutions of the community in which he has been brought up, and under which he has acquired a living, cannot be over-estimated.

Of the methods by which these and a hundred other useful steps towards the consolidation of the empire may be effected, as to the means by which ideas may be exchanged, differences removed, and responsibilities shared, this is not the place to speak. It is sufficient to observe that many and carefully considered schemes have from time to time been drawn up by persons who have deeply studied the requirements of the situation. The frequent and easy taunt that the friends of federation have nothing but vague generalities to offer in support of their views is simply the outcome of ignorance and want of acquaintance with the proposition which so many are prepared to refute, and so few are prepared to examine.

Once for all let it be said that it is not on the excellence of schemes such as those referred to; it is not upon the acceptance or rejection of administrative measures however useful, that the ultimate issue of this question depends. Whether the future of the English race is to present the picture of a score of 'separate nations with different and conflicting interests, and divergences every day extending, or whether it is to be the record of the gradual and harmonious growth of an empire undivided and without cause for division, depends almost wholly upon the spirit in which the future is regarded by the leaders of opinion in this country at the present time. As long as we are content to heap up objections and to magnify difficulties, nothing will be done, nothing can be done. The people of England must make up their minds that they wish to share in the great future which is in store for their race, and must let it be known that such is their wish. Never was there a more critical period in the history of this question than is the present. Assertions do not alter facts. The spirit and ambition of the country are not dead. The people of England will not be, and ought not to be, content unless they possess some great and absorbing ideal outside the immediate round of their material existence. If they are so content, they are in great danger of the ruin which has always overtaken, and will always overtake, both men and nations whose doctrine of existence has been narrowed down to the creed, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'

Of late we have had an outburst of what has been called 'Jingoism.'

It is either childish or arrogant to assert, as many have asserted, that the feeling which prompted a vast number of the supporters of this policy was the fruit solely of a vainglorious and wicked spirit of aggression. It is much more consonant with common sense, much more respectful to the large number of our fellow-countrymen from whom we may have differed, to say that this outburst of feeling was wrong, in that it was wholly misdirected in its application. Rightly to apply such a force would be vastly to increase the moral strength of this country. It is hard to conceive a more fitting opportunity for rightly directing national pride, the justifiable belief of Englishmen in the capacities of their race, than is offered by the acceptance of a rational and consistent policy having for its aim the federation of the empire.⁴

The measures which are before the country at the present time, though interesting and to some extent important, do not really touch either the needs or the aspirations of the bulk of the people. The only one of the number which even approaches such a position is the project for the extension of the franchise, and it must never be forgotten that such an extension is of no value whatever in itself, but is important only in view of the possibilities of future action which it contains.

The real questions which will soon be attended to because they must be attended to, the problems presented by the poverty, the hard living, the absence of hope which are the fruits of over-population, can only be made easier of solution by discussing them side by side with the great possibilities of colonial federation; by doing so, we shall show to every man and woman whom we have rescued from poverty and despair, that the community which has come to their assistance is not only worth belonging to, but offers him or her individually a chance of prosperity within its own limits. The poorer emigrants need no longer leave our shores with their hearts full of resentment or of grief; educated men, whose privilege it is to know the value of great traditions, will have a right to feel that they carry those traditions away with them, and that in serving the land of their adoption they are not forsaking the land of their birth.

But whatever is done must be done quickly, or rather it must be quickly commenced. At present the market is in our favour. We

⁴ This is not the place to dwell upon the advantages which would accrue to this country in her dealings with Ireland from the institution of a federal union, but they are too obvious to be altogether overlooked. Ireland, regulating its own affairs, and interfering with the government of the empire only as one out of many equally important divisions, might well find a place in our future political organisation. Ireland governing itself, and at the same time claiming to direct the affairs of the empire, could not but stultify itself and injure Great Britain.

still have much to offer which the colonies would be glad to accept. The time must inevitably come when we shall be dependent on our colonies. At present, by our apathy, by our indolence, by our positive opposition, and by our love of saying sharp things, we are daily prejudicing the market against us. One day we shall awake too late, to find that the bargain is not to be had on any terms. There are ample symptoms that there is in the country a large body of opinion which is somewhat weary of the turn which party politics have taken, and disgusted with the intemperate language and uncharitable ardour with which two English parties think it necessary to discuss measures for the common good. There are thousands who would hail with acclamation the opportunity of devoting their energies to the promotion of a measure which might fairly demand the support of every Englishman.

As matters stand, there is a real and increasing danger of differences with our colonies, for the settlement of which our existing arrangements afford no machinery whatever, and which cannot even be removed by pronouncing the inevitable 'Go and be hanged to you' ultimatum which finds so much favour among a certain class of politicians at home. It is quite a mistake to suppose that, once separated from our colonies, the mere intimacy of our commercial relations, or the theoretical correspondence of our interests, can save us from the danger of war. When Mr. Bright tells us that the proximity of two nations, and the fact that they have a large commercial intercourse, is a safeguard against the outbreak of hostilities between them, not only is the statement inaccurate, but it is in direct contradiction to almost every recorded fact in European history during the last five hundred years. Nations go to war for a variety of reasons, good and bad, but they do not fight each other because they are remote and without a common trade, nor do they refrain from fighting because they march on each other and do a good business across the frontier. In a word, it is true now as it always has been that 'cash payment never was, and never could, except for a few years, be the union-bond of man to man.' A common aim must coexist with a common interest.

In conclusion, why should we, and we alone, shun a consummation which every other nation in the world is striving to attain?

Wherever we look in Europe we find governments and nations ready to spend blood and treasure for the attainment of that which we fortunately already possess—namely, the union of the members of a kindred race.

The race-theories which are supposed to be at the bottom of this almost universal tendency are, it is true, often vague enough, and somewhat inadequate to support the very serious action which it is proposed to take upon the strength of them.

Recent events have made us particularly familiar with the

aspirations of the great Slav peoples of Eastern Europe. The yearnings of the Slav, the Pravo-slav, the Bulgarian, the Pole, the Croat, the Ruthene towards a common nationality have been noted, and admired. It is indeed impossible not to be struck by the ingenuity and perseverance of those who have devoted themselves to the task of unearthing the members of this great family, who according to all rule ought to be clamouring for a union, which, if they talked the same language, used the same alphabet, had a common religion, and did not often detest each other with undisguised hatred, they would be in a very fair way towards attaining.

But the more we reflect on this ingenuity and the necessity for its application, the less we shall be able to understand the extraordinary apathy with which some persons are able to regard the future of a nationality, compared with which the Slav must shortly be inconsiderable and unconsidered. If a little of the energy and enthusiasm which are devoted to the task of bringing together the units of a nation of which the members scarcely know of each other's existence, were devoted to keeping together the members of a greater nationality, who speak the same language, who inherit the same traditions, who read the same books, and who, if they knew it, have the same interests, the developments of the great race-theory would certainly begin to have more interest for the people of this country.

At present we are in great danger of throwing away that which every other nation of Europe is striving, with blood and treasure, with suffering and sacrifice, to obtain—namely, the union of a kindred and sympathetic race. It has been said that the decision of this question lies in the hands of the Liberal party; it has been said that the opinion of the leaders of that party is in favour of the policy which it has been the object of this paper to condemn.

It is consolatory, therefore, to remind the public that this opinion is not shared by all Liberal statesmen, and is emphatically disavowed by one who is beyond all question the greatest living exponent of Liberal doctrines. Speaking since his accession to office and as Prime Minister of this country, Mr. Gladstone used the following words:—

‘There is no more idle conception amongst all the vain imaginings that fill the atmosphere of politics than the conception that now and then finds vent, that there are in this country a party of men who are insensible to the great dignity and the great duty connected with the maintenance of the Colonial Empire of England. There may have been superstitions gather round the idea of that Colonial Empire that have dominated in various ways, but there is no man worthy of the name of a statesman, no man known to me in the sphere of political life, who is not sensible that the business of founding and of cherishing those colonies is one that has been so distinctly entrusted by Providence to the care of the people of this country, that we should almost as soon think of renouncing the very name of Englishmen as of renouncing the great duties which, pressing beyond these, are imposed upon us in regard to the more distant but not less dear portions of this great British Empire.’

Unfortunately those who have closely studied the utterances of some of our politicians with regard to colonial questions will hardly endorse the first part of the Prime Minister's proposition :—'The maintenance of our great Colonial Empire' has dangerous and avowed enemies; but this very fact must make us more ready to acknowledge, more anxious to propagate, more determined to give effect to the latter part of Mr. Gladstone's noble peroration. It is our duty, having convinced ourselves, to try and convince others that separation from the colonies is not part of the true Liberal idea.

.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

. . .

SALMON-FISHING.

It is the unknown which constitutes the main charm and delight of every adult human creature's life from very childhood; which life from the beginning to the end is, I maintain, one continued gamble. Uncertainty is the salt of existence. I once emptied a large fish-pond, which, from my youth up, I had held in supreme veneration and angled in with awe, lest some of the monsters with which it was supposed to abound, especially one ferocious and gigantic pike which a six-foot gamekeeper gravely asserted to be as big as himself, and to have consumed endless broods of young ducks, should encounter me unawares, and the result was a great haul of small and medium sized fish of all kinds, a few obese fat-headed carp, and the conspicuous absence of the monster pike.

I refilled the pond but never fished in it again; I knew what was in it, and also what was *not* in it. Its mystery, and with it its glory, had departed. So it is with shooting—I hate to know how many pheasants there are in a wood, how many coveys in a partridge beat, how many birds in a covey. So it is, of course, with everything else in life. Whatever is reduced to a certainty ceases to charm, and, but for the element of risk or chance—uncertainty in short—not only every sport or amusement, but even every operation and transaction of this world, would be tame and irksome. If we foreknew the result one would seldom do anything, and would eventually be reduced to the condition of the bald, toothless, toeless, timid, sedentary, and incombative ‘man of the future’ foreshadowed recently by a writer in this Review. How few would even marry a wife if the recesses of her mind were previously laid as bare as my fish-pond! And how few women would accept a husband under similar circumstances! So that the elimination of the element of uncertainty would perhaps lead to universal celibacy. Still possessing it however, and far from any approximation to this latter result, let me sing the praises of that sport which ranks next to fox-hunting in its utter absence of certainty—the prince and king of all the angling domain—salmon-fishing. Delightful in itself, this regal sport con-

ducts its worshippers into the grandest and wildest scenes of nature, to one of which I will at once ask my reader to accompany me.

We will imagine that it is the middle of June, and that London has begun to be as intolerable as it usually becomes at that season, and that he is willing to fly with me across the sea and to settle down for a space in a Norwegian valley, and surrounded by scenery unsurpassed in its abrupt wildness by anything to be seen even in that wildest of wild countries, survey salmon-fishing from an Anglo-Norwegian sportsman's point of view. Having with more or less discomfort safely run the gauntlet of that most uncertain and restless of oceans, the North Sea, we land at the head of the Rømsdal Fjord, and after about an hour's carriage drive are deposited, stunned and bewildered by the eccentricities which stupendous and impossible Nature has erected all around us, at the door of a clean, pine-built, white-painted house, in the midst of what looks like the happy valley of Rasselas; surrounded by bright green meadows, walled in by frowning impracticable precipices 2,000 feet high at their lowest elevation, and over 4,000 at their highest, at the top of which, opposite the windows to the south-west, even as exclusive mortals garnish their walls with broken bottles, so Nature appears to have wished to throw difficulties in the way of some gigantic trespasser by placing a fearful *chevaux-de-frise* of strange, sharp, jagged, uncouth and fantastic peaks, which baffle all description in their dreamy grotesqueness. These are called by the natives 'Troll tinderne,' i.e. 'witch peaks' or 'sorcerers' seats.' A stone dropped from the top would touch nothing for 1,500 feet, and thence to the bottom would lose but little velocity, so near the perpendicular is the rest of the descent. Below the steepest portion is a long stony slope having the appearance of a landslip, formed by some of the broken and pulverised *débris* of many a colossal crag, whose granite foundations Time, having besieged ever since the Flood, has at length succeeded in undermining, and which has then toppled over with a report like a salvo of 10,000 80-pounders, filling the valley—here two miles wide—with a cloud of fine dust resembling thick smoke, and yet, after scattering huge splinters far and wide, has still retained sufficient of its original and gigantic self to roll quietly through the dwarf birch and sycamore wood at the bottom, crushing flat and obliterating trees thick as a man's body in girth, and leaving a gravel walk behind it broad as a turnpike road, till it subsides into some sequestered hollow, where, surrounded by trees no taller than itself, it will reclothe itself with moss and grow grey again for another 4,000 years or so. The prevailing opinion among the peasants is that this wall being very narrow, and its other side equally precipitous, some day or other the whole precipice will fall bodily into the valley; and in this theory they are strengthened by the fact, or tradition, that at a certain time during the winter the moon can be seen to shine through

an orifice situated half-way up its face, undiscernible save when lighted up in this manner. This is a pretty belief, and I am sorry that my telescope, with which I have narrowly scanned every cranny, does not confirm it. The fact is possible all the same; but the convulsion of nature which they anticipate does not follow as a matter of course, and in my opinion the 'trolls' will sit undisturbed on their uncomfortable seats till some general crash occurs, which will convolve other valleys than this, and higher peaks than theirs. However

Mountains have fallen,
Leaving a gap in the clouds,

and I can only hope that I may be non-resident at my Norwegian domicile when this little accident happens. Here and there in nooks and crannies rest large patches of drift-snow which, when loosened and released by the summer heat, fall down the sides in grand thunderous cascades, bringing with them rocks and stones, with occasional fatal results to the cattle and sheep feeding in apparent security in the woods below. Opposite the Troll tinderne on the north-eastern side of the valley the Rofnsdal Horn rears its untrodden head. It falls so sheer and smooth towards the river that it affords no resting-place for the snow, consequently no avalanches fall on this side; but occasionally, as from the Troll tinderne, a huge rock is dislodged by time and weather; and sometimes I have seen one of these come down from the very top, and marked its progress by the slight puffs of smoke which long before the report reaches the ear are plainly to be seen, as in its successive leaps it comes in contact with the mountain side; and the length of time which elapses between the first reverberation that makes one look up when the solid mass takes its first spring from the summit, and the last grape-shot clatter of its fragments at the foot of the Horn, gives me some idea of the terrific proportions of this wonderful rock. Sometimes I can hardly help, as I look up at its awful sides, giving it personal identity and the attributes of life—regarding it with a sort of terror, and with a humble desire somehow to *propitiate* it, as a merciful giant who respects and pities my minute life, and disdains to put his foot upon me or crush me with one of his granite thunderbolts.

In my youth I tried to gain its summit, where tradition says there is a lake on which floats a golden bowl! I failed miserably; but have no doubt that with proper appliances, which I had not, some skilled Alpine climber would succeed. One such, alas! came out some two years ago with such appliances, and the strong resolve of youth and abounding strength, steadfastly purposed to solve the mystery. He only attained the deeper mystery of death; not in the attempt, but drowned deplorably by the upsetting of a boat which he had engaged to cross the Fjord (being unwilling, in his eager haste to reach the scene of his proposed adventure, to wait even a day for

the regular steamer which would have conveyed him safely) close to the shore at the very mouth of the 'Rauma' river. It is this river Rauma out of which I want my reader to catch a salmon, or see me catch one. It flows down the middle of the valley, not as Scotch rivers, London, or Dublin, porter-hued, but clear, bright, and translucent as crystal.

Here, amid such scenes, with this glorious stream rushing tumultuously in a sort of semicircle round me, thus giving me some half a dozen salmon pools, each within about 200 yards from the house, have I provided myself with a dwelling and an estate—partly for sake of the sport, and partly to have another string to my bow—some refuge even in Republican Norway from the possible legislation of constitutional England, where inability to pay the heavy bill for 'unearned increment,' which has in my case been running for some 900 years, may cause my family estates to be handed over to somebody else. It is too late to-night—we will fish to-morrow—we are tired. The wooden walls and floors of the house still heave and sway with recollections of the German Ocean. We will sleep the sleep of Tories and the just.

'Klokken Fem i morgen, Ole!' 'Five o'clock to-morrow morning, Ole!' was my last instruction to my faithful boatman and gaffer yesterday evening; and, sure enough, as I jump up instinctively a quarter of an hour before the appointed time, I see him outside my window busying himself with my rod, while my reel gives out short periodical sounds, like the call of a corn-crake, as he passes the line through each successive ring. One glance at the sky is enough—clear blue and cloudless, fresh and cool, but no wind—a slight mist hangs half-way up the Troll tinderne; below it all is clear, though heavily laden with moisture, and in dark contrast with the bright sun above, which is already, and has been for some hours, playing among the topmost peaks, and gladdening the stony-hearted rocks themselves.

Brief—oh, brief is the process of adornment and ablution in the india-rubber bath, for my soul is very eager for the fray; and the day will evidently be a hot one, rendering it impossible to fish after nine o'clock, when the sun will be on the river. A hot cup of coffee—made as Norwegians can make it and we can't—and a scrap of biscuit occupies about one minute of time in consumption, and the next I am striding away towards 'Aarnehoe,' my upper and best pool, brushing away the heavy dew from the grass and dwarf juniper bushes, and drinking in life and health from every inspiration of the fresh morning air. My little boat tosses like a nutshell among the high waves of the turbulent stream as it is swept across to the other side of the river, where a romantic glade conducts me to the wooden bridge, two planks wide, which crosses a divergent stream and leads me to the now almost dreaded pool. A keen salmon-fisher will

understand me and forgive me if I fail to do justice to the impressions, the hopes, and the fears of the hour. The field of battle is before me, white and tumultuous at the head, smooth and black in the middle, full of surging bubbles, like the ebullitions of millions of soda-water bottles from the bottom, clear, swift, and transparent at the tail.

In spite of the roar of the foss in my ears, I am under the impression of perfect stillness and *silence* in the objects round me, so wild, solitary, and secluded is the spot; no habitation or trace of man, save my boatman's presence, desecrates the scene. My eyes are fixed with a sort of fascination on the water, whose swift but calmly flowing surface remains unruffled, unbroken as yet by the dorsal fin of any scaly giant, and gives no evidence of the life it contains. It is the Unknown! and as Ole unmoors the boat I confess that a feeling of trepidation seizes me—a feeling difficult to define—of anticipated pleasure mingled with respect for the power and strength of the unseen and unknown antagonist with whom I am about to grapple, and making me entertain no boastful confidence in the result of the struggle which will forthwith commence between us. But all is prepared. Ole, smiling and expectant, holds the boat, which dances a little in the swell, steady for me to enter; and, with his cheerful but invariable platitude: 'Nu skal ve har store fisken' ('Now we will have a big fish'), takes his place and rows me up under the very breakers of the foss. A few short preliminary throws give me the requisite length of line to reach the smooth black water, full of submerged eddies, beyond the influence of the force of the torrent, and I begin; once—twice—thrice does the fly perform its allotted circuit and return to me unmolested; but the fourth time, just as I am in the act of withdrawing it from the water for another cast, the bowels of the deep are agitated, and, preceded by a wave impelled and displaced by his own bulk, flounders heavily and half out of the water a mighty salmon. Broad was he, and long to boot, if I may trust an eye not unaccustomed to such apparitions; his white and silvery side betokening his recent arrival from the German Ocean, the slightly roseate hues of his back and shoulders giving unfailing evidence, if corroborative evidence were wanting, after one glimpse of that spade-like tail, of a '*salmo salar*' of no common weight and dimensions. My heart—I confess it leaped up to my very mouth—but he has missed the fly, and an anxious palpitating five minutes which I always reluctantly allow must elapse before I try him again. They are gone, and in trembling hope—with exactly the same length of line, and the boat exactly in the same place, Ole having fixed the spot to an inch by some mysterious landmarks on the shore—I commence my second trial. Flounce! There he is! not so demonstrative this time—a boil in the water and a slight plash, as the back fin cuts the surface, that's all; but something tells me this is the true

attack. A slight, but sharp turn of the wrist certifies the fact, and brings—oh, moment of delight!—my line taut and my rod bent to a delicious curve.

Habet! he has it! Now, *Ole!* steadily and slowly to the shore! He is quite quiet as yet, and has scarcely discovered the singular nature and properties of the insect he has appropriated, but swims quietly round and round in short circles, wondering no doubt, but so far unalarmed. I am only too thankful for the momentary respite, and treat him with the most respectful gentleness, but a growing though scarcely perceptible increase of the strain on my rod bends it gradually lower and lower until the reel begins to give out its first slow music. My fingers are on the line to give it the slight resistance of friction, but the speed increases too rapidly for me to bear them there long, and I withdraw them just in time to save their being cut to the bone in the tremendous rush which follows. Whizz-z-z! up the pool he goes! the line scattering the spray from the surface in a small fountain, like the cut-water of a Thames steamer. And now a thousand fears assail me—should there be one defective strand in my casting-line, one doubtful or rotten portion of my head-line, should anything *kink* or foul, should the hook itself (as sometimes happens) be a bad one—farewell, oh, giant of the deep, for ever! *Absit omen!* all is well as yet, that rush is over. He has a terrible length of my line out, but he is in a safe part of the pool and rather disposed to come back to me, which gives me the opportunity, which I seize eagerly, of reeling up my line. The good-tempered, reasonable monster! But steady! there is a limit to his concessions. No further will he obey the rod's gentle dictation. Two rebellious opiniative kicks nearly jerk my arms out of the shoulder joints, and then down he goes to the bottom. Deep in the middle of the pool he lies, obdurate, immovable as a stone. There must he not remain! That savage strength must not be husbanded. I re-enter the boat, and am gently rowed towards him, reeling up as I advance. He approves not this, as I expected. He is away again into the very midst of the white water, till I think he means to ascend the foss itself—hesitates irresolute there a moment, then back again down the middle of the stream like a telegraphic message. 'Row ashore, *Ole!* Row for life! for now means he mischief!' Once in the swift water at the tail of the pool he will try not only my reel, but my own wind and condition to boot; for down he *must* go now, weighed he but a poor five pounds; once out of this pool and there is nothing to stop him for 300 yards. We near the shore, and I spring into the shallow water and prance and bound after him with extravagant action, blinding myself with the spray which I dash around me. Ah! well I know and much I fear this rapid! The deep water being on the other side of the river, the fish invariably descend there, and from the wide space intervening, too deep for man to

wade in, too shallow for fish to swim in, and too rough for boat to live in, the perturbed fisherman must always find an awful length of line between him and his fish, which, however, he can in no way diminish till he arrives considerably lower down, where the river is narrower. Many a gallant fish has by combination of strength and wile escaped me here. Many a time has my heart stood still to find that my line and reel have suddenly done the same—what means it? In the strength of that mighty torrent can mortal fish rest? Surely, but he must have found a shelter somewhere? Some rock behind which to lie protected from the current! I must try and move him! Try and move the world! A rock is indeed there and the line is round it, glued to it immovably by weight of water. It is *drowned*. But he, the fish! seaward may he now swim half a league away, or at the bottom of the next pool may be rubbing some favourite fly against the stones. Nay—but see! the line runs out still, with jerks and lifelike signs. Hurrah! we have not lost him yet. Oh, dreamer, ever hoping to the last, no more life there than in a galvanised corpse, whose spasmodic actions the line is imitating! It is bellying deep in the stream, quivering and jerking, slacking and pulling as the current dictates, creating movements which, through the glamour of a heated imagination, seem as the struggles of a mighty fish. That fish, that fly, and perhaps that casting-line shall that fisherman never see again. Such doom and such a result may the "gods now avert! My plungings and prancings have brought me to the foot of my wooden bridge—made very high on purpose to avoid the perils above described (and for the same purpose I keep well behind or up-stream of my fish)—which I hurry over with long strides, and many an anxious glance at my 90 or 100 yards of line waving and tossing through the angry breakers encompassed by a hundred dangers. With rod high held and panting lungs I spring from the bridge, and blunder as I best may along the stony and uneven bank for another hundred yards with unabated speed. I am saved! Safe floats the line in the deep but still rapid and stormy water beyond the extremest breaker, and here, fortunately for me, my antagonist slackens his speed, having felt the influence of a back-water which guides him rather back to me, and I advance in a more rational manner, and in short sobs regain the breath of life; but one aching arm must still sustain the rod on high while the other reels up as for very existence. Forward, brave Olé! and have the next boat ready in case the self-willed monster continues his reckless course, which he most surely will; for, lo! in one fiery whizz out goes all the line which that tired right hand had so laboriously reclaimed from the deep, and down, proudly sailing mid-stream, my temporary tyrant recommences his hitherto all triumphant progress. I follow as I best may, but now having gained the refuge of the boat, a few

strokes of Ole's vigorous boat-compelling oars recover me the line I had lost, and land me on the opposite bank, where, with open water before me for some distance I begin for the first time to realise the possibility of victory. However—

Much hath been done, but more remains to do,

but of a less active, more ponderous, painstaking, patience-trying description. The long deep stream of Langhole is before me in which he will hang—does hang, will sulk—does sulk, and has to be roused by stones cast in above, below, and around him. As yet, I have never seen him since his first rise, but Ole, who has climbed the bank above me, and from thence can see far into the clear bright water, informs me that he gets an occasional glimpse of him, and that he is 'meget meget store,' or very very big. My heart—worn and weary as it is with the alternations of hope and fear—re-flutters at this intelligence, for I know that Ole is usually a fish-decrier or weight-diminisher. All down the length of Langhole, 250 yards by the tale, does he sullenly bore, now and then taking alarming excursions far away to the opposite shore, oftener burying himself deep in the deepest water close at my feet; but at length he resolves on more active operations, and, stimulated by the rapid stream at the tail of Langhole, takes advantage thereof and goes down bodily to the next pool, Tofte. I have no objection to this, even if I had a voice in the matter; I have a flat smooth meadow to race over, the stream has no hidden rocky dangers, so, like swift Camilla, I scour the plain till the deeper and quieter recesses of Tofte afford an asylum for the fish and breathing time to myself. Here, I hope, but hope in vain, to decide the combat; occasionally I contrive to gain the advantage of a short line, but the instant he perceives the water shoaling away he bores indignant, and spurns the shallow. The engagement has now lasted more than an hour, and my shoulders are beginning to ache, and yet no symptoms of submission on the part of my adversary; on the contrary, he suddenly reassumes the offensive, and with a rush which imparts such rotatory motion to my reel as to render the handle not only intangible but actually invisible, he forsakes the delights of Tofte, and continues his course down the river. I must take to the boat again (I have one on every pool) and follow, like a harpooner towed by a whale. The river widens below Tofte, and a short swift shallow leads to the next pool, Langholmen, or Long Island. I have a momentary doubt whether to land on the island or on the opposite side where there is a deeper but swifter pool, towards which the fish is evidently making. I decide at once, but decide wrong—which is better, however, than not deciding at all—and I land on Langholmen, into whose calm flowing water I had fondly hoped that incipient fatigue would have enticed my fish, and find him far over in the opposite pool with an irreconcilable

length of line doubtfully connecting us. It is an awful moment! If he goes up stream now, I am lost—that is to say, my fish is—which in my present frame of mind is the same thing; no line or hook would ever stand the strain of that weight of water. But, no, mighty as he is, he is mortal, and but a fish after all, and even his giant strength is failing him, and inch by inch and foot by foot he drops down the stream, and as he does so the reel gradually gains on him, till at the tail of Langholmen I have the delight of getting, for the first time since he rose, a fair sight of his broad and shining bulk, as he lies drifting sulkily and indolently down the clear shallows. I exult with the savage joy which the gladiator may have felt when he perceived for the first time the growing weakness of his antagonist, and I set no bounds to my estimate of his size. Fifty pounds at least! I proclaim loudly to Ole, is the very minimum of the weight I give him. Ole smiles and shakes his head detractingly. The phlegmatic, unsympathetic, realistic wretch! On I go, however, wading knee-deep over the glancing shingle. The lowest pool, and my last hope before impassable rapids, Lærneset, is before me, and after wading waist-deep across the confluent stream at the end of the island, I gain the commanding bank and compel my now amenable monster into the deep still water, out of the influence of the current. And now, feebler and feebler grow his rushes, shorter and shorter grows the line, till mysterious whirlpools agitate the calm surface, and at last, with a heavy, weary plunge, upheaves the spent giant, and passive, helpless, huge, ‘lies floating many a rood.’

Still even now his *vis inertiae* is formidable, and much caution and skill have to be exercised in towing that vanquished hull into port, lest with one awkward heavy roll, or one feeble flop of that broad spreading tail, he may tear away hook or hold, and so rob me at last of my hardly earned victory. No such heart-breaking disaster awaits me. Ole, creeping and crouching like a deer-stalker, extends the fatal gaff, buries it deep in the broad side, and drags him, for he is, in very sooth, too heavy to lift, unwilling and gasping to the shore, where, crushing flat the long grass, he flops and flounders till a merciful thwack on the head from the miniature policeman’s staff, which I always carry for this purpose, renders him alike oblivious and insensible to past suffering or present indignity. And now I may calmly survey his vast proportions and speculate on the possibility of his proving too much for my weighing machine, which only gives information up to fifty pounds. To a reasonable-sized fish I can always assign an approximate weight, but this one takes me out of the bounds of my calculation, and being as sanguine as Ole is the reverse, I anxiously watch the deflection of the index as Ole, by exercising his utmost strength, raises him by a hook through his under jaw from the ground, with a wild sort of hope still possessing me (foolish though I inwardly feel it to be) that the machine won’t weigh him.

Forty-five anyhow he *must* be! Yes, he is! no, he ain't! Alas! after a few oscillations it settles finally at forty-three pounds, with which decision I must rest content, and I *am* content. I give way to senseless manifestations of extravagant joy, and even Ole relaxes. Early as it is, it is not too early for a Norwegian to drink spirits, and I serve him out a stiff dram of whisky on the spot, which he tosses down raw without winking, while I dilute mine from the river, for this ceremony, on such occasions, must never be neglected. 'Now, Ole, shoulder the prey as you best can, and home to breakfast;' for now, behold from behind the giant shoulder of the Horn bursts forth the mighty sun himself! illuminating the very depths of the river, sucking up the moisture from the glittering grass, and drying the tears of the blue bells and the dog violets, and calling into life the myriads whose threescore years and ten are to be compressed into the next twelve hours. Yet how they rejoice! Their songs of praise and enjoyment positively din in my ears as I walk home, rejoicing too after my Anglo-Saxon manner at having killed something, fighting the battle over again in extravagantly bad Norse to Ole, who patiently toils on under the double burden of the big fish and my illiterate garrulity. In short I am thoroughly happy—self-satisfied and at peace with all mankind. I have succeeded, and success usually brings happiness; everything looks bright around me, and I thankfully compare my lot with that of certain pallid, flaccid beings, whom my mind's eye presents to me stewing in London, and gasping in mid-summer torment in the House of Commons. A breakfast of Homeric proportions (my friend and I once ate a seven-pound grilse and left nothing even for a dog) follows this morning performance. Will my reader be content to rest after it, smoke a pipe, bask in the sun (he won't stand that long, for the Norway sun is like the kitchen fire of the gods), and possibly, after Norwegian custom, take a mid-day nap?

Five o'clock P.M.—we have eaten the best portion of a Norwegian sheep, not much bigger than a good hare, for our dinner, and the lower water awaits us. Here the valley is wider, the pools larger and less violent. It is here that I have always wished to hook the real monster of the river—the sixty or seventy pounder of tradition—as I can follow him to the sea if he don't yield sooner, which from the upper water I can't, because impossible rapids divide my upper and lower water; and if I had not killed this morning's fish where I did I should have lost him, as it was the last pool above the rapids. We take ship again in Nedre Fiva, a splendid pool, about a mile from my house, subject only to the objection which old Sir Hyde Parker, one of the early inventors of Norway fishing, used to bring against the whole country:—'Too much water and too few fish!' I have great faith in myself to-day, and feel that great things are still in

store for me. I recommence operations, and with some success, for I land a twelve and a sixteen pounder in a very short space of time; after which, towards the tail of this great pool, I hook something very heavy and strong, which runs out my line in one rush almost to the last turn of the reel before Ole can get way on the boat to follow him, and then springs out of the water a full yard high; this feat being performed some 120 yards off me, and the fish looking even at that distance enormous. I have no doubt that I have at last got fast to my ideal monster—the seventy pounder of my dreams. Even the apathetic Ole grunts loudly his ‘Gott bewarr!’ of astonishment. I will spare the reader all the details of the struggle which ensues, and take him at once to the final scene, some two miles down below where I hooked him, and which has taken me about three hours to reach—a still back-water, into which I have with extraordinary luck contrived to guide him, dead-beat. No question now about his size. We see him plainly close to us, a very porpoise. I can see that Ole is demoralised and unnerved at the sight of him. He had twice told me, during our long fight with him, that the forty-three pounder of this morning was ‘like a small piece of this one’—the largest salmon he had ever seen in his fifty years’ experience; and to my horror I see him, after utterly neglecting one or two splendid chances, making hurried and feeble pokes at him with the gaff—with the only effect of frightening him by splashing the water about his nose. In a fever of agony I bring him once again within easy reach of the gaff, and regard him as my own. He is mine now! he *must* be! ‘Now’s your time, Ole—can’t miss him!—now—now!’ He does though! and in one instant a deadly sickness comes over me as the rod springs straight again, and the fly dangles useless in the air. The hold has broken! Still the fish is so beat that he lies there yet, on his side. He knows not he is free! ‘Quick, gaff him as he lies. Quick! do you hear? You can have him still!’ Oh, for a Scotch gillie! Alas for the Norwegian immovable nature! Ole looks up at me with lack-lustre eyes, turns an enormous quid in his cheek, and does nothing. I cast down the useless rod, and dashing at him wrest the gaff from his hand, but it is too late. The huge fins begin to move gently, like a steamer’s first motion of her paddles; and he disappears slowly into the deep! Yes—he is gone! For a moment I glare at Ole with a bitter hatred. I should like to slay him where he stands, but have no weapon handy, and also doubt how far Norwegian law would justify the proceeding, great as is the provocation. But the fit passes, and a sorrow too deep for words gains possession of me, and I throw away the gaff and sit down, gazing in blank despair at the water. Is it possible? Is it not a hideous nightmare? But two minutes ago blessed beyond the lot of angling man—on the topmost pinnacle of angling fame! The practical possessor of the largest salmon ever taken with a rod! And now, deeper than ever plummet sounded, in

the depths of dejection! Tears might relieve me; but my sorrow is too great, and I am doubtful how Ole might take it. I look at him again. The same utterly blank face, save a projection of unusual size in his cheek, which makes me conjecture that an additional quid has been secretly thrust in to supplement the one already in possession. He has said not a word since the catastrophe, but abundant expectation testifies to the deep and tumultuous workings of his soul. I bear in mind that I am a man and a Christian, and I mutely offer him my flask. But, no; with a delicacy which does him honour, and touches me to the heart, he declines it; and with a deep sigh and in scarcely audible accents repeating 'The largest salmon I ever saw in my life!' picks up my rod and prepares to depart. Why am I not a Stoic, and treat this incident with contempt? Yes; but why am I human? Do what I will, the vision, is still before my eyes. 'I hear the "never, never!"' can the chance recur again. Shut my eyes, stop my ears as I will, it is the same. If I had only known his actual weight! Had he but consented to be weighed and returned into the stream! How gladly would I now make that bargain with him! But the opportunity of even that compromise is past. It's intolerable. I don't believe the Stoics ever existed; if they did they must have suffered more than even I do in bottling up their miseries. They *did* feel; they *must* have felt—why pretend they didn't? Zeno was a humbug! Anyhow, none of the sect ever lost a salmon like that! 'What! a small sorrow? only a fish!' 'Ah, try it yourself!' An old lady, inconsolable for the loss of her dog, was once referred for example of resignation to a mother who had lost her child, and she replied, 'Oh, yes! but *children are not dogs!*' and I in some sort understand her. So, in silent gloom, I follow Ole homewards.

Not darkness, nor twilight, but the solemn yellow hues of northern midnight gather over the scene; black and forbidding frown the precipices on either side, save where on the top of the awful Horn—inaccessible as happiness—far, far beyond the reach of mortal footstep, still glows, like sacred fire, the sleepless sun! Hoarser murmurs seem to arise from the depths of the foss—like the groans of imprisoned demons—to which a slight but increasing wind stealing up the valley from the sea adds its melancholy note. My mind, already deeply depressed, yields helplessly to the influence of the hour and sinks to zero at once; and despondency—the hated spirit—descends from her 'foggy cloud,' and is my inseparable companion all the way home.

W. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT.

CLERGYMEN AS HEAD-MASTERS.

SOME recent elections to head-masterships have brought prominently before those interested in education the question of clerical teaching, and its necessity or advantage in schools. At Westminster and at Dulwich, to both of which laymen have been recently appointed, the successful candidates had before their election intimated their intention of taking Orders; at Clifton, Mr. Wilson was ordained almost immediately after his appointment; at Rossall, on a vacancy some years since, a long correspondence took place between one of the Governors and a gentleman, who was assured that he would be appointed if, being in deacon's orders, he would consent to become a priest. He declined, and another person possessing the requisite qualification was chosen. In the majority of schools, since the Public Schools Act of 1862, Orders are not required, but neither are they a hindrance. It is by no means asserted that the expressed intention of the candidates was the only reason of the Governors' choice, in each case a good one on other grounds; but no one can fail to believe that it had its effect, and that their embryonic ecclesiasticism was welcome to those who appointed them. So neither was the head-mastership in prospect the only cause, probably, which urged the candidates to the step they promised; the inward call on which the office for ordination lays so great stress was no doubt heard; but with many supernatural warnings natural events are found to harmonise, and outward facts are often the judicious tests of inward feelings.

So many schools have sprung into deserved notice in recent years, and become in the truest sense public, that it is not easy to keep up the old distinction of public and private; but of the more important schools in England, very few, and two of them—University-College School and St. Paul's—day schools in London, have head-masters who are not, or who have not signified their intention of becoming, clergymen. At the first, of course, any but a layman would be plainly incongruous; to attempt to bring ecclesiastic or dogmatically religious influences to bear on the preponderance of boys coming from extremely Liberal, or Unitarian, or Jewish households, with a sprinkling of Hindoos and Japanese, would be more than a joke. The second is, no doubt, an odd exception in an institution where with all its

intended expansion the number of scholars is still as at its foundation, 'one hundred and fifty and three,' selected as being that of the miraculous draught of fishes. It is probably the outside number to be kept within the meshes of the dogmatic net, and even then, as in the case of its prototype, there will probably be a breakage at some point. The smaller schools which, with or without a foundation, would once have been called private, and the really proprietary schools, are, with very few exceptions indeed, in the hands of clergymen, a few of them incumbents of parishes, the majority having no clerical functions beyond such as may seem to be involved in their scholastic office.

These facts would seem to show that, whatever be the theoretical opinion expressed by the school reformers, the parents of schoolboys, and those chosen as members of governing bodies—parents themselves for the most part, and representing the ordinary view—prefer clerical teachers for their sons, or at least suppose there must be many good reasons why no change should be made in a system which has the weight of tradition on its side. Yet, on the other hand, there never was a time when so many assistant masters remained laymen as now. A glance at the lists of Eton, Harrow, Winchester, &c., will show a knot of elder men at the top with the distinctive clerical title, while few such are found among the more recent comers; and in one school the actual clerical work in the chapel has been found to bear somewhat heavily on the masters able to share it. Now an assistant master, well known to the circle of those interested in his house, is not so before the world as is the head-master, though the parents are quite aware that to the boys' tutor or house-master their son really looks as the only authority with whom he comes in contact. They never lose the impression, based on no reality whatever, except as regards the small percentage of boys that attain to the sixth form, that Dr. Hornby, or Dr. Butler, or Dr. Ridding, is the real guardian of their son's religion and morals. They are the slaves of a fancy, which, if it be examined, they know and admit to be a mere fancy. But they would probably go on to say, that though in this or that case exceptions may be made, and though they are not dissatisfied with their boy's lay tutor, they still desire that clergymen should be the usual teachers of our schools.

It is manifest that some disadvantages must result from such a state of opinion, however grave may be the reasons for so widespread a feeling. The selection of head-masters is seriously restricted if the prizes in the profession are to be gained only by candidates selected from a decided minority of teachers. The temptation to take Orders lightly, or even against conscience, to mistake the *vox populi* for the *vox Dei*, will be constantly on the increase; scholars who prefer to remain laymen will less and less seek the scholastic profession. Again, the habit of making bishops out of successful schoolmasters,

rather than out of the parochial clergy, is by no means at an end. There is much to be said for it, since so large a portion of a bishop's work consists in routine and organisation; but if, again, the rank from which bishops are drawn is selected from a restricted number of masters, there is no security that a given bishop was the best possible head-master at the time, but only that he had the qualification which gave him a non-scholastic, though very real, advantage over his fellows. It may not, therefore, be without interest to examine the true state of the case, and the weight of the arguments for clerical teaching.

The origin of the tradition in favour of it is of course obvious. Eton, Winchester, Westminster, though the last dates from after the Reformation, are religious foundations dating from a time when the whole education of the country was necessarily in the hands of ecclesiastics. The great spread of grammar-schools under Edward the Sixth's wise advisers was far too near the change of faith to make any alteration in outward rule possible; the clergy were still the learned body; the whole organisation of religion and learning was intended to be the same as of old, except that doctrine was simplified and monachism, together with the celibacy of the clergy, were abolished. None but those trained in the old ways and with the old habits ingrained in them would have had scholarship enough to undertake tuition. The fashion set by the old public schools and King Edward's Grammar Schools affected education through the land, and as the larger foundations and many of the smaller were connected with colleges at the universities where clerical fellowships were the prizes, from which colleges again assistant masters were drawn, the tradition was preserved almost unchanged until very recent days. And as learning had once been restricted to the 'religious,' so all the school-work was woven into a frame of devotion, which was the more important of the two. If a modern parent were to put clearly before him the object for which he sends his son to school, he would declare that it consisted in the teaching of definite secular knowledge to his son. Religion is no doubt to have its due place, but he supposes this to be restricted on the whole to short morning prayers, to a sermon on Sundays, a Biblical lesson from his tutor or form master once a week, and a word of moral warning tempered with more or less religious phrases if the lad seemed to stand in need of it. Even devout persons have been known to grumble at the loss of working hours to their sons when two saint's days gave two holidays and two half-holidays extra in ten days, or to find fault when at Eton the Provost was slow in 'excusing chapel' in order that boys might attend a cricket-match. But even down to Dr. Keate's day at Eton and probably elsewhere prayers in school to sanctify the lessons were a regular part of the religious exercises over and above those in chapel. The ceremony was gradually whittled away till it subsisted only in the middle of Sunday, when the boys

showed up a Latin exercise in school, prefaced by prayers to which not the smallest attention was paid. When the buzz of conversation and of childish frivolities, recognised up to a certain point, became quite intolerable, Dr. Keate was wont to strike his desk vehemently and shout, 'If you are not quiet, boys, I'll begin it all over again.'

Now, however, religion has ceased to be thus perfunctory. Though it is often made an objection to the system of daily prayers in chapel that it is merely mechanical, very much is to be said for the quiet and rest of the half-hour falling into the incessant unrest of school-boy life. And the severance of the mere school-teaching from religious offices has given them both a reality which they had not before. No one who has experienced the charm wrought by the grandeur of Eton College chapel, or on Sunday evening felt the thrill and the passionate fervour of the head-master's preaching at Harrow, can undervalue the effect of school-services, or advise that these should be other than compulsory on the young, who are more affected by a vague spiritual emotion than by the dogmatic teaching they may chance to receive. And it is necessary that in the great majority of our schools the forms used should be those of the Church of England. That is at least nominally the Church of the majority who avail themselves of the larger schools, it is the most elastic, it has the most stately worship which would be accepted by the parents of boys for them, though it so 'speak with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies' as to render it possible for men of various views to join in its worship. There can be no doubt that if a general boarding school be desirable, there must be common worship, and that in these days it must be that of the Church of England. This necessitates one or more chaplains, or masters acting as such; but all that is here needed is a good voice and a reverent manner; the head-master will rarely be the chaplain.

The special offices of a clerical master are preaching and preparation for Confirmation. Now unquestionably there have been and there are head-masters who have made a vast impression on their schools from the pulpit. Arnold's great reforms were largely carried out from this vantage ground; no one can undervalue the excellence of Dr. Moberly's plain, simple, and direct discourses; if sermons made boys religious, Harrow at the present moment should be a nursery of godliness such as the world has rarely seen. And we do not wonder that men like to impress their personality on boys in a way which admits of no reply, and where direct allusions may be concealed behind an air of indirectness. But it is open to doubt whether sermons about school-trials and temptations are after all what school-boys want or what affects them most. It is a mistake, as a rule, to preach to any class about their class. If the sermons at the Temple were on the religious aspect of Law, or on the temptations which beset its practice, they would have far less effect than a simple exposition of Scripture. Boys as well as lawyers know their own dangers;

they can contrast for themselves the purity of a perfect life and their own imperfect realisation of it better than anyone else can do it for them; and though the instances we have named may seem to point the other way, it is given to few to be preachers like Dr. Arnold or Dr. Butler. No one would of course uphold the old system of Eton, where elderly gentlemen long withdrawn from active life among boys, to become the incumbents of sleepy country parishes, blew up the faint embers of their village sermons for the boys, or with a dim sense of what they conceived their responsibilities, revived their recollections of what school had been when they were young, and tried to slay what Carlyle calls 'more or less extinct Satans.' It was in those days that a Fellow who had become somewhat deaf, but always heard precisely what he chose to hear and at the most unexpected times, but who had himself long given over preaching, said, 'When Green preaches I never hear but one word, and that is "God"; when Coleridge preaches I also only hear one word, and that is "Devil."' The characteristics of the two sets of sermons could scarcely have been better given. When the latter gentleman gave up preaching the Gospel according to Boanerges he introduced a far more excellent way, that of asking really able preachers from outside to fill his place; then were heard sermons to which boys gave willing attention. But if masters are to preach, where is the reason why laymen should not do so? Not the extremest dogmatist has ever made preaching a sacrament, or supposed that the grace of Orders conferred the gift of eloquence; that the clergy should be the only preachers is again a relic of the time when they were the only learned men able to expound the Scripture, or perhaps, even to read it.

The rite of Confirmation no doubt supposes that the candidate should be examined and presented to the bishop by a clergyman. But in practice this has long since broken down in schools. The lay tutor prepares his boys with as much care as the ecclesiastic, and as well. And this is said not as undervaluing the rite, but rather as setting a much higher value on it than most persons would allow to it. Whatever dogmatic views have been abandoned, it is not easy to overrate the importance to a lad that at a given time in his life, at the passage from childhood into early manhood, he should overlook his conduct in the light of the example presented to him, and, facing his responsibilities as a young man who has to put away childish things, should be encouraged by a solemn dedication of self to live the higher life. There can be no doubt also that the wise tutor who steps down from his pedestal and makes himself one with his boys, showing that he knows their trials, and can discuss school failings and difficulties as a religious man of the world and not as a schoolmaster, gains at that time an influence which he never again loses. If, indeed, it be maintained that sacramental confession is a needful part of preparation, a clergyman is the necessary person to undertake this duty, and a lingering feeling of

this kind some years ago induced lay masters at one important public school to send boys for preparation to a chaplain; but that is not the general view, and bishops, even the most sacerdotal in opinion, accept the candidates of lay tutors. If the matter were formally brought before them they might no doubt say that the candidates are technically presented by the head-master, who has satisfied himself of their fitness, but the real state of the case is perfectly well known to all; that even in this most solemn matter laymen and clerics are on an exact equality.

Laymen, then, are trusted to teach theology in schools, and to prepare boys for Confirmation, by clerical head-masters, who thus delegate to them the most important part of their teaching, and this with very scant regard to the question whether they do or do not hold what are called orthodox opinions. If clerical head-masterships were a guarantee that those who held office under them were orthodox members of the Church of England, we might regret the narrowing effect of the choice while admitting its consistency, but as a matter of fact it is not so. While a cry is, still easily raised against persons who differ in any marked degree from their fellows in matters of religion it would be unfair to specify schools or names; but at more than one of our great schools are men among the ablest and best tutors, among the most popular and the most respected, who are certainly not conformed to the pattern of Church of England orthodoxy. If the head-master be of a large and liberal mind he expects just that conformity to the tone of the place which a man of honour and of serious spirit naturally gives. The assistant in all his official lectures steps in no degree beyond the text-books; he does not think it needful to air his own opinions before boys who would not understand him, and who have not been specially entrusted to his own care. He knows well that the questionings of this modern time come quickly enough, and that the best way to meet them is to know the grounds of the old teaching before facing the new. Among the lads specially given by parents to his charge, he will when occasion serves or need arise be somewhat more explicit, yet always careful not to clash in too marked a degree with the traditions of the school. His church-going will be guided in part by his official duties, in part by his own sense of what is fitting. And out of the official duties he will exercise the right of an English layman to attend church as much or as little as he pleases. His chief trusts him, and respects his freedom of action. If, on the other hand, the head-master be a person who inspires scant respect, himself keeps lax and spasmodic discipline, and is whimsically afraid of public opinion, he will endeavour to compel church-attendance over and above what is demanded by official duties, and attempt by outward observances to hide a nonconformity which he is aware exists, in spite of which he has himself appointed some of his best masters, and be only anxious that what he winks at should not be too evident.

What has to be faced is, in fact, this: the teaching of our schools has become lay, their tone has become lay, the monastic framework has disappeared, and all this with the tacit consent of parents who yet cling to the superstition, for it is no more, of clerical headmasters. For it has already been pointed out that, except a few acts equally well performed by a chaplain, the master, as such, has no clerical duties. The 'cure of souls' is given over to a layman, and those who take a very high view of the clerical office are often the very men who, being schoolmasters, will not take Orders, because, as schoolmasters, they have no clerical functions. A schoolmaster stands *in loco parentis*, and the theory which maintains that he must be in Orders would, if logically pressed, mean that the clergy were the best fathers, and those who have most authority over their own sons, a contention hardly borne out by facts. On all questions of morals, and even of the higher spiritual life, we fully believe that a layman has a far greater influence on the ordinary English boy than a cleric; there is no suspicion that his view is the merely professional one of a man who, after all, is only a parson from his skin outward, and not in the inward life of one occupied every day and all day in distinctly clerical functions. Religion gains if it be a thing closely connected with, but whose outward manifestations are aloof from, the outward manifestations of school. There can scarcely be imagined a more solemn sight, even for one who is not in agreement with all the words of the service, than the assembling of masters and boys in a building apart from the school life, where all the associations are other than those of school, where masters and boys are on one level as worshippers. The spell is in peril of breaking when the master is the spiritual, as he has been the school, authority, and moral faults are pointed out in the tone which has denounced a false concord or a careless rendering of Homer. When floggings are as frequent as they still unhappily are at some schools, a master preaching to his boys ought to think, as he regards the upturned faces of his congregation, of the punishment he has had to administer to some of them, and of the sensible remark of the negro who objected to the combination of the two deterrent methods.

It is fully admitted that in this, as in all matters of education, the public at large is the ultimate judge. This paper is written to disperse, if it may be, some false conceptions in the matter, to show that education has ceased to be administered by the clergy, and that to place a clergyman as a mere figure-head is misleading and illusory.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

THE LIFE-PROBLEM OF BENGAL.

IN no country in the world, probably, is the condition of the peasantry a matter of such supreme concern to the Government as in India. The famines, which have afflicted extensive tracts with a frequency of recurrence almost amounting to a natural law, and the disastrous consequences which have followed in their wake, unhinging more or less the resources of the empire and throwing out of gear the entire administrative machinery, prove to the outside world how materially the foundations of national prosperity in this country rest upon the well-being of the agricultural classes. For some years past, the relations of the landlords and tenants in Bengal, the principal province of the empire, have been the subject of special study by the Government, and have at length become so strained as to give rise to serious administrative difficulties. Owing to the unworkable character of some of the principal provisions of the existing law, and the unsatisfactory effects of the rule of prescription which it lays down for the acquisition of occupancy rights by the cultivating class, a deadlock has taken place, as admitted even by the zemindars themselves, which it requires the earnest endeavour of the legislature to remove. The difficulty inherent in the nature of the case is increased also by the confusion in the legal conceptions of many lawyers and judicial officers, which, as a recent writer remarks, are so affected by ideas derived from the English law relating to real property, that 'when the zemindar and the ryot resort to the courts of justice for the ascertainment, definition, and enforcement of their respective rights to the soil, they generally come away more puzzled than ever, and dissatisfied with the vague and arbitrary determinations of the courts.' The tension of feeling which exists between the zemindars and the ryots throughout Bengal has found expression on several occasions in serious agrarian disturbances. It was in view of these signs and shadows of coming events, that the late Lieutenant-Governor strongly urged upon the Government of India 'the advisability of settling the rent question definitely, while the country was tranquil, while seasons were favourable and the people well off, and reason could make its voice easily heard; instead of allowing things to drift on until another famine, or a second outbreak of the Pubna riots, should compel the Government to take

up the subject with the haste and incompleteness that too frequently characterise measures devised under circumstances of State trouble and emergency.'

The Bengal Tenancy Bill recently introduced in the Council of the Governor-General is the fruit of a long and protracted inquiry, not only as to the necessity of a change, but also as to the basis upon which it should proceed. Every attempt to deal with vested interests by legislation—more so, perhaps, in this than any other country—evokes a storm of indignation among the classes whom it is likely to affect; and such has been the fate of the new Rent Bill. It is urged that the Government proposals are of a revolutionary character, and aim at a general confiscation of the rights of the zemindars; that they involve a breach of faith with the landlords; that they override all the doctrines of political economy. Ancient copper-plates are dug up, and the pages of Ferishta are ransacked, to establish the position that the zemindars of Bengal, with their valuable rights and privileges, are not the creatures of British Regulations, but that they have existed from ancient times as absolute proprietors of the lands which they possess, free to do what they liked with their own and their tenants' property. As claiming to be absolute proprietors, any restriction on their mode of dealing with their lands is regarded by them as an encroachment on their original rights; and every measure to give security to the tenants is denounced as a redistribution of property. There is a great deal of exaggeration, however, in this view of the main features of the Bill, for even a cursory examination of the antecedent history of proprietary and tenant-right in Bengal, and of the principles of the proposed enactment, would satisfy unbiassed minds that the criticism is in the main unwarranted and groundless. I propose, therefore, to offer in the following pages a review of the circumstances which have led to the introduction of the measure, and to show its bearing on the economical aspect of that great question which has been happily termed the 'life-problem of Bengal.'

When the Mahomedans established themselves in India, they introduced in the administration of their newly acquired territories the rules and institutions which were in force in the countries whence they originally came, with such modifications as were rendered desirable by the altered circumstances of their presence on an alien soil. According to the regulations of Hassan Maimendi, which were framed on the lines of the Saracenic jurists, the sovereign was, in the eye of the law, the lord paramount of the entire land in the country; but his rights and powers were limited and circumscribed by the rights of his subjects. In dealing with the land, he was bound by law to deal equitably with the interests of the cultivators. He could not exact, at least in theory, more than a definite share of tax upon the soil actually in cultivation, and was bound to make allowances in times of drought and scarcity. The person cultivating the land,

either himself or by his servants,¹ was regarded as the real proprietor,² a certain fixed tax, varied periodically according to the gross produce of the land, being paid by him. At the same time, as pointed out by Major Baring, 'the idea of individual property in land, in the sense in which we apply the term in England, had not been attained. An intermediate step had been reached. Community of property no longer existed, but perfect freedom of contract, in respect to the land, was wholly foreign to the ideas of the people.' Such was the general condition of the land system under the Moguls.

It will thus be seen that prior to the Cornwallis Regulations, there is not to be found in the constitution of the country the smallest trace of a class of persons answering to the modern zemindars, and possessing the rights and privileges now claimed for them; entitled by immemorial custom to override the just rights of the cultivator; empowered to increase the burden of the ryot at their own free will; and acknowledging no check on their avidity save their own sense of justice. Such a body of men certainly did not exist under the Moguls, in spite of copper-plates and Ferishta. There can be little doubt that even those zemindars who possessed a permanent heritable interest in the lands in their possession and control were liable to furnish to the Mogul Government, in the best period of its domination, a faithful account of their stewardship; that they were liable to be set aside with the reservation of a small allowance, on failure of the regular remission of the Government revenue; and that when this extreme course was not deemed advisable, *Sazâwuls*, or managers, were appointed to administer their properties. In no case did they possess the power of evicting the ryots, even such as were of a migratory character, so long as these paid their rents regularly.

The whirlwinds of conquest, which so often passed over the face of the country, left untouched the rights and privileges of the ryots. Through all the long centuries of Mussulman domination up to the present date, there has existed 'the living tradition,' to use the words applied to the unfortunate peasantry of another country, 'of a possessory right attached to the status of a cultivator of the soil.'

There is yet extant a Firman of the Emperor Aurungzebe, the value of which, as a contemporaneous record of the social and economic condition of the country, has not been sufficiently appreciated. It is an edict addressed by Aurungzebe to one of his principal officers in regard to the revenue administration of the Empire.

¹ These were called the *Muzâra*, and would be analogous to the Korfa ryots of the present day.

² In Arabia called the *Rab-ul-Arz*; in Persia, the *Dekhan*; in India, *Zemindar*—not the Zemindar in its Bengal sense, but as understood in Northern India, in fact, the village proprietor.

The two most noticeable things in this remarkable document are, first, the extreme solicitude of the sovereign that the rate should be so adjusted as not to press unduly upon the ryots, and under no circumstance to exceed half of the produce; and, secondly, the absence of any reference to a privileged class, whose interests might be supposed to militate against those of the ryots. Another feature, also, deserves close attention—viz. the recognition by the State of the power possessed by the cultivators to transfer their lands by sale or mortgage. The principle of transfer, therefore, which the Government proposes to recognise in the present Bill, is not by any means new, having been in force from ancient times, and having received emphatic recognition under a monarch who never paid much regard to the old traditions of the country.

Aurungzebe died in the year 1707. On the 12th of August, 1765, a memorable day in the annals of this country, the Emperor Shah Alum II. conferred the office of *Dewani* upon the East India Company. By virtue of this office it became the duty of the Company to organise, upon a sound basis, the revenue administration of this province. At first the attempts were confined to improvements in the *morale* of the officers charged with the collection of the land tax. But the instructions issued to the supervisors in 1769, when the President and the Board took the first steps in connection with the Dewani, throw considerable light upon the disastrous consequences to the people, and especially to the agricultural classes, which had followed on the death of Aurungzebe.

The steady decline of the Imperial authority in the outlying provinces, and the general slackening of the reins of administration, had thrown into utter confusion the frame-work of the governing hierarchy. The collectors of revenue, the stewards and bailiffs—*zemindars*, *amils*, *chowdry*s, and *canoongoes*—assumed to themselves powers and privileges which they had never possessed before.

In 1772, the first formal step was taken by the Company in their character of Dewan, and a public regulation passed for the settlement and collection of revenue in the Subahdari of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The land revenue was farmed for five years; the farmers were directed to make the usual advances to the ryots for cultivation; they were prohibited from receiving larger rents than the stipulated amounts, or from levying cesses; and the supervisors were instructed to prepare rent-rolls of each *mahal*, or farm, according to the order in which it stood in the *pergunnah*, which rent-rolls would be freely accessible to the public.

In 1786, Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, charged with the duty of organising, upon a solid and permanent basis, the revenue-system of a province which by one of the strangest freaks of fortune had been entrusted to a band of traders. A member of the British aristocracy, permeated by English notions of feudalism, he naturally

viewed all questions from the standpoint of an English landlord; and the measure which he introduced, and which he so successfully, in spite of the opposition of some of his ablest coadjutors, carried into execution, proves his tenacity of purpose and consistent thoroughness. It cannot be denied that the legislation by which he gave fixity and permanency to the Government demand upon the zemindars has developed the resources of the province, and enriched at least one portion of Her Majesty's subjects—the land-owning class. Had Lord Cornwallis also guaranteed the ryots against the exactions of their landlords, the difficulties which at the present moment agitate the public mind would probably never have arisen. His chief object was to fix in permanence the revenue payable to the State by the farmers, *malguzars*, and zemindars, and to relieve Government from the burden of periodical surveys and assessments. At the same time, he never actually overlooked the claims of the ryots to the protection of the State against unjust and illegal demands on the part of the zemindars. In 1787, the collectors were directed to pay especial and unremitting attention to the ascertainment of the rules and rates of the ryots' assessments, and to endeavour to fix upon some mode by which these might be regulated on general, fair, and definite principles. But the task was one requiring years for its completion. The consequence was, that when the permanent settlement was effected, the collectors had not advanced far towards the accomplishment of the duty imposed on them. Hence, the rights of the ryots were left for the most part unrecorded, and, with some few exceptions, the ryots themselves remained unprotected against encroachments.

Prior to the period of British administration in Bengal, no persons holding ryotti lands, that is to say, none of the immediate cultivators of the soil, could, by the universal custom of the country, be dispossessed of their lands so long as they duly paid their rent. The zemindars did not possess the power of enhancing the rents of the ryots so long as the Government did not increase its demands. If the State demand underwent a variation, the zemindars were authorised to distribute it, according to custom, over the zemindari. Unauthorised levy of cesses subjected the zemindar to serious penalties, and the ryot was always entitled to redress at the hands of the officers of Government in such contingencies. The zemindar was entitled to a fixed amount of the Government revenue, which fluctuated as the revenue increased or decreased. . Let us see if the legislation of Lord Cornwallis made any alteration in the status of the tenants. In his memorable minute of the 3rd of February, 1790, the Governor-General, in justification of his policy of a permanent settlement with the zemindars, observed that the right of the Government to fix at its own discretion the amount of the rents upon the lands had never been disputed; but he added that the zemindars, neither

then nor ever, could possess a right to impose taxes or *abwabs* (illegal cesses) upon the ryots, and that, if new abwabs had been imposed since the English occupation of the country, Government had an undoubted right to abolish such as were oppressive. He further said that to permit the zemindar to dispossess one cultivator for the sole purpose of giving the land to another, would be vesting him with a power to commit a wanton act of oppression, from which he could derive no benefit; that the zemindar, however, might sell the land, and the cultivators must pay the rent to the purchaser.

It is a matter of history that the proposals of Lord Cornwallis were almost in their entirety approved of and sanctioned by the Court of Directors. But while according their sanction to the measures initiated by the Governor-General, they do not seem to have been quite easy in their minds with regard to the future results of the step they were taking; and hence we find that, in terms as emphatic as can be imagined, they reserve the right to interfere from time to time to make such regulations as may be necessary for the protection of the ryots and subordinate landholders.

Such was the character of the system introduced by Lord Cornwallis. In order to give rest to the province, to protect both the zemindars and the agricultural classes from the harassment of a periodical settlement, to induce the zemindars to improve the estates thus settled with them, and to secure the public revenue, the State, in accordance with a long existing and customary law of the country, limited its demand upon the landlords. It did not attempt to alter the status of the ryots, or materially to modify the pre-existing relations of the landlords and the inferior holders, or to vest in the zemindars powers which the sovereign himself hardly ever claimed to exercise. In theory at least, the ryot remained as before, a cultivator; entitled to hold by perpetual renewals, at the customary established rates; such rates being the rates established in the pergunnah for lands of the same description and quality.³ Their rates could not legally be enhanced beyond the customary rates, nor could they be ejected as long as they duly paid their rents. Though the zemindars, however, were prohibited from enhancing the rates of rent, they were not debarred absolutely from raising their income. In almost every case, extensive tracts of waste lands, tracts which were in some districts once populous and flourishing, but which the inroads of marauders and the convulsions of a dying empire had denuded of their population, were made over to the zemindars with the other lands of their estates. Their reclamation afforded ample room to the zemindars to add to their income. But in accordance with the ancient custom of the country, ryots settling and creating villages on these lands were entitled, in the first instance, to special privileges as breakers up of virgin soil, and afterwards to all the rights of resident

³ Mr. Justice O'Kinealy's Minute; comp. sec. 6, Reg. IV. of 1794.

cultivators. As a matter of fact, the great landed proprietors of the present day have no reason to complain, for their incomes from land in the course of the last quarter of a century, in spite of all drawbacks, have, in almost every case, doubled or trebled, or increased by even higher multiples.

Such was the *contract* or *compact* upon the strength of which it is now urged that Government is precluded from legislating in favour of the ryots, and which furnishes the basis for the argument that the proposed measure 'is contrary both to the spirit and to the express terms of the Permanent Settlement; in fact, that it involves a breach of the contract made in 1793 between Lord Cornwallis, on behalf of the British Government, and the zemindars.'

The Regulations of 1793, while causing by their silence serious injury to the interests of the ryots, proved a very qualified blessing to the then existing generation of zemindars. The rigid application of the Law of Sale, which brought an estate to the hammer on the least default in payment of the Government revenue, required from them a degree of punctuality utterly opposed to their habits. Accustomed to the easy rule of the Moguls, which, though harsh in some directions and punishing refractoriness summarily, regarded with patriarchal complaisance ordinary deviations from punctuality, they were either unprepared or unwilling to carry into effect the intentions of Government. The zemindars complained that the farmers refused to pay their rents; the Government complained that the zemindars allowed their estates to fall into arrears, with the fraudulent object of having them sold, and then purchasing them anew in the names of others, free from incumbrances. Naturally every plea for indulgence was at first refused. The consequence was that within the space of a few years the large majority of the zemindars of 1793 were absolutely sold out and their places taken by new men. Even of these, few are now in existence. Want of thrift in some cases, the strict exaction of the Government demand in others, have displaced many of those who came into existence immediately after the Cornwallis Regulations. It is for the more recent generations of purchasers that the cry is raised, that as they have invested their capital in the purchase of lands on the good faith of Government, they ought not to be deprived of any power or privilege, legitimate or illegitimate, or be prevented from exacting from the ryots anything that their position may enable them to extort, or custom may seem to warrant their demanding. People, however, who are aware of the nature of revenue-sale proceedings may well doubt the seriousness of this argument. It is a notorious fact that at revenue-sales properties seldom fetched their proper value. Cases are known of estates worth several hundred thousands being knocked down for a few hundred rupees. And in those days, when the collector's ministerial subordinates were often in league

with the agents for purchasers, or with zemindars seeking to effect collusive transfers, sales of properties were frequent and extremely lucrative to the purchasers.

That the feelings between the new zemindars and the cultivating classes were from the outset by no means of a sympathetic character is sufficiently evidenced by the troubles in Eastern Bengal, to which reference will be made later on. Short measuring poles and illegitimate exactions called from the ryots a demand for the rates of their former landlords, and proper measurement as recognised in the adjacent villages. But it was long ere their complaints attracted due attention from the authorities. In the beginning of the century the Government was concerned only with the realisation of revenue, heedless of all other considerations. In order to remove the complaints of the zemindars that they were unable to realise their rents from the farmer and tenants, the Government framed Regulation VII. of 1799, which conferred on the zemindar the power of distraint, and in the case of arrears exceeding 500 rupees due from under-tenants, the power of arresting their persons. It further empowered the zemindars to seize the ryots and bring them to the Zemindary office, there to be kept in confinement till the sums due from them were realised by the sale of their farms and property. It is impossible to believe that powers so extensive would have been given by the Government, had it not laboured under the impression that the ryots were protected by law and custom against the exaction of more than the regular pergunnah rates of rent.

The despotic and oppressive manner in which the powers vested in the zemindars were exercised, attracted some notice from the Government even in those early days; and in 1803, Regulation XXVIII. was passed to protect the persons of ryots from confinement. It enacted that though the personal property of the farmers and ryots might be distrained and sold for arrears of rent, their persons were not to be confined, nor was any corporal punishment to be inflicted on them upon any pretext whatsoever. But neither this nor any other Regulation had the effect of putting a stop to the oppression of the zemindars, who went on confining and ill-treating their ryots wherever it suited their purpose, until the year 1860, when the almost Draconic provisions of the Penal Code inspired a salutary fear in the hearts of all rural despots. The next Regulation which I shall notice as affecting the ryots was the Regulation V. of 1812, which repealed the limitation imposed by an earlier statute on the powers of the zemindars to grant leases for a period exceeding ten years. Though this Regulation contained no provision for the enhancement of rent, and the zemindar was still legally bound to give leases in evidence of tenancy at pergunnah rates, beyond which he could not go, yet indirectly it tended to pave the way for various exactions. The zemindar was authorised by this new law to realise his rent in the following ways:—

- (1) By serving a writ of demand on his tenant.
- (2) By distress or sale of his farm.
- (3) By sale of his moveable property.

Now, each of these methods contained the amplest opportunity for extortion of every kind; nor could the law step in to protect the ryots. The position of the cultivator was also injuriously affected by the powers given from time to time to purchasers of estates at sales for arrears of Government revenue.

From 1799 to 1859, as the Lieutenant-Governor remarked in his speech in Council, 'feudalism on one hand, serfdom on the other,' were the principal characteristics of the land system of Bengal. In theory, 'the constitutional claims of the peasantry' were maintained intact; but practically they were lost in the usurpations and encroachments of the landlords. In 1819, the Court of Directors complained, almost in piteous terms, of the failure of their benevolent intentions in regard to the ryots. The Marquis of Hastings, about the same time, regretted that Lord Cornwallis's Settlement, so generously conceived, had subjected almost the whole of the lower classes to most grievous oppression. And Mr. Leycester, senior judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adalat, writes thus in 1827: 'In many parts of the country the resident cultivators are the actual slaves of the landholders, and liable to be mortgaged, bartered, or let to hire, the same as his oxen and goats, at his will and pleasure.'

But whilst the zemindar was permitted to have such absolute power over his ryots, the law never purported to give him authority to eject in default of payment for enhanced rates. *Salamis*, or forced benevolences, were often exacted; the ryots were treated as slaves; but the right of ouster, vested in the zemindar, was, as far as the law was concerned, strictly limited to the case of non-payment of the legal customary zemindari dues.

Such was the position of the ryot and the state of the law when the legislature conceived in 1859 the scheme of consolidating the rules and regulations on the subject of the mutual relations of landlords and tenants. The Act then passed undoubtedly effected a great improvement in the material condition of the ryots, and afforded them some protection against the exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the zemindars; but the rule for the acquisition of prescriptive occupancy right, by a twelve years' occupation of particular plots of land, did more harm than good. The rules also for the enhancement of rent by a uniform reference to the value of produce were not only contrary to the spirit of the former Regulations, but by their unworkable character added largely to the difficulties surrounding the land question in Bengal, and their impracticability was in a few years clearly exposed.

In 1869, the jurisdiction in rent cases was transferred to the Civil Courts. Whilst the jurisdiction remained with the Revenue

Courts, the result of suits had been generally in favour of the landlords. Since the transfer, the result has been chiefly in favour of the ryots, owing to the Civil Courts insisting upon stricter proof of the grounds upon which enhancement is asked for. But the principle of proportion, even in its modified form, has proved utterly unworkable. It involves economic and agricultural inquiries wholly beyond the scope of the Civil Courts.

The inquiries of the Famine Commission have proved that the state of agriculture in Bengal is in a very backward condition, though undeniably it differs in different tracts. For example, in places where the ryots possess transferable occupancy rights, not only is the state of agriculture more flourishing, but the ryots themselves are more prosperous than in places where they are mere tenants at will. But, generally speaking, it may be affirmed that the land industry of Bengal is in a very backward condition. In the next place, though the value of produce in Bengal is increasing, there can be little doubt that there is a sensible increase in the expense of cultivation and a decrease in the yield of the produce. The increase in the expense of cultivation is principally owing to three causes—viz., a rise in the rate of wages of agricultural labourers; (2) a rise in the rate of rent; and (3) a rise in the price of cattle. The diminution in the yield of the land is due in the main to the smallness of the holdings, combined, it is often said, with a deterioration in the productive powers of the soil. Unless, therefore, the circumstances which materially affect the profit derived from their labours are taken into consideration, the rule laid down in Section 17 must of necessity cause serious hardship to the ryots. Supposing even these considerations could be left out of the question, and the former value of produce could be ascertained in order to determine the proportion justly payable by the ryot, is the result arrived at to be regarded as invariable? Supposing the landlord got a certain rate fixed when the value of the produce rose, would he, after having obtained an enhancement decree, reduce the rate when the market happened to fall? These are some of the problems connected with the present condition of the Bengal land-system. There is a consensus of testimony, that, in spite of some improvement in the material condition of the ryots, generally speaking the improvement is more apparent than real. The prosperity of the cultivating classes depends essentially on the extent of their holdings; and it has been proved conclusively that throughout Bengal and Behar the holdings of the majority of ryots are below two or three acres.

The difficulties connected with the land question grew to a head with the agrarian riots in Eastern Bengal, which opened the eyes of the people to the serious complications involved in the points at issue, and made them realise the spirit of unrest and discontent that was abroad among the agricultural classes.

The origin of the Pubna outbreak in 1873 illustrates strikingly the feeling of exasperation existing between the peasantry and the landlords in some parts of Bengal, and the general nature of the rent dispute. The tenantry broke out first in the Esafsahi Pergunnah, which was formerly owned by the Rajahs of Nattore. In the decay of that ancient family, a part of their possessions was purchased by newcomers, who were for the most part strangers to the district, who had no sympathy with their tenantry, and whose relations with their ryots and with each other appear to have been unfriendly from the first. These men began at once to raise the collections by decreasing the standard of measurement and by imposing illegal cesses, which, as usual, were afterwards more or less consolidated with the rent. Disputes began to run high between the landlords and the tenants. The lawless character of some of the zemindars and of the agents of others led to affrays in which many lives were lost. The zemindars employed professional clubmen to coerce their ryots, and they, on their side, repulsed and resisted violence by combination amongst themselves. Alarmed at the prospect of Government interference with the assessment of rents, several of the zemindars commenced demanding written engagements from the ryots, and succeeded in extorting from a few most one-sided agreements. But the majority refused, and suits were instituted, on the basis of measurement papers and receipts which were subsequently declared by a Court of justice to be forgeries.

The procedure for the enhancement of rents adopted by the zemindars of the Esafsahi Pergunnah was by no means exceptional; on the contrary, the Government of Bengal considers it as typical of the method followed by unscrupulous zemindars in many parts of the province. Sir George Campbell realised that the differences between the zemindars and the ryots were such as to require a thorough revision of the existing law. Owing, however, to a variety of circumstances, chiefly the pressure of the two great famines which afflicted the country about that time, the Government of India deferred to a more convenient season the consideration of a general measure. At the same time the Secretary of State directed that the question at issue between the ryots and the zemindars throughout Bengal should be carefully watched, so that when the proper time arrived an effectual remedy might be applied. During 1874-75, the annual reports furnished to the local Government dwelt incessantly upon the demoralising state of conflict in which the landlords and tenants were to be found all over this province. In 1875, Sir Richard Temple, who had taken the place of Sir George Campbell, again brought forward the proposal regarding the amendment of the substantive law, and asked for leave to introduce a measure into the local Council, but before he could get a reply he was sent to Southern India to look after the relief measures.

Affairs were in this position when Sir Ashley Eden assumed charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal.

After much discussion with the leading zemindars and experienced revenue officers, a Bill was introduced into the Bengal Council, providing a summary procedure for the realisation of arrears of rent for a period not exceeding twelve months. The zemindars stood admittedly in need of this remedial measure; and it was thought that by affording them relief in this direction they would be willing to make some concessions in favour of the ryots. Certain provisions were accordingly inserted in the Bill, with the object of extending the transferability of occupancy rights and of allowing the ryots to pay their rents by quarterly instalments. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, which, after carefully examining its details, reported that, instead of piecemeal legislation, a comprehensive and general enactment was necessary to settle the multifarious questions at the bottom of the land difficulty. Upon receiving this recommendation, the Lieutenant-Governor, with the sanction of Lord Lytton's Government, appointed a Commission consisting of some of the ablest and most experienced officers of Government and two landlords, to institute a searching inquiry into the land system of Bengal, and to draft a measure by which the rights of the parties might be satisfactorily explained and established once for all. The Commission collected a mass of evidence on the subject, and submitted along with its report a draft Bill, which, in connection with a bill framed by another Commission that had especially applied itself to Behar, was carefully considered by the Lieutenant-Governor. Several modifications were introduced by Sir Ashley Eden into the Bill of the Bengal Commission, with which the suggestions of the Behar Commission were partially amalgamated. In July 1880 the Government of India received the Report of the Bengal Government with the Bill, as modified by Sir Ashley Eden. The Bill, which was despatched for the sanction of the Secretary of State in March 1882, was received in January last, and the present measure was introduced in Council on the 2nd of March.

Although great care and attention have been bestowed upon the measure, there is no doubt that some of the provisions still require anxious consideration, and must undergo considerable modification before they can finally be enacted into law.

I propose, therefore, to indicate briefly the general provisions which the Bill embodies. The two main objects of the present legislation are (1) to give reasonable security to the tenant in the occupation and enjoyment of his land, and (2) to give reasonable facilities to the landlord for the settlement and recovery of his rent. In order to attain the first object, it is proposed to make the following changes in the existing system :—

(1) To extend the occupancy right to all resident ryots holding lands in a particular village or estate for more than twelve years.

(2) To make occupancy rights transferable.

(3) To introduce a fixed maximum standard for the enhancement of rents.

As regards the first proposal, the sketch already given of the original status of the resident ryots, prior to the enactment of Act X. of 1859, must show that the Legislature has no new object in view. It only aims at the restoration of the resident ryot to his old position. The disastrous and demoralising consequences resulting from the twelve years' rule of prescription are now recognised by all classes of society. It did away with the long-established distinction between the resident and non-resident ryots, reducing them all to a dead level of uniformity—the ryots, who claimed rights of occupancy, being required under the existing law to prove that they have held for twelve years not merely in the village lands but *in every one of the particular fields or plots in respect of which the right was claimed*. When it is borne in mind how frequently the twelve years' prescription is interrupted by a mere shifting of the fields, sometimes by eviction within the term, sometimes by the grant of terminable leases for short periods with the option of renewal, it will become apparent how difficult it is in general for the ryot to acquire a right of occupancy, or to prove it when it is questioned. There is, it will be remembered, no field-survey in Bengal. Considering the testimony which has been borne from all sides of India as to the prosperity of the ryots possessing occupancy tenures, their ability to withstand and make head against droughts and scarcities, and to tide over in general more successfully such disasters as were caused by the cyclones and the great tidal wave in Deltaic Bengal, it is unjust to charge the Government of India with being doctrinaires and theorists for believing that a measure facilitating the proof of occupancy rights is essential to the well-being of the agricultural population of Bengal.

The Bill also provides against settled ryots contracting themselves out of their occupancy status. Naturally the expediency of this provision has been much questioned, and Government has been attacked with considerable vehemence for attempting, against every principle of political economy, to interfere with freedom of contract. How far political economy, however, is applicable to a country where the mass of the people live from hand to mouth, is a question which was answered effectually, though at the cost of a million lives, during the Orissa famine.

If the extension of occupancy rights among the ryots be conducive to the general welfare of the community, there can be little doubt that the provision for the avoidance of contracts, entered into by the tenant, debarring himself from acquiring such rights, is founded on correct principle and good policy.

The proposal to make occupancy tenures generally transferable is

the natural outcome of the times. Although there is no provision to that effect in the existing law, such transfers have become frequent under the custom of different localities. The necessity of giving the ryot a permanent alienable interest in the soil, which he may sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of to the best advantage without detriment to his landlord, is appreciated on all sides.

The Bill proposes to give the ryots not only the power of alienation by private sale or mortgage, but it also provides that the occupancy holding shall be liable to be sold in execution of the landlord's decree for arrears of rent. But in order to protect the interests of the zemindars, and to prevent the possible introduction of a hostile tenant, the Bill declares that in all cases of transfer of occupancy holdings, whether by private sale, or by sale in execution of decree, or by foreclosure, the landlord shall have a right of pre-emption. In cases of private sale or foreclosure, the landlord may, if necessary, apply to the Civil Court to fix a fair price, or the amount of the mortgage debt; such purchase or redemption to result in the land being placed at his disposal as unoccupied ryot's land.

Two objections have been urged against the proposal to make occupancy rights transferable. First, it is said that the result of a general power of transfer will be, that in the course of a few years the land will pass out of the hands of the cultivators into the possession of middlemen and money-lenders, thus defeating the object of Government to raise up a body of tenantry who would do justice to the soil and be able to bear the pressure of one or two seasons of scarcity. Secondly, it is urged that, in places where the cultivation of indigo is carried on to any extent, the ryots would transfer their rights to the planters, to the injury of the zemindars. With reference to the first objection, it may be said at once that the experience of competent observers, gathered from districts where the custom of transferability prevails at present, does not justify the apprehensions so generally entertained. The transfers which have hitherto taken place have not had the effect of making the lands pass out of the hands of *bonâ-fide* agriculturists. Perhaps the original proposal of the Government of India, as embodied in the despatch of the 21st of March, 1882, to restrict the operation of transfers in favour of agriculturists only, would have been more expedient, and it is not unlikely that the point will receive serious consideration in Committee. But, with the right of pre-emption possessed by the zemindar, it seems scarcely possible that the ryots could be able to make the apprehended changes to their own ruin without question. And it is to the interest of the zemindars themselves that the holdings of the ryots should be made transferable. The difficulty and delay of which the landlords complain in obtaining the fruits of a decree for arrears of rent, arise invariably from the impossibility of reaching any property of the ryot. The average ryot, as Mr. Field points out, is too poor for pro-

cess against his moveables to be productive of much result. His few household pots and pans are either absolutely valueless, or so necessary to him, that it would be the height of cruelty to deprive him of them; his cattle are either essential to his existence or easily got out of the way; while to issue execution against his person would be to incur the costs of his subsistence during imprisonment. By making a ryot's holding saleable in execution of a decree, at least one important guarantee is furnished to the landlords for the realisation of the debt and costs.

It has been urged that the right of pre-emption given to the zemindars, instead of being an advantage to them implies the imposition of a fresh burden. In each case where the right would be exercised, fresh costs would be incurred; these extra outlays would bring no profit to the landlord, and would merely reduce the percentage of his income. For example, suppose a zemindar purchases a property for 50,000 rupees, the rental is calculated according to a certain standard. If, afterwards, he has to spend another 10,000 rupees in the exercise of his right of pre-emption, this extra outlay is either a dead loss to him, or, by being added to the original consideration, reduces the percentage of rental. To this the evident answer is, that even now an incoming tenant pays a substantial bonus to the landlord; when rights of occupancy are made transferable, the value will be immensely increased; and the landlord is sure to recoup himself by the price he would be paid for the holdings in the shape of a bonus or premium.

So far, then, the Bill merely proposes to recognise existing facts, and to place the general body of the resident cultivators in the position which they have all along been really entitled to hold. It takes nothing from the zemindars but a power of summary eviction which they never legally possessed, and which no respectable landlord would ever care to exercise. It increases materially the security for the rent, and by strengthening the tenant-right of the cultivators makes them better able to resist famine and the pressure of bad seasons.

The Bill makes provision further, on behalf of the ryots, as to the rent payable by an occupancy tenant; for his paying it in kind; for his suing to have it commuted into a money-rent; and for the manner in which such money-rent is to be determined. Some of the sections, however, require careful consideration.

Having so far protected the ryots, the Bill goes on to provide the zemindar with means of enhancing his rents in a reasonable manner from time to time. It empowers the landlord of a holding held at a money-rent by an occupancy ryot to institute a suit for the enhancement of his rent on certain specified grounds. It also provides rules for cases where an increase in the productive powers of the land has taken place by the agency or at the expense of

the landlord, or partly by the agency or at the expense of the landlord, and partly by the agency or at the expense of the ryot. In the former case, the landlord would be entitled to the whole benefit of the increase; in the latter, the zemindar and ryot would get the benefit mutually, according to what the Court would consider 'fair and equitable.'

Section 76 provides that the rent of a holding shall not be enhanced in a suit 'under any of the foregoing sections, so that the enhanced rent shall be more than double the rent previously payable.'

Section 77 authorises the Court to distribute the increment over a series of years not exceeding five, 'until the limit of the enhancement decreed has been reached.' This section is expressly limited to cases in which the Court considers that the immediate enforcement of the decree to its full extent would be attended with hardship to the ryot.

Section 78 declares that when rent has been once enhanced, it shall remain in force for ten years, and no suit for enhancement shall be maintainable during this period. This is a wise provision, and will put a stop to the incessant harassing to which ryots are subjected in many parts of Bengal.

The local Government is empowered to direct a revenue officer to prepare for any local area, with the aid of assessors, a table showing for each class of land comprised in that area the rate of rent fairly and equitably payable by occupancy ryots, the average gross produce of land, and the average value of that produce.

The table is to remain in force for such period, not less than ten nor more than thirty years, as the local Government may direct; and while it remains in force it will be conclusive evidence, excepting in two classes of cases, of the equitable character of the rates, and of the value of the produce. The task of the Civil Courts will thus be immensely simplified as well as lightened.

To understand the full effect of these provisions, it must be remembered that at present legal enhancement of rents is impossible. A landlord can only get an increase of rent by persuading or coercing his ryot into giving it. The Government propose here to revert practically to the ancient custom of the country, and to place enhancement under the control of the revenue officers. The result will be to put money into the pocket of every landlord, in Eastern Bengal at any rate; but because the power of summary eviction is at the same time barred, the zemindars denounce the Bill as revolutionary. They would gladly accept the enhancement, but will not concede its necessary concomitant, effective protection of the cultivator.

The Bill also makes a very important distinction between *khâmâr* or *zerâet* land, which the landlord may use as he likes, and ryotti land, in relation to which ryots are entitled to occupancy rights. The zemindars would not be entitled under the new law to

increase the area of the existing *khâmâr* or *zerâet* land, so as to withdraw for their own especial pleasure or benefit any portion of the present ryotti lands from the cultivation or the possible use of ryots.

Coming now to ordinary ryots—ryots who do not possess occupancy rights—we find that under the existing law the rent of such a ryot can be enhanced only after service of notice. If after receiving the notice the ryot elects to remain in possession of the land, he is liable to eviction or to pay the rent demanded. The Bill provides that the landlord shall not eject an ordinary ryot except on the following grounds:—

(a) For arrears of rent;

(b) On the ground that the ryot has used the land in a manner which renders it unfit for the purposes of tenancy, or that he has broken some condition on breach of which he is, under the terms of a written contract, liable to be ejected; or

(c) That he has refused to agree to an enhancement of rent on which the landlord insists.

In order to facilitate the growth of occupancy rights, as the only means of promoting the agricultural prosperity of the country, and to prevent the indiscriminate exercise of the device at present resorted to—namely, notice of exorbitant enhancements followed by evictions—it is provided that when the landlord proposes an enhancement to which the ryot does not agree, the ryot would be entitled, before being turned out, to the value of any improvements he may have effected, and ‘a further sum by way of compensation for disturbance, equal to a certain multiple of the yearly increment of rent demanded.’ The term ‘disturbance,’ it must be admitted, is not well chosen, and naturally has caused some apprehension on the part of the zemindars. Of course, from the ryot’s point of view, to be suddenly called upon to pay an exorbitant increased rent, and, in default thereof, to be turned out of his land on which he has lived for several years, and then to be forced to find another plot for his sustenance, is a serious calamity. If the zemindar is anxious to turn out the tenant, the small bonus contemplated by the Bill is an insignificant matter. ‘The object in view,’ to use the words of the Law Member, ‘is to fix a multiple of the increase high enough to deter the landlord from making an extravagant demand, but not so high that the ryot would be induced by the prospect of obtaining it to refuse to accede to a reasonable enhancement.’ This provision will require careful consideration in Select Committee, as its success or failure will depend mainly upon the care which will be bestowed upon its elaboration at this stage. There is no doubt that from the zemindar’s point of view the provision is one by which his proprietary rights are greatly curtailed; at the same time, it must not be ignored that the encouragement which the Legislature proposes

to accord by the new measure to the growth of occupancy rights would serve as a great inducement to zemindars to evict ryots before they have acquired such rights, upon their refusal to accede to an exorbitant demand for increase of rent. That this fear is not based upon mere conjecture will be shown from the proceedings of the Zemindars' Associations, and the views openly expressed by many of them. The unsatisfactory character of the zemindari papers and accounts has not escaped notice in the Bill. Most of the complaints urged against the land system of Bengal as existing at present are founded upon this evil, which seems inherent to all zemindari management throughout Bengal. In order to remove the possibility of false testimony, the Bill provides that every landlord shall give to his tenant paying him rent a receipt containing full details of the ryot's liabilities, and shall keep a counterfoil of every receipt so granted; and that when a receipt does not contain full particulars, it shall be deemed to be an acquittance in full up to date. The landlord is also under the Bill bound to furnish the ryot for each agricultural year with a detailed statement of account between himself and such ryot for that year, and to keep a counterpart of every statement so furnished. Refusal or neglect to give receipts or furnish accounts subjects the person so refusing or neglecting to penal damages. These provisions, no doubt, will entail additional burdens upon the zemindars, and will to some extent add to the cost of collection; but, in the end, the change will be as beneficial to the zemindars as to the ryots. If the accounts are kept properly and the receipts are open to no suspicion, the false defences so often raised by ryots will be rigorously discouraged in courts of justice; thus the saving in the cost of litigation will more than compensate for any extra cost incurred in acting up to the provisions of the law.

The Bill also provides for the deposit of rent in a public office, (1) when the rent is payable to co-sharers jointly, and the tenant is unable to obtain their joint receipt, and no person has been empowered to receive the rent on their behalf; and (2) when a tenant entertains a *bonâ-fide* doubt as to who is entitled to receive the rent. This latter clause, however, requires consideration. In places where the state of feeling between zemindars and ryots is at all strained, the tenants would be most apt to make use of this provision of the law as an engine for harassing their landlords. The discretion vested in the officer to refuse the deposit, if he does not think the circumstances of the case warrant its being made, does not seem, in my opinion, sufficient to meet the apprehended evil.

Besides the preparation of a table of rates, the Bill contains a chapter providing for the detailed settlement of rents by a revenue officer in certain cases. Under Chapter XI. the local Government is invested with the power of appointing an officer either to fix or merely to ascertain and record rents. After the rents are settled, the

officer making the settlement will prepare *jamabandi* papers (a rent-roll) showing the status of each tenant, the land held by him, the name of his landlord, whether the rent has been fixed or ascertained, and the amount of rent fixed or ascertained. This *jamabandi* will be published, and after sufficient opportunity has been allowed to the parties interested to prefer objections to the entries made by the settlement officer, it will be submitted to the higher revenue-authorities, and if ultimately sanctioned by the local Government, will continue in force for ten years.

As regards the procedure in rent-suits, no material change is made by the Bill. The power of appeal in certain cases is withdrawn, but in general the procedure remains as under the existing law. Most of the suggestions that have been put forward on behalf of the landlords for simplifying the procedure are totally unworkable, or, as the Law Member pointed out, are ingeniously disguised contrivances for shifting the burden of proof. The Legislature has, however, endeavoured to simplify the rules applicable to particular classes of suits between landlords and tenants as much as possible, and assimilate them to the procedure adopted in suits cognisable by the Court of Small Causes.

The power of distraint is given to the zemindars for the recovery of undisputed rent, but such power can only be exercised through the medium of the Civil Court. The Court, after a brief examination of the case, will depute an officer to distraint and sell the produce, and nothing will stay the sale except the payment into Court of the amount of the demand. This provision regarding distraint appears to be the result of a compromise. The Rent Commission suggested that the existing law of distraint, which had been abused in various parts of Bengal, should be abolished altogether. To this proposal strong objections were justly urged, on the ground that the withdrawal of every power of distraint would make it simply impossible for zemindars to recover the arrears of even undisputed rents. 'The procedure provided by this chapter was then devised by the Government of Bengal, as being likely to secure to the landlords most of the advantages afforded by the existing law, without exposing their tenants to the evils now complained of.'

Such are the main features of the measure in which an endeavour has been made to solve the land-problem of Bengal. In view of the conflict of interests existing between the landlords on one side and the tenants on the other, it is impossible to expect that either party will be satisfied with or willingly accept the proposals of Government. The zemindars have all along asked for a law which would enable them to enhance the rents of their ryots at their own discretion, and to realise such rents without the necessity of a recourse to Law Courts, as implying a check on the liberty of their action. The ryots, on the other hand, are not always ready to pay even their just rents, and claim at times to sit at rates that have long been obsolete.

As regards the zemindars' demands, the obvious answer is that no Government in the world can afford to hand over one class of its subjects to another, or subordinate the one to the other, so as to lead to serfdom. It is the duty of every well-organised Government to guard the interests of all sections of the community. Ninety years ago the Legislature made a blunder in not defining the mutual rights of the zemindars and ryots. After the lapse of a period close upon a century, it has awakened to the perception of the dangers involved in allowing any longer such rights to remain undefined and indeterminate. Because the Legislature did not define the rights of the tenants before, it would be absurd to say that those rights are non-existent. Nor can the Government pay any heed to unreasonable demands on the part of the ryots. All that the ryots can justly claim is to be assured of their holdings, with reasonable security against capricious eviction and illegitimate enhancement. The new Rent Bill represents an honest endeavour on the part of Government to furnish a satisfactory solution for some of the difficulties, and to place as far as possible the mutual relations of the two parties to the present question upon a definite and intelligible basis.

AMEER ALI.

THE THEATRE AND THE MOB.

A CLEVER and thoughtful dramatist has lately complained that playgoers of to-day will not accept literature and poetry from modern authors. The question thus raised is too wide and complex to be settled by a definite 'Yes' or 'No.' Among the many hopeful signs of a real and permanent dramatic revival in England there are only too many assurances that, while on the whole playgoers may be said to desire literature and poetry, the great body of them also much more desire many much less worthy things—sensation, realism, noise, tricks of surprise, huge scenic effects, tawdry dresses, foolish songs—anything but the quiet, steady, faithful portraiture of character in natural fitting language. On the one side we have Shakespeare glorified, and a manager telling us that he seeks to raise the drama and make his theatre the worthy home of intellectual plays; on the other side we have Shakespeare decried as a bungling, tedious, impracticable impostor, 'who did not know how to write a play, and we have a manager telling us that he considers himself a shopkeeper, and, rightly interpreting his duty as a shopkeeper in a nation of shopkeepers, is of course bound to supply the public with whatever compound, deleterious or otherwise, it may have a passing fancy for. And in the meantime many new plays of all kinds are produced, much fuss is raised over them, but they all 'grow up and perish as the summer fly'; they have no permanent value or influence; crowds go to see them, and come away like a man beholding his natural face in a glass, straightway forgetting what they have seen; and, on the whole, the modern English drama remains, in its literary aspect, as far as ever from attaining the grandeur and dignity of a great national, noble, self-respecting art.

Compare the drama with her sister arts—poetry, music, painting. Each year sees the production of much permanently valuable work in each of these spheres. No year is absolutely barren, while looking back on the nineteenth century as a whole we see that it is rich almost to plethora in all these arts. But of all our modern plays, and their name is legion, can one be pointed out that has roused or penetrated the mind of the nation, shaken its conscience, bitten a

hold upon any serious problem of life, or come to us with any authentic tidings of the destiny of

Man who passeth by,
So like a God, so like the brutes that die ?

While coming to those plays that pretend to deal seriously with lofty and vital concerns, does not Urania meet their contrivers 'with darkened brow,' as Hecate met the witches, and ask of them how they dare, saucy and overbold, to traffic in the mysteries of life and death without her aid ? And of all the plays that have been recently successful, is there one of them that will have any value or interest in fifty years' time, beyond perhaps raising some curious sociological question as to what kind of old shoe-leather broth English playgoers thankfully swallowed as good dramatic victual in such or such a year ?

It would be therefore rash to affirm in a round, unqualified way that the British public want literature and poetry on their stage, for it is quite clear that to a great part of the theatrical entertainments taking place in London nightly, literature and poetry are not merely indifferent, but directly antagonistic. And yet all these widely different kinds of entertainment are to a great extent patronised by the same body of habitual playgoers, and many units of the same crowd that to-night are making the success of a Shakespearean revival, will to-morrow night be making the success of a frivolous burlesque.

Looking closely into the matter and trying to discern which way we are drifting, it is essential to notice two opposing sets of facts and tendencies.

1st. The great majority of playgoers never have come to the theatre, and in no period of time that can be safely reckoned upon, are they likely to come to the theatre, for literature and poetry, for any kind of moral, artistic, or intellectual stimulus, or for any other purpose than mere amusement and pastime. Putting aside the specially selected audience of a first night, the great bulk of every audience of every theatre, even where an artistic and intellectual programme is provided, look upon an evening at the play as an alternative to going to see a new giantess, a new conjuring trick, a new feat of horsemanship, or a new murderer at Madame Tussaud's. They come jaded from the impure air of shops, factories, and offices, from the hard stress of business, professional, or domestic duties, and they are incapable or impatient of the intellectual exertion and prolonged attention necessary to judge a serious work of art.

A poem may be written for the few, a picture may be painted for the few, and the poet and painter may wait with contemptuous patience for the verdict of the centuries. But a play must be successful at once ; it must catch the crowd on its first week, or the manager

cannot afford to keep it on his bills, and it is withdrawn with the stigma of failure fixed to it for ever. Milton's noble wish, 'Fit audience let me find though few,' must always be held in scornful reprobation by theatrical managers and dramatic authors. Under this hard condition, therefore, of immediate recognition, immediate approval by the multitude,—that multitude, as Ruskin says, 'always awake to the lowest pleasures art can bestow and blunt to the highest'—under this hard condition every play is produced. One may get some notion of what a blighting effect this must have had, and may continue to have, upon our drama, by imagining the present condition of English literature if no works had survived except those stamped by the immediate acceptance of the mob.

Putting aside modern burlesque as a product which neither art nor common sense need be very much concerned with, it has followed from this condition of immediate popular acceptance, that, in the lighter drama and comedy, only those plays have succeeded that have ministered to the smug self-complacence and avoided shocking the petty conventional morality of British—one must use the word, there is no other, and it is time to incorporate it and drop the capital letter—philistinism. And accordingly, in one popular piece, amongst much real fun and kindly humour, and genuine and true touches of character, we find the main drift is to show that buttermen on the whole are pleasanter, franker, more jovial, and more genuine than baronets. And as so many more of us belong to the buttermen class than to the baronetage, we all feel highly flattered and reassured when it is proved to us that, after all, our own snobbishness and vulgarity are much to be preferred to the snobbishness and vulgarity of the upper classes. It is as comforting as listening to Mr. Bright, and we feel what nice people we are, we great middle classes.

Passing from the middle classes, we may see where the verdict of an *upper* class mob leads us, in another popular piece where, smeared afresh with the agony and bloody sweat of Inkerman, with its wounds yet festering, and its noble dead scarcely buried all around us, we are asked by those who carry on the serious interest of the play to dwell upon nothing but the important fact that Miss Featherstonhaugh, who always used to wear 'pink,' wears 'green' now; and by those who carry on the comic interest to join in some quite infantile gambols over an unloaded gun and a roly-poly pudding. Leaving the comic business to be justified, if it may, by a reference to that strange incessant interplay of comedy and tragedy which is the surest fact in human life, and the unerring grip of which is the final test of the master-humourist, leaving the comic business, what can be said, what can be thought of a heroine meeting her lover in such a time and such a place and having nothing to say but 'Miss Featherstonhaugh has left off dressing in pink and wears green now.' To which the personage who does duty as hero replies, 'Good

gracious!' which is followed by other items of conversation of the same stamp. And if it is urged that this is just what *may* have been said under the circumstances, one can only reply, 'So much the worse for the facts; the drama should paint the *truth* of human life, and not the *facts*.'

And by way of antidote let us call up for a moment the soldier-dramatist who 'chased the Medes at Marathon,' and let him show how the toils and glories of a soldier's life should be painted, and him, too, the reconqueror and renower of Agincourt, and let us ask him how a soldier should meet his mistress. Out of all his swarming examples let us take two; that one on the strand of Cyprus—

Othello.

Oh my soul's joy!

If after every tempest come such calms,
May the winds blow till they have waken'd death!
And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas
Olympus high, and duck again as low
As hell's from heaven! If it were now to die,
'Twere now to be most happy; for I fear
My soul hath her content so absolute,
That not another comfort like to this
Succeeds in unknown fate.

And that other one, more glorious still, under the walls of Alexandria, last flickering triumph of a falling demigod—

Antony.

O thou day o' the world!

Obtain mine arm'd neck; leap thou, attire'd and all,
Through proof of harness to my heart, and there
Ride on the pants triumphing!

Cleopatra.

Lord of lords!

O infinite virtue! Com'st thou smiling from
The world's great snare uncaught?

Antony.

My nightingale!

We have beat them to their beds. What, girl? though gray
Do something mingle with our younger brown,
Yet ha' we a brain that nourishes our nerves
And can get goal for goal of youth.

On comparing these scenes with that of the modern dramatist, we find that, though Shakespeare has not been careless of actual facts and words, he has made it his first business to render the truth and spirit of the scene; the modern dramatist has seized, certainly not the truth and spirit, and probably not even the bare, mean, ignoble facts. And allowing of course a world of advantage to Shakespeare in the vehicle that he used, the blank verse form, we shall on careful examination find that the vital intrinsic difference between the scenes, both professing to deal with the same ever-recurring incidents of human life, arises from the fact that, while Shakespeare was possessed of his theme and thought about nothing except how he could glorify it and picture to the world for ever that meeting between Antony and Cleopatra, the modern dramatist was com-

elled, as all modern dramatists are compelled, to think first of his public and not of his theme, and was therefore most likely occupied in devising the best method of bringing down the immortal heroism of Inkerman to the level of a quantity of barren spectators in the Tottenham Court Road, and setting them on to brainless giggling upon a subject which they had neither the feeling nor the wisdom to demand should be treated in a nobler manner. If it is thought absurd that Shakespeare and a modern dramatist should be compared, may it not rather be asked how much more absurd it is to let our great national models lie rusting and unused, or used only to miss the spirit and slavishly imitate the form, that blank verse form, which in the hands of the nineteenth-century dramatists has hitherto only served to stamp their plays as lifeless, stilted, and unreal. And in this connection may it not also be worth while to ask why it is that the English stage has of late years been dependent upon French sources for almost every play of strong interest and passion? Is it because we have no national drama of our own, rich in poetry, in feeling, in healthy portraiture of healthy human life, and noble choice and treatment of noble themes, in perpetual harbourage and outpouring of all the sources of our national character and national greatness, rich in every equipment for an English dramatist of to-day except those technicalities and tricks (must one call them?) of the stage which can only be learned by a long hard apprenticeship before and behind the curtain? Does not the spirit of that Elizabethan age, wild, glowing, rugged, uncouth, elate, prophetic as the soul of him who dwelt in the cave of Horeb and was fed by ravens at the brook Cherith, does it not meet our modern managers and adaptors on their way to Paris, to see if haply they may snuff up what stale fumes of inspiration may be lingering in the precincts of the Palais Royal, and rake together some poor little bundle of French pasture wherewith to feed their lean and hungry flocks in England? Does it not meet them as the fiery Tishbite met the envoys of Ahaziah, and ask, 'Is it not because there is not a God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron?' And does not the spirit of that age also assure our hybrid, fantastic, French-English, neither-English-nor-French drama, that from the bed to which it is now gone up, it shall not come down, but, impotent, corrupt, and bedridden, there it shall surely die?

Returning to discuss the influence of verdict by the mob on the present state of our English drama, we come to inquire how it has affected the stronger class of plays—those which may be classed under the head of melodrama. Plays of this kind, though appealing in some measure to all classes of society (as, indeed, all plays must do, to succeed), are yet more generally designed to catch the lower middle and working classes. In melodrama we find that those

plays have been most successful that have contained the most prodigious excitement, the most appalling catastrophes, the most harrowing situations, and this without much reference to probability of story or consistency of character. The more a play has resembled a medley of those incidents and accidents which collect a crowd in the streets, the more successful it has been. On the whole, a melodrama has succeeded much in proportion as the general impression left by it is the same as the general impression left by the front page of the *Illustrated Police News*; and our most popular melodramas have borne about the same relation to dramatic art as an engraving in the *Police News* bears to an etching by Rembrandt.

Carlyle says that the strong man is not he who gets into a fit and takes ten men to hold him down; the strong man is he who can longest carry the heaviest weight. So a strong play is not the play that goes into fits of horror and antics of sensation, and rushes through a whirlwind of terrifying and bewildering incidents, defying common sense to restrain it; the strong play is the one that bears to the end, patiently and easily and unobtrusively, its great burden of thought and motive and character and passion.

So we find that this condition under which every play is produced of immediately striking the fancy and satisfying the appetite of the populace, has tended to lower the standard of dramatic work, and that though it may be affirmed (as in an almost complete dearth of good plays it may) that no good play has failed, yet it must be allowed that many bad ones have succeeded, and many very middling ones have been enormously successful. The amount of success has been out of proportion to the merit of the pieces, and if it is said that this is the same in all arts, it may be fairly replied that it is not so in the same degree. Open to question and necessarily faulty in many instances as is the annual selection of pictures by the hanging committee of the Royal Academy, it is doubtful if the arrangement would be bettered by leaving the choice in the hands of the first two thousand persons of all sorts and conditions who could be picked up haphazard out of the London streets. Even then, out of the thousand or so of pictures selected, there could not fail to be some good ones. But suppose instead of there being room for a thousand pictures there was room only for the same number as we have theatres—say twenty-five. Suppose also that each of these pictures had to be chosen at a set time and place by verdict of the mob, and that all other pictures were condemned to rot unseen like unacted plays, so that the year's art comprised only these twenty-five pictures, and suppose further that such a principle of selection had been carried on year after year with no standard outside and above the public taste, what would be the state of English painting as an art? May we not be thankful, small mercy as some will say, that in painting we have such a controlling authority as the Royal Academy?

If it is urged that in the selection of plays we have in the newspaper critics such a controlling authority, it must be conceded that of late years they have rendered enormous services to dramatic art, and that within certain limits which will be indicated they have it in their power to continue the good work they have begun. But cultured, earnest, devoted men as they are, they cannot turn the tide of public opinion by swimming against it. It would be quite useless and even harmful for them to adopt a different standard in criticising plays from the one recognised by their readers. By placing themselves a little ahead of the crowd they may gradually and slowly lead it in the right direction; by starting furiously ahead they would only lose entirely all command and power of guidance. Suppose again for a moment, that for many years past the year's pictures had been only those twenty-five selected haphazard by the public, and that no others had been brought forward for public criticism, how far would the newspaper criticism of those twenty-five pictures help to establish a school of English painting?

Thus, on inquiring why we have no national drama at all worthy of the name, at all to be compared with the advances we have made in the sister arts of poetry, music, and painting, we are met first of all by the fact that the drama is not merely an *art*, but a *popular amusement* in a different sense from that in which poetry, music, and painting are popular amusements. The drama is an art, but it is also a competitor of music-halls, circuses, Madame Tussaud's, the Westminster Aquarium, and the Argyll Rooms. It is a hybrid, an unwieldy Siamese Twin, with two bodies, two heads, two minds, two dispositions, all of them, for the present, vitally connected. And one of these two bodies, dramatic art, is lean and pinched and starving, and has to drag about with it, wherever it goes, its fat, puffy, unwholesome, dropsical brother, popular amusement. And neither of them goes its own proper way in the world to its own proper end, but they twain waddle on in a path that leads nowhere in particular, the resultant of their several luggings and tuggings at each other.

The next discouraging fact that strikes us is that managers and authors have no better beacon to guide them than the restless doubtful flickerings of popular fancy. So that, instead of advancing in a straightforward course, they have constantly to tack about and trim their sails in obedience to every shifting impulse it may take. And we see that in the meantime the middle classes have chiefly chosen plays that confirm and flatter them in their own self-content and genial, ignorant self-worship; and the upper classes have chiefly chosen plays that studiously reject everything heroic, and studiously insist on mean and commonplace details about aristocratic persons like Miss Featherstonhaugh; and the lower classes have chiefly chosen plays that, like the rank raw spirit they drink, have no

nourishment, but give a rousing hot sensation while they are being swallowed.

And also we find flourishing in a brazen unchecked way, the detestable doctrine that a manager is obliged to choke the public with whatever garbage it relishes for the moment, and managers are encouraged to consider themselves as cheesemongers, bound it appears, by every established maxim of British commerce, to corrode the palate and poison the stomachs of their customers—if it pays. This hateful doctrine of managerial shopkeeping, so full of hideous, ruinous degradation to dramatic art; has lately been preached with such loudness and impudence that it has obtained a general acceptance in the dramatic profession, and all the more readily because it contains sufficient truth to coat over its monstrous falseness. For though it is true that there is a continual demand on the part of the public for frivolity, nonsense, and corruption, yet this demand in respect of any particular kind of frivolity, nonsense, or corruption, brisk and eager as it may be for a short season, is yet transitory, fitful, uncertain, and eternally barren. But the demand for truth, for reality, for thought, for poetry, for all kinds of noble and inspiring examples, difficult as it may be to rear at the first, is yet perennial, constant, assured, and eternally fruitful. However far we may get from truth, from reality, from nature, we shall always find ourselves beckoned or led or whipped back to them at last. Every position of honour, every position really worth coveting in the dramatic world to-day, whether of manager, or actor, or author, has been gained not by the base idea of catering for every passing appetite of the multitude, but by unflagging appeals to the nobler instincts of the few, by coaxing, by watching, by alluring, by guiding, by resolutely refusing to pander to, the public. Every manager, every actor, every author who has made himself secure in an honourable position, has done so by creating and educating his own audience, by imposing his own will, his own tastes, and his own personality on them. And though it is comparatively easy to educate an audience in folly and absurdity, yet a position so gained can never be safe or honourable or lasting; 'that two-handed engine at the door' stands always ready to smite its holder once and no more into contempt and forgetfulness.

One would imagine that any man placed in a post of such influence and responsibility as is implied in the management of a London theatre, if he did not seek to dignify and glorify his office, would at least have the decent hypocrisy to refrain from openly proclaiming it sordid and contemptible.

How far this doctrine of managerial shopkeeping has infected and penetrated, may be seen in a recent article where even Mr. Irving, who in practice has so constantly assailed it, puts forth a mild diluted mixture of it in some such words as these: 'The drama must pay as a business before it can flourish as an art.' But

this is by no means a necessity. It is true that as a general rule, and by mere force of natural selection, human souls and human hearts being driven in the long run to feed on those things that nourish them, and to reject those things that destroy them, it is true that by the operation of this natural law, the drama will almost surely pay as a business if it is cultivated as an art. And of this rule, the prosperity of one or two of our leading theatres conducted on this principle is an encouraging illustration. But the two things have no inviolable connection. There are, alas! only too many instances of a theatre paying hugely as a business while blaspheming every canon of art. On the other hand it is conceivable, though by no means probable, that a government that spends thirty millions on war-preparation, and a nation that spends many more countless millions in drink every year, might in a generous moment be induced to dole out a few odd thousands to establish and support a national theatre that should be a real school of dramatic art; it is also quite conceivable that if this theatre were raised above a certain intellectual pitch, it might not pay. Again, it is quite possible that some wealthy man having a taste for the drama and living in a town with an insufficient population to support a theatre, might at his own cost build and endow one; and organise a series of truly artistic representations at a pecuniary loss. And this would be another instance of the drama failing as a business and flourishing as an art.

No, the furtherance of dramatic art will never be accomplished by making it part of a brand-new scheme for filling managers' pockets. The one injunction to all who are waiting and wishing and working for a worthy national drama must be 'Seek ye first the kingdom of Art, and all these things shall be added to you.' And it is certain that the more vital, the more regenerative, the more inspiring, the more exalting to the people, the more possessive of their affections and imaginations, the theatre can be made to become, the greater will be the money-prizes showered on everybody connected with it.

Finally, the one main reason why we have no great national modern drama, the reason from which all other reasons shoot and branch, is deeply rooted in the present social condition of the English people at large. It has been finely and truly indicated by him, who most of all our teachers of this age has 'seen life steadily and seen it whole,' and who looking upon all the vast maze of our complex religious, political, and artistic life, has read each wound and each weakness clearly, and striking his finger upon the place, has said '*Thou ailest here and here.*' Mr. Matthew Arnold, in this Review for August, 1879, amongst many other wise words which everybody interested in dramatic art would do well to lay heed to, says—'In England we have no modern drama at all. Our vast society is not homogeneous enough, not sufficiently united, even any large portion of it, in a common view of life, a common ideal capable of serving as

basis for a modern English drama.' Yes, there is the main deep-seated reason of our troubles. A nation's life, a nation's heart, is the quarry from whence the dramatist must hew his temple. Just as some Gothic church is hewn from out of its own wooded hillside, and then stands for ever afterwards with its delicate pinnacles and airy proportions to point the eternal contrast between the straight determinate lines, the aspiring *intention* of man's workmanship, and Nature's lovely *carelessness*, so a nation's art is hewn from out of the negligent shapeless indeterminate block of a nation's life, is indeed part and parcel of that life as the church is part and parcel of the hillside, and then stands for ever afterwards on the summit of that life to embody a definite purpose and draw the eye away from the surrounding negligence and irregularity from which itself arose, upwards to the infinite heavens beyond. But if the stone in the hillside be nothing better than rubble and crumbling conglomerate, how withal shall the fair temple arise for the heart of man to take shelter in? What can the builder do? Better indeed to hold his hand than willingly to build with hay and stubble that he well knows will not stand the fire.

The dramatist of Elizabeth's time looking about for heroic ideals, for men representing the leading current of the nation's life, found himself cheek by jowl with Raleigh and Sidney. But the poor modern vamped-up of plays searching for a general definite heroic idea and heroic persons to embody it, finds himself able to seize nothing better than a steady persistent glorification of money-making and industrious respectable business life, and in place of Raleigh and Sidney is met by the eminent head of some great city firm. And as the Elizabethan drama reeks of Raleigh and Sidney, and is relative to the age of the Spanish Armada, so the Victorian drama reeks of successful tradesmen and is relative to the age of Clapham Junction. It is impossible to make laws or plays very much ahead of the general moral or artistic instincts of the people. From this consideration it is plain there can be no sudden dramatic, as there can be no sudden political, millennium. Such good as may be brought about must be painfully and laboriously worked for, mostly by means of agencies already in operation. And it is certain that for a long time to come those who desire such a millennium can do little more than hail it from very far off, and like the pilot of some small night-foundered skiff, wait patiently and hope while night invests the sea and the wished morn delays.

2nd.—'Yet the days of Israel are innumerable.' And turning from the barren contemplation of obstacles and delays to ask what chances there are of the furtherance and accomplishment of dramatic reform, we encounter a crowd of hopeful signs. There is a general awakening of art-feeling and art-curiosity in the country. The

incessant trumpets of our great critics are shaking the citadel and beginning to pierce the ears of the philistine where he lies snoring and sprawling with his senses sealed ; he is awaking, not as Eve awoke to behold herself lovely in the midst of God's created loveliness, but to find himself hideous in the midst of hideousness of his own miscreation. This art-quickenings has been longer to reach the stage than the other arts, but it has reached it and is beginning to leaven the whole lump. The touch of truth has been the touch of life. We find everywhere a growing interest in the drama as an art, in opposition to the drama as a popular amusement of the circus or music-hall type. Not that dramatic art seeks to deprive the masses of their amusement, not that it demands that they shall be dull, but that they shall laugh with the beneficent, side-shaking, heart-easing mirth of wise men, instead of with the heart-withering, heart-hardening laughter of fools. It insists that if the Siamese-twin connection with popular amusement is to be preserved, its unwholesome brother shall get himself purged and shrived, and render himself amenable to discipline ; it insists on dragging popular amusement up to its level, and it refuses to be dragged down to the level of popular amusement. And the end is not to rob the people of their pleasure, but to increase and rationalise and elevate it. Only it also insists that the people shall take the pains to understand what is put before them for their amusement ; that, in the words of Sainte-Beuve, they shall not be merely amused, excited, carried away with enthusiasm, but that they shall know whether they were right to be so amused, excited, and carried away. It needs some little energy of attention, some little observation and study of human nature, for one to enjoy thoroughly the comic characters of Shakespeare, whereas most of our modern comic characters are purposely void of every trait that demands thoughtfulness to comprehend it, so that the silliest person in the audience can immediately fathom them, and cackle loudly over their emptiness. But surely if one would take a little pains there is more fun, more life-giving joyousness and merriment in one twinkle of Falstaff's wicked eye than in all the bodies rolled in one of all the comic stage personages of this century.

We find that the audiences of certain theatres, where this increased energy of attention has been in some measure demanded, are more and more ready to concede it, and correlatively to exact more and more depth and sincerity of character-drawing. Obviously, this demand on the one side of added faculty of attention, and on the other of increased truth and meaning in what is represented, will continue to grow together and to react upon and re-encourage each other, and may be fostered to an incalculable extent. As the flower has nourished and developed the insect, the insect has fertilised and developed the flower.

Then we have a great body of newspaper critics, cultured,

devoted, alert, earnest, enthusiastic, generous, warmly appreciative of every new piece that shows the merest mustard seed of promise. Also of late years the space accorded in the daily papers to notices of theatrical performances has been much enlarged. It is true that a greedy lover of dramatic art may think that the production of a new play is of much more public importance than many events and speeches which have yet more space and prominence allotted to them ; but this is a matter that rests chiefly with the public, and when editors and newspaper proprietors discover, as they are doing, that there is a growing demand for early and exhaustive theatrical intelligence, they will naturally take means to supply it. What is of more importance to note, is that the standard of dramatic criticism has been enormously raised within the last twenty years. The higher literary criticism has again begun to occupy itself with the drama, and there is everything to be hoped from its appearance. To this improved standard, to this higher criticism, the modern drama must repair again and again, and ask for no favour but to be judged by its strictest rules; and when it is dismissed from that criticism, as one fears it must needs be for a long while yet to come, with 'Not yet, you are not worthy, yet,' it will go away with no murmuring, but only with teachableness and humility, and a yet more unappeasable desire to qualify itself to stand unscathed in that presence. For surely the adoption of the severest and most searching standard of criticism is what all must welcome and none can fear, except those who have seized and hedged round for themselves a comfortable freehold in the contented ignorance of the populace.

Again, we have managers, themselves artists, eager to welcome and supply any demand on the part of the public for artistic plays ; we have educated and competent actors and actresses in every line of character, and we have society making a fuss over them, a thing not of great good in itself, but rather the reverse in so far as it diverts them from the high necessities of study and culture, but welcome as a sign of honour bestowed where honour is due.

Best, most hopeful, most cheering sign of all, we have on our first nights, interspersed with perhaps a few ticklish but easily quieted elements of mischief, that sarried pack of bright earnest intelligent faces in the first row of the pit, lovers of the drama for the drama's sake, whose self-appointed duty it is to give a loud and unmistakable verdict of approval or condemnation. In reply to the charges of ill-conduct and rowdiness brought against this body it may be mentioned, that though many bad plays have been rightly and necessarily condemned by them, yet so far as the memory of an old first-nighter may serve, no play within this generation has been damned on its first act; however bad. There is always a wish to see a play retrieve itself, there is always a wish at starting to make a play a big success if it deserves it, while the amount of enthusiasm

run to waste on some plays that one remembers, were enough, one would think, to nurture a breed of Shakespeares. It is only when a play has failed to satisfy this enthusiasm, when it has baulked and irritated it, that it turns and rends authors, actors, anything that comes in the path of its derision.

Indeed, to sum up, one might in a sanguine moment be inclined to say that we have ready to our hands in abundance every element of a great dramatic renaissance—except good plays. So far from the English people resenting literature and poetry on the stage, it would be truer to say that they rarely get a chance of encouraging them. This has partly arisen from some vagueness in the managerial mind as to what literature and poetry are, and to the inability of authors to blend them in an actable and tractable play. Every now and then we are treated to some five-act, unactable, intractable tragedy, with phantoms for characters and spouting lifeless blank-verse lines for dialogue. It fails, and a loud cry arises that the public will not have poetry on the stage. But the truth is, that what they will not have is imitation poetry. They want reality, and if they cannot get it, they will have realism rather than unreality. A real cab-horse on the stage is after all less offensive than an imitation man. So even in their acceptance of realism the public must not be too much condemned. But how far can poetry and literature be given them in a modern play? It is always impossible to predict what way or how far a people ripe for guidance may be led by the coercion of an extraordinary mind and will bending all its energies to one end. And one would be loth to predict of that nation which our sacred Milton in his great livid heat of prophecy foresaw mewing her mighty youth and amazing the peoples, and whose high destiny thus marked out every man born of her may fire himself with exulting pride to claim for her that she has fulfilled, one would be loth to lay it down as impossible that even to-day, out of the arid heart of this nineteenth century, amidst all its dry dust of faithlessness and frivolity, and its grime of money-making, and the horrid reek and body-and-soul-corrupting toil of her complaining millions, should be wrung from her, somehow by the all-compulsive stress of genius, as loud and pure a note of song embodying itself in dramatic form as ever was echoed by the hallowed hills of Israel when from under her palm-tree Deborah let loose the riot of her thunder and music over the fallen Sisera. However improbable such a development of the drama may be, one may well be loth to confine the ambition or the imagination in setting such a goal before it. Though silk purses are not made out of sows' ears, Burns has shown us that real heroines can be made out of servant-maids. It all lies with the poet. If the English stage does not swarm with heroes and heroines, we may take it that the fault rests as much with the English playwrights as with the English people. It is not so much that the lives of men and women are

unworthy of representation on the stage as that we who undertake to interpret them, stand bleared and gibbering and daunted before the majestic procession of human existence and cannot tell what to make of it.

But, apart from the advent of a heaven-sent genius which it would be unwise to reckon upon, it is unlikely that the present generation will take any great interest in modern verse-plays. The tide is not setting that way. That is no reason why we should not have a modern national drama. It may perhaps for many years be quite a second-best kind of thing, and on a lower platform altogether than our Elizabethan drama. If we cannot raise Gothic cathedrals, we may however build pleasant healthy cottages, taking care our materials and workmanship are sound. For there is a heart and core of soundness in the English people, and there is always being lived somewhere amongst us a balance of healthy rapturous existence which is worth being portrayed if one will but take the trouble to find it. As in the black country, where man has blasted and scarified his beautiful earth, so soon as he withdraws the scourge of his footsteps Nature hastes to spread her living greenery over the spot and purples his departing heel-marks with flowers, as quickly destroying his ravages as he destroyed her loveliness, so in the garden of human life wherever foul and dismal lives are lived, Nature is always waiting to root them out and swill the void places with her perpetual beauty and strength and virtue. And to her nothing is ever dead or corrupt or useless or old, but all things are ever living and clean and vigorous and new; and she is as busy with forethought and potency of beauty in the noisome places of the cities where decrepit bestial figures stagger and moulder up the dark alleys clotting with filth and disease and crime, as amongst the dog-rosed hedges and the garlanded meadows and the fern-valleys and the poppies and the corn. Our corruption is the web of her loveliest gown, and our soundness its warp; our rags are her viands; our dust and ashes are her jewels; our waxing and our waning, our health and our disease, our death and our life, are alike but the shakings to us of the superflux of her immortal vigour. It is the business of the dramatist to persuade and possess himself of this sense of perpetual healthfulness and renewal in Nature and flowing from Nature to her pensioner, human life. The vitality of the nation and not its disease is the measure of the possibility of any art-manifestation. Leaving all foul and devil-possessed things to take their leisurely or headlong course along the Gadarean way to destruction, it is the business of the play-writer to search out the sources and currents of the nation's healthy life, and to attach and let his work run parallel thereto, so that all that he does may have a lifeful, and not a deathful, savour.

If our English society is, as some would have us believe, ninety-nine hundredths of it diseased and vicious, then the dramatist will

choose chiefly to portray the sound one-hundredth part and occupy himself mainly with that, using the other ninety-nine parts as foils and reliefs and backgrounds, and in no sense as typical and exemplary. For nothing is typical of life but what is preservative. That quality of a thing which destroys it can never be typical or essential. And in this respect art will strictly follow Nature, for as Nature out of a thousand seeds brings only one to bear, so art carries the process of selection but one step further, and chooses but one out of the thousand that Nature chose from a million.

A drama is made up by the skillful blending of contrasts. There is the contrast between pathos and comedy, between age and youth, between riches and poverty, between vivacity and stupidity. But the greatest contrast a dramatist can be aware of is the contrast between right and wrong, and the adequate perception of this contrast must underlie every great play. So from all that has been said it is clear that if we are to have a modern national drama it must be put in connection with all that is vital and preservative and honourable in English life. And round such a drama all the best elements of society, all that is soundest and most characteristic and of national importance, may be invited and may be trusted to assemble. It is not without reason that until lately some of the soundest and best elements of English life have been severed from the theatre for these two hundred years past. But all classes are coming back, and the drama has a transcendent chance of establishing itself as a great national art and influence. It can only become this if and in so far as it really ministers to the nation's welfare and intelligence. Now is the time for its representatives to choose whether it shall lapse into the nation's bauble and toy, as was prophesied in the *Westminster Review* a few years since, or whether it shall assert itself and claim its right to embody and repicture to it its best self and the best possibilities of our present life; to become, as one may be allowed to fondly picture the nation's drama, its guardian angel, its exact spiritual and ever overhovering likeness, leading it into paths of pleasantness and peace. If such a view of the drama were to be upheld by its representatives, it is certain that the arts of music and painting would soon fall into their rightly secondary places, for neither music nor painting has intrinsically and of natural birthright such scope and influence as the drama. Whatever changes may come about in religion and in society, whatever creeds may be upheld or upheaved, the heart and soul of man will always remain the things of greatest price in the universe, and these to their utmost bounds will always be the entailed inheritance and inalienable domain of the drama.

The chief obstacles and delays and the chief incitements and helps to a dramatic renaissance have now been recounted, and we have seen what reasons there are for believing that we are on the

threshold, not merely of an era of magnificent spectacular and archæological revivals, but of a living breathing modern drama—a drama that shall not fear to lay bold and reverent hands on the holiest things of the human life of to-day and freely expose them, and attempt to deal with the everlasting mysteries of human life as they appear to nineteenth-century eyes. Nothing has been said of technical qualifications, for stage-technique is a thing that must be learned by a long and patient routine. It is far harder to write a play than to build a house—nobody starts building a house without a course of previous training, yet hundreds of people start to write plays with no better acquaintance with the details of play construction than a man might gain of house construction in a few casual glances at the outside of one.

What has been written, has been written in no assumption of guidance or control or authority, but has been thrown out as gropings and feelings after the right path, if haply it might be found. And all that is sought to be impressed upon those who read this paper is that if we are to have a second great blossoming time of the English drama, the seed must be sown in reverence and earnestness, and must grow up native and drenched in the serene air of that region where love and duty and faith and art are all one.

And if we need to lift some banner to rally the lovers of dramatic art to-day, what better words could be inscribed on it than the words of the great Greek seer as transcribed by our great English seer who is yet amongst us? Consider for a moment what a change would soon be brought about in our drama if from this time forward every *pièce* at our theatres were to be conceived, worked out, acted and judged in the spirit of these words:—

Must it be then only with our poets that we insist they shall either create for us the image of a noble morality, or among us create none? Or shall we not also keep guard over all other workers for the people (including our playwrights, and managers and actors), and forbid them to make what is ill-customed, and unrestrained, and ungentle, and without order or shape, either in likeness of living things or in buildings, or in any other thing whatsoever that is made for the people. And shall we not rather seek for workers who can track the inner nature of all that may be sweetly schemed; so that the young men as living in a wholesome place may be profited by everything that in work fairly wrought may touch them through hearing or sight, as if it were a breeze bringing health to them from places strong with life.

HENRY ARTHUR JONES.

THE WISH TO BELIEVE.

A DIALOGUE IN A CATHOLIC COLLEGE.

‘WELL,’ said Ashley,¹ as he and Darlington walked out of the breakfast room together on the Friday morning, ‘have you thought over our last night’s talk at all? Are you ready to acquit us of being unreasonable fanatics who believe, or profess to believe, merely because religion suits our taste?’

Darlington hesitated. ‘I thought,’ he said, ‘that we had an interesting talk, and that there was a good deal in what Walton said. I thought that we got at the truth as far as we went, but I can’t see that he really proved his case against me.’

‘Where did he fail then—what is your difficulty?’ asked Ashley.

‘I think,’ said Darlington, ‘that he analysed correctly two sorts of wish with respect to a belief—one being the wish to manufacture or to nurse it as the case may be, the other the wish that it should be true. The one is readily father to the thought, the other makes one fear that what is wished for is too good to be true. One begets a belief like Bentley’s theory of an imaginary editor of “Paradise Lost,” the importance of which to him was not its truth, but its utility in affording him an hypothesis to rest upon which would warrant his continuing work which interested him. The other is the wish of Penelope for the return of Ulysses, which was so strong that she could not for a long time convince herself that it had come to pass. All this I see; and I think that in the sense which he explained the first class of belief has no great depth of root, while the

¹ I may mention, for the sake of those readers who may not have seen my dialogue on ‘The Wish to Believe,’ which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for February 1882, that Darlington and Walton are old College friends, formerly undergraduates at Muriel College, Oxford. The free discussion of religious subjects in which both had taken part there had resulted in the destruction of definite religious opinions in Darlington, and in the conversion of Walton to Catholicism. Darlington is at present a guest at Sandown College, whither he has gone at the invitation of Father Ashley, a chance acquaintance, who is Professor of Moral Philosophy in the College.

other, from the caution and anxiety it implies, requires fully sufficient reasons and takes deep root.'

'That is precisely what Walton was contending for,' said Ashley.

'Wait a moment,' Darlington continued. 'Now for my point of divergence from him. He seemed to think it clear that the wish of religious believers is of the latter type, whereas it seems to me that facts point to an opposite conclusion. There is one kind of wish, you say, which makes a man prejudiced, another which makes him reasonable; one which leads him to dreamland, another which makes him confine himself strictly to realities. Now to keep my argument within reasonable limits, take the case of the evidences of Christianity—not to go back to still more fundamental questions. I find that among thinking men, all my acquaintance without exception who hold that they are, in the face of modern criticism, satisfactory and sufficient, are men who have a naturally religious bent of mind, a wish to believe. They are enthusiasts, and do not pretend to be impartial in the matter. Those who, being quite equally capable of understanding them, have no bias either way, say, at most, that they leave the question undecided. The only men who regard the matter as settled on the affirmative side, are, as I say, men with religious cravings. Then I ask, which kind of wish can I attribute to them? Can I attribute the wish that makes one *cautious* and *slow*, when they are *less* cautious and *less* slow in believing than those who are indifferent?' He paused. 'Can I?' he repeated.

Ashley looked puzzled. 'I think,' he said, 'that they may be on a different footing. Those who are indifferent may take less pains in the matter and dismiss it in comparative carelessness.'

'No,' persisted Darlington. 'I speak of people who have read all the standard books on evidences, and who take really a great interest in the whole matter—though, as I have said, quite without any party feeling.'

'It is so difficult,' said Ashley, 'to answer a vague statement like yours. If I knew the people to whom you refer, perhaps I should have more to say in explanation;' and then he added after a pause, 'I remember that you quoted yesterday the cases of Hume and Johnson. Well, there I should say that there was at least as much of the wish not to believe about Hume as of the wish to believe in Johnson.'

Ashley did not feel satisfied with the completeness of his own answer, and was somewhat relieved at seeing Walton's portly form making its way towards them.

'Good morning, Darlington,' he said as he approached. 'I want you to walk over with me to Greystone and see my mission and church. You have found out already the difference between the new man and the old, and now I want you to see something of his new mode of living, and of the haunts and habits of the animal.'

'I will go with pleasure,' said Darlington. 'Would you believe it, we are already at this early hour plunging into the very thick of theological argument, and you are just in time to help us?'

'Come then—and you come too, Ashley,' said Walton. 'We can talk as we walk.'

Ashley excused himself. 'I have a lecture to give,' he said; 'but we shall meet again on your return.'

The other two started without more ado, and Darlington lost no time in propounding his theory to Walton in its new shape.

'How can I suppose that the wish of these people is of the kind which makes belief slow and difficult,' he repeated, 'when I find that they believe sooner and more confidently than those who have no wish in the matter? And the only alternative I have left me—on your own principles mark, Walton—is to suppose that their wish is for the gratifications attendant on belief, and not a deep desire—as you explained it—for reasonable assurance of its truth.'

'No doubt,' said Walton musingly, 'one who is very anxious in the whole subject will see more in the evidences than one who cares less about the matter.'

'That is the very thing I say,' said Darlington. 'He puts something into the evidence for his pet doctrines which is not there. This is plainly unreasonable. Evidence is evidence, and must, if conclusive, convince any reasonable man.² If I find that an impartial man is far from convinced, while one who is notoriously a partisan professes himself satisfied, it is plain common sense in me to ascribe it to prejudice. If dispassionate thinkers of my acquaintance state clearly the arguments on both sides, can even, as Mr. Kegan Paul did in his recent paper, show keen appreciation of the Christian and Catholic position, but finally declare the case "not proven," it seems plain to me that those who profess not only to see a probability but to possess absolute certainty on the believing side, being as I have said men of strong religious emotions, have been influenced by these emotions to believe what reason quite fails to establish.'

Walton reflected a few moments before he spoke. He was trying to see at what point exactly the issue between them lay.

'It comes to this,' he said at last. 'If you have two men equally endowed with logical acuteness, the one without any bias, the other anxious for religious belief, and if the former considers, after reading the recognised works on the subject, that the evidence is insufficient, while the latter is convinced, you think it plain that the latter is unreasonably biassed by his wish—that those conditions which have

² It may be as well to observe at the outset, for the benefit of Catholic readers, that Walton's argument concerns exclusively what theologians call the *judicium credibilitatis*, or act of the intellect, whereby the evidences for revelation are judged to be convincing. He would, no doubt, consider any further question of technical theology out of place, as being unintelligible to one in Darlington's position.

determined his mind to belief as distinguished from suspense of judgment, are not reasonable motives, but prejudice.'

'How can they be, reasonable motives,' said Darlington, 'when I am supposing that all the reasons are equally known to the other? We had better keep to our assumption of exactly similar intellectual power, though of course there is something rather grotesque in abstract principles and typical cases.'

'Now I should say,' said Walton, slowly and deliberately, 'that, granting every one of your conditions, which as you say are of course never accurately realised in fact, granting equal ability, the same evidence before both, impartiality and indifference on the one side, and great anxiety to believe, if possible, on the other, if the latter man does believe, it is, as you say, owing—at least, indirectly—to his craving and anxiety; but that his belief is, or may very well be, eminently reasonable.' And he looked at Darlington, conscious that he was propounding what was at first sight a paradox.

'My dear Walton, how can a craving or wish which *hastens* belief do so reasonably? That is contrary to your own principles, and it is absurd. His wish can't put more into the evidence than there is in it.'

'No,' said Walton; 'but it may make him *find* more than the other finds. I know what you are going to say,' he said, as Darlington tried to interrupt him; 'you are going to say that in our typical case the *same* evidence is before both. Granted. And they are both equally able to apprehend its logical force. Granted too. But the religious-minded man may get beyond its logical statement; he will *feel* its force——'

'Exactly,' interrupted Darlington. 'He will feel more than reason warrants. That is what I say. Such men let feeling do duty for reason.'

'No,' persisted Walton; 'he does not substitute feeling; rather his feeling and his interest in the matter stir his reason to activity. There is a perception which one whose mind constantly dwells on a subject and who loves it acquires, which is beyond expression in words, and which is outside the sphere of verbal evidence; such a man acquires a special power in his estimate of evidence relating to the subject in question. To make my example more apposite, I suppose two men of equally good musical ear. One has studied Mendelssohn carefully, the other far less so. A fragment of MS. music is found; there is considerable circumstantial evidence to show that it is by Mendelssohn. The man who is less closely acquainted with Mendelssohn's style pronounces the case unproven; the other confidently asserts that it is not by Mendelssohn. The evidence is before both. Both are equally talented. One is devoted to Mendelssohn, the other has not made his works a special study. What is it which enables one to decide confidently and rightly while the

other is in doubt? It is a certain personal perception acquired by the close attention which he has been led to give to the subject by his interest in Mendelssohn's works. One of the items of evidence on paper would be, "There are passages which render it difficult to suppose that it is by Mendelssohn;" this is to be weighed against strong circumstantial evidence that it is by Mendelssohn. The MS. is in his handwriting, it is found among other fragments undoubtedly genuine. Now, though both critics hear the array of arguments, the particular one from internal evidence assumes gigantic proportions in the mind of one of them. He manipulates it, so to speak, with a master's skill, gets out of it all that is to be got, and it decides the whole question. Why is this? Does not the other understand this particular item of evidence? Yes; but he has not acquired that personal power which enables him to *weigh it truly*—his appreciation of it is vague and (as he himself feels) uncertain. Thus though the evidence might be similarly *stated* by both—I mean that each might give a similar list of arguments *pro* and *con*—the relative weight attached by them to this particular item would differ *toto cælo*. One grasps the full force of what the other only half understands.'

'Of course,' said Darlington, rather impatiently. 'All this is true enough of music. It is true of any art; and for this reason, that all that is really important in it is beyond the sphere of plain evidence and appeals to a special sense. If that sense has been cultivated in a particular direction, no doubt it is more acute in that direction.'

'Yes, but mark,' put in Walton, 'the direct perception only affected a portion of the evidence.'

'Oh! that was a mere trick of yours,' said Darlington. 'You put this in for the sake of making the case seem at first sight parallel to religious evidence. It is plain that the real essence of your example is in the special musical perception of one man, which is not shared by the other. The rest of the evidence was mere pretence. You might as well suppose two men—one blind and the other not—judging of the evidence for the presence of a third party in a room. You might give a list of signs which both could perceive—a step heard unlike that of either, the sound of a cough unlike the accustomed cough of either—I won't say of a voice, as that would be unmistakable even by the blind man; the rustling of a newspaper proceeding apparently from a direction different from the position of either, and so forth. The blind man is not, you will say, certain; but the other clinches the argument by special personal perception, namely, the sight of his eyes. I think it would be shorter to say that one man sees a third party in the room, and the other hasn't eyes, so he can't see. Unless you take the Christian evidences out of the category of reasoning altogether and suppose

one man to have a sort of spiritual sense, which the other has not got, your parallel falls altogether. If you maintain, as you profess to, that they are a matter of reasoning, just as a fact which has to be proved in the law courts, this personal element of which you speak finds no place at all. It is either another term for a special sense, as in the case of art, or it must mean prejudice. Fancy a juror who refused to convict Lamson on the ground that there was a personal element in his appreciation of the evidence which made him believe the prisoner to be not guilty! I think that if it were afterwards discovered that he was a friend of Lamson's, people would not be slow in suspecting what the nature of the personal element was.'

'Well; I will meet you on your own ground,' said Walton, a little nettled at Darlington's confident tone, and at the apparent common sense of his answer. 'You have not treated my example fairly, but I do not care to insist upon it at present. I will take a case of ordinary circumstantial evidence. I maintain, in spite of all you say, that there may be circumstances in which one man may, from his knowledge of character, or from his acquaintance with particular persons, or his intimate familiarity with the details of some science, take a different and a far truer view of evidence before a law court than the average educated jurymen who has not this assistance. And his view may be purely personal in the sense that he is in possession of no further evidence on the subject; but facts in the existing evidence may be to him, on account of his antecedents, of different significance; and this will not indicate a prejudiced mind, but rather special clearness of sight. Take for instance a charge of fraud against some one of whose integrity you are absolutely sure. My case will not be strong enough unless you think of some individual. There are many whom you *think* incapable of such a thing, but some whom you *know* to be so. I should imagine that one who knew Dr. Johnson or Dr. Arnold most intimately would have had the absolute assurance of which I speak in their regard.'

'Oh! I quite agree,' said Darlington, not thinking for the moment of the connection of his admission with the argument; 'there are persons whose character is completely formed and fixed in uprightness, for whom a downright dishonourable act would be a moral impossibility. I could mention persons of whom I should say this from my own knowledge of them.'

'Well then,' resumed Walton, 'suppose the strongest evidence of a circumstantial kind is brought against such a man, a juror, to whom this evidence is quite intelligible and convincing, would decide against him in spite of his previous good character. Your assurance that he is incapable of the act may have *some* weight, but little in comparison with the overwhelming evidence against him.'

You cannot convey to the juror the *personal knowledge* which is in your own mind, and the only indication you can give of it is to him vague and unreliable. He cannot be sure that you are not biassed, though you yourself may be conscious that you are not. He cannot distinguish the interested-partisanship of a friend from the clear, serene feeling of certainty, begotten of intimate knowledge, which is in many cases its own guarantee that it corresponds with truth. Thus your own certainty of the man's innocence is, as I have said, personal, and yet reasonable. Your judgment differs from that of the juror, though you have the same evidence before you. The juror judges as nine-tenths of those who see the evidence would judge. But you, through your close acquaintance with the ground of one particular portion of the case for the defence—that portion which relates to the criminal's previous good character—have acquired a sense of its force which makes you able reasonably and confidently to differ from others in your estimate of the whole matter. And I would add a fact which seems to me important, that your judgment would carry with it a sense of *power* and *knowledge* as distinguished from a feeling of impotence to take another view, or inability to enter into it. The juryman would not have a feeling similar to yours. Your state of mind would be, "I am perfectly sure;" his would be, "the circumstances of the case are such and so significant that I see no room for doubt."

He looked at Darlington, but saw from his face that he was not following his remarks further, but was turning over the example in his mind.

'Well, Darlington,' he continued, 'will you allow some reason to a personal view of evidence in the case I have given?'

'You have yet to apply it to the real question at issue,' said Darlington; 'and I cannot see where you will find in Paley or Butler anything at all parallel to the intimate knowledge we may have of a friend's character. But anyhow your instance seems to me unreal. Overwhelming evidence against a man of unblemished character is not a common thing, and practically the difference of view would be much less than you describe. The friend would be shocked at the evidence, and the juror would be slow to convict even on strong evidence, if the prisoner were held by his friends to be a Dr. Arnold in integrity.'

'Of course I stated an extreme case to point my moral,' said Walton. 'That I take to be the whole *rationale* of an illustration—to show the working of a principle in an instance where it is unmistakable, in order that one may be ready to admit it in what is more complex and obscure. But I do not admit that my instance is unreal or improbable. The history of Lesurques and Dubosc was exactly a case in point. The story will be familiar to you from the English plays founded upon it. I remember Charles Kean in the

Courier of Lyons, and you no doubt have seen Mr. Irving's last version of the same story in the *Lyons Mail*. It was a case of mistaken identity, and took place in France in the last century. Lesurques was a man of good position and spotless integrity, and had been singularly fortunate and prosperous in his career. At least so he is represented in the play. He considers himself 'the happiest man that ever lived,' and the story of his death is consequently all the more tragic. The robbery of the Lyons mail took place at a posting-house kept by his father, and on the very night on which the crime was committed, Lesurques himself was on the spot intent, as he said, on some act of kindness to his father. When the mail was robbed he was actually, it appeared, seen by several witnesses, among them his father, taking part in the crime and in the murders which accompanied it. The evidence against him was overwhelming, and on the strength of it he was guillotined; and too late it was discovered that the real criminal was a man called in the play Dubosc, resembling him exactly in features and general appearance.³ Surely this is as strong a case as any imaginary one I could invent! The evidence was direct and apparently conclusive. Mistaken identity was his only possible plea, and he was quite unaware at the time of the existence of this villain who was his exact counterpart; and when challenged to prove an *alibi* was unable to do so. His guilt seemed proved; and those few friends who knew him and trusted him in spite of all, must have appeared to the world at large utterly beyond the reach of sensible argument. They were trusting to a vague, undefinable feeling, and going in the very teeth of evidence as conclusive as circumstantial evidence could be; and yet if Lesurques were such a man as I have supposed, and said to his friend, looking him full in the face, "I declare before God I am innocent," the conviction produced, and reasonably produced, in that friend would be absolute and incapable of being shaken.

'Certainly that is a strong case,' said Darlington; 'but I should say that in reality the friend and the outside world were not viewing the *same* evidence. The friend had a past knowledge of Lesurques, which the jury and others had not. Here was a separate item in the considerations before his mind.'

'No doubt,' replied Walton, 'you may look at it so; but that does not affect what I say. Whether you call this personal element fresh evidence, or consider the evidence to be the verbal statement and the knowledge which colours it as imparting a perception to the mind in its estimate of it, it comes to the same. It is a mere question of words. What I want to show is that this element most frequently exists, and carries the mind to truth instead of prejudicing it.'

³ This discovery is, in the play, previous to the time appointed for his execution; and he consequently escapes.

‘I think again,’ said Darlington, after a few minutes’ reflection, ‘that knowledge of the character of a friend is very unique, and will hardly be found to help you if you are giving principles for the estimation of *historical* evidence. You can have no friendship with the dead, and a past fact is not proved by anything resembling personal acquaintance.’

‘Have patience,’ continued Walton. ‘I have given the case of knowledge of character first, because it seems to me to be a particularly strong instance of personal perceptions as affecting one’s view of verbal evidence. It is not the only instance, though I believe that something very similar to it bears an important part in the impression produced on each man by the study of Christianity. What I wish to show is that in all evidence there are items which appeal more or less to personal perceptions, and that in many cases those perceptions will differ in individuals, without implying a want of candour in those holding either view, but simply a lesser or greater power of judging in the particular subject-matter.’

‘Oh! you are going through all the cases given in Newman’s *Essay on Assent*, I suppose,’ said Darlington. ‘I quite allow that a good general is a good judge of military position, a good scholar of Tacitus’ style, a man with a turn for politics of a political situation, and the rest. These are all questions of what is called “implicit reasoning.” I should have something to say on this subject, but it is not the same as that of which we now speak. I am purposely confining myself to the recognised explicit arguments in favour of Christ’s divine mission and miraculous history. Paley’s *Evidences*, Liddon’s *Bampton Lectures*, Butler’s *Analogy*—these are the sort of works I speak of. I am not supposing an intellect which travels underground, as it were, and emerges, with no knowledge of the road it has traversed, in a state of Christian belief—declaring that, though it cannot give reasons for its conclusion, that is no sign that they do not exist, but only that they are implicit. That is a special puzzle which I am not at present trying to find out. Let us keep to plain, explicit evidence. There are many who profess that the recognised explicit evidences suffice for them, and it is enough for the present to consider them.’

‘What you say only helps to bring me to the central point of my argument,’ said Walton. ‘What I particularly want to show is that, even where arguments are stated most explicitly, there is a personal element in their full apprehension. I can understand your considering the knowledge of character of which I spoke as a conclusion gained by implicit reason and *added* to the evidence. That is not the account I myself should give, simply because the mind is so constantly affected in its judgment by its store of impressions formed by past experiences, that to isolate one seems to me unscientific. However, let us now take the plainest and most clearly stated evi-

dence we can think of. Some murderer has, as Lefroy did, escaped from the police, and it is their business to trace him. He has been clearly traced to Stoke-on-Trent. They find that a man answering to his description was seen at Stoke-on-Trent station on the day after the murder a short time before the 10.15 train started for London. Again at Stone one of the porters noticed a similar man in the same train in a first-class carriage; and when the ticket-collector took the tickets at Willesden he, too, noticed the man, who, it so happened, was unable for some time to find his ticket. Further inquiry results in a similar declaration on the part of five other porters. Now here is a very simple chain of evidence. Any reasonable mind on considering it would come to the conclusion that the man who was seen at Stoke had in all probability gone to London. Here you will say that there is no personal element in appreciating the evidence at all. Credible witnesses see him at different places on the line, on close examination they give an exactly similar account of his personal appearance and dress, and the conclusion is a mere matter of common sense. Now I quite agree that all reasonable men will conclude alike here; but I wish to point out that in each case there is an exercise of personal judgment, though, for reasons I shall give, the result is for each the same. There are certain suppositions which would invalidate the conclusion. The witnesses *may* have committed perjury, in spite of the good character they previously bore. There may have been a man exactly similar to the man seen at Stoke, and dressed in the same way; and this second man may have been the loser of his ticket, while the original man may have been walking on the platform to pass away his time, and left it unperceived without entering the train. Now, as I have said, any reasonable man will dismiss these suppositions—and why? Is there any clear logical statement which will disprove them? Take one of them only—the first. How can you logically prove that eight men of unimpeachable character have not every one of them committed perjury (supposing that to be the only possible flaw in the evidence), and that merely for the fun of the thing and without any further motive? You can't *prove* it, but it is wildly improbable. And why do you judge it improbable? Because our knowledge of human nature tells us that men do not do these things. This is surely a decision on personal grounds. No doubt these grounds are shared by all men; but they are personal to each. The fact that all men have sufficient personal experience of human nature to make their decision in such a case the same, makes one forget, until it is pointed out, that the decision is arrived at, not by logical rule, but by a process similar to that by which Lesurques' intimate friend was convinced of his innocence, with this entirely accidental difference—that in the one case all have the experience requisite for a true decision, in the other case only a few.'

'Oh! of course there is always judgment to be exercised in

weighing evidence,' said Darlington. 'Perhaps it would not have occurred to me in the case you gave, as it is so simple that one would hardly be at the pains to analyse it. Just as one may never have reflected—any more than M. Jourdain did, until it was pointed out to him—that he had been talking prose all his life. But I don't see what you gain by the long explanation you have just given. It seems to me much ado about nothing. Because, an exercise of common sense is justified in the case you have given, that is no proof that the view of an excited enthusiast is warranted by reason. I should rather say that your instance heightens the contrast I gave, and tells in my favour. It shows that sober-minded men judge alike in matters of evidence, and that their judgment is reliable.'

'I am afraid that I shall have to be somewhat tedious in my explanation,' returned Walton, 'and shall only be able to draw out my meaning by a dull train of examples, extorting admissions out of you the full meaning of which you will not see—in true Socratic style. But I will try to be as brief as possible. The only point which I insist upon in my example is what you have granted: that even in the simplest evidence there is an exercise of personal judgment amenable to no law, but ratified by the mind's own positive declaration.'

'Clearly,' said Darlington, rather impatiently, 'it is not all a logical train like Euclid.'

'Now one step further,' said Walton. 'In the example I have given the logical part of the argument attracts most attention, because the other part is plain, and is hardly expressed in words. One would express the thing, "He was seen at such a place and at such another place, and therefore it is plain that he has gone to London." One might even imagine a case where this aspect would be more strongly exhibited.'

'I see what you mean,' said Darlington; 'you need not enlarge upon it.'

'Then let us now take a case,' pursued Walton, 'where these proportions are reversed. To avoid being more tedious than is absolutely necessary I will plunge *in medias res* at once.' Let us take one of the very books you have named—Liddon's *Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of Christ*. Perhaps the third lecture will suit our purpose as well as any. It is on the work of our Lord in the world as a witness to His Divinity. He draws attention to the unique history of the Jews, to the unpromising nature of Christ's scheme, and its audacity, and yet the calm confidence with which He proposes it; its novelty, its realisation by powers and forces unparalleled in the past history of the world, and so forth. Now the mere logic of his argument is of the simplest. It amounts to this: the phenomena of which I speak are such as to render impossible the supposition that they are due to anything short of special divine interposition; therefore divine interposition must have taken place. The whole

force of the argument lies in the judgment of the mind as to how far the antecedent proposition is warranted by the facts of the case.'

'You speak truly, O Socrates!' said Darlington, laughing.

'That is to say,' said Walton, waxing more earnest, 'the just and right estimate of the argument depends principally, not on clearness of head, not on logical consecutiveness, but on the accurate gauging of on the one hand the marvellous facts of Jewish and Christian history, and on the other the powers and capabilities of unassisted human nature.'

Darlington nodded assent.

'In other words, on this very personal element of which we have spoken. You read Liddon's lecture to a friend. You say at the end, "Do you see Liddon's argument?" He replies at once, "Oh, yes! he states it most lucidly; I understand it thoroughly." You press him: "Do you think it powerful?" If he is a sensible man he replies, "I will think it well over, and then I will tell you how it impresses me." And it is this thinking it well over, this mental digestion, this personal apprehension of the considerations, which is the important and critical part of the matter.'

Darlington did not say anything; but his face, when Walton looked at it, did not betoken agreement, but rather dissatisfaction at being unable at the moment to find words for his difference of opinion.

'Let us add to the argument in question,' continued Walton, 'that of Liddon's fourth lecture, in which he insists upon the unique personal character of Christ, on its moral beauty, its superhuman consistency, its possession of qualities incapable of co-existence in mere man, the lowliest humility together with the most absolute self-assertion, the contrast of His conscious greatness with the self-abasement of the prophets, His enthusiasm, and at the same time His "sweet reasonableness" and entire freedom from fanaticism. Here is another argument calling, not for logical power, but for personal appreciation and just judgment.'

Darlington had by this time shaped his difficulty. 'You really are not touching my position in all you are saying,' he insisted. 'No doubt the particular arguments you are speaking of call rather for calm and true judgment than for a power of following a train of syllogisms. But, in the first place, they are only a tithe of the arguments available on the whole subject; and in the second place—even if we confine ourselves to them, as you are doing—my original objection holds good. It is plain that an unbiassed man will judge more truly than one who has strong religious emotions and a desire for belief. It is all very well for you to say that there is a personal element in the view that each man takes of the evidence. No doubt that is true in a sense; and it makes it impossible to put your finger on a fallacy as you can in mere logic. But the personal element, as you call it, is merely the exercise of the power of judging, which is

far more likely to be correctly exercised by one who is perfectly unbiassed one way or the other, than by one whose reason is disturbed and prejudiced by a wish to come to one conclusion rather than another.'

'Now we are really getting at what I want,' said Walton. 'I maintain that in estimating considerations such as I have mentioned, an active interest and sense of the importance of the conclusion to which they point, and a certain amount of emotional sympathy with them, are absolutely necessary. A man who does not apply his emotional and imaginative faculties cannot feel them, cannot get beyond the mere logic of them—that hard rind of truth (for it is true as far as it goes) which George Eliot lays down as the limit of the knowledge of the unimaginative and unsympathetic. The calm, lawyer-like man who studies the matter as though it were an illustration of some interesting legal principle, and not of deep practical importance to himself, stands no chance of knowing their full force. No doubt such a man runs no risk of overrating it, but he runs the greatest risk of underrating it.'

'My dear Walton,' interrupted Darlington, 'what should we do if we accepted this strange theory of yours? We should have our law courts supplied by enthusiastic jurymen, or intimate friends of the prisoner or of the witnesses for the prosecution.'

'No; the cases are not parallel,' said Walton, a little puzzled. 'The law courts go on the principle that it is better to acquit a guilty man than to hang one who is innocent. They dare not risk the influence of bias either way. The outside world cannot be sure what is partisanship and what intimate knowledge. Personal certainty of which I speak is safeguarded, as we shall see, by a sense of personal responsibility. The certainty is your own, and if you conclude wrongly it affects yourself and no one else. The case is different with the juror, who is deciding what affects another, and fears no evil result to himself from a wrong decision. But we shall see this better later on. Let me first show more clearly what I mean in reference to the arguments from our Lord's work and personal character. It is a very different thing to know a fact and believe it on the one hand, and on the other to realise fully its significance. This of course is taken for granted in our whole ascetical and spiritual system. The monk commences his day by an hour of meditation in order that that world of whose existence he has no doubt may be to him a reality as well as a truth. The sinner makes no question that hell exists; but if its existence were vividly before him—were, as I have termed it, realised by him—it would be so strong a motive as infallibly to deter him from sin. And the same principle holds good with regard not only to the effect of belief on our acts, but also to the weight of one belief as an argument for another. Cardinal Newman says in one of his sermons that it is a very easy thing for a

man to sit in his study leading a student's life and to work out theological problems about hell without feeling the slightest difficulty in believing in its existence. But if he comes to mix with his kind, and it stands before him 'as a reality that hell must be at all events for some human beings, for A or B or C or D, he then finds it very hard to think it possible that even the worst of those with whom he has been in contact could be deserving of so awful a doom. Here is an instance of an argument so commonly urged *against* Catholic belief not being done justice to or felt in its full force because it is not realised. I don't, of course, believe the argument to be conclusive, but I give it as an instance which so far will tell for your view of one of our dogmas, and which at the same time illustrates the principle on which I am insisting. Now just as a man may apprehend the idea of eternal punishment, and may understand the difficulty raised against its justice from the absence of all proportion between the sin of a finite being and a penalty which shall have no end, and yet may not feel the real force of the objection because he realises neither of the considerations which it involves, so may a man apprehend the meaning of Liddon's argument from Christ's unique personal character, and yet quite fail to be duly affected by it. He may hold with Mill that it is indubitably historical, and with Rousseau that the invention of such a career and personality is a more incredible hypothesis than their existence. And yet he may wholly fail to realise the argument to be derived from it either for His divine mission or actual divinity.'

'It is rather a vague argument,' said Darlington; 'I should be sorry to stake much on it. I think that Mill's own conclusion with respect to it—that Christ's life was a perfect translation of the rule of right from the abstract to the concrete, and that He had *possibly* some special mission to mankind—is quite as much as you can hope to draw from it.'

'Its statement is vague, certainly,' replied Walton; 'but I think it has far greater significance than you suppose to one who has studied it reverently. But let us keep to the point. What I insist on is that the strength of the argument, such as it is, does not depend on the considerations involved in it being known, but on their being realised. I do not say that it is by itself conclusive. But it has considerable force, and that force is only perceived where Liddon's statements are felt as realities as well as believed in as truths. I want you to mark this contrast, between knowing a fact and realising it. Enoch Arden thought he could bear to see his wife after she had become another's, thinking him dead. But he had judged wrongly. Miriam had told him all, and he knew what he had to expect. But he had not fully realised it. It was as yet a sort of dream. When he saw the reality and felt vividly all that was

involved in what had happened, he broke down. Do you remember the lines:—

Now when the dead man, come to life, beheld
His wife, his wife no more, and saw the babe
Hers, yet not his, upon the father's knee,
And all the warmth, the peace and happiness . . .

and so forth—

Then he, *tho' Miriam Lane had told him all,*
Because things seen are mightier than things heard,
Staggered and shook, holding the branch, and feared
To send abroad a shrill and terrible cry!

Grignon, in that amusing play of Scribe's, *La Batville des Dames*, can face all dangers in imagination, but when they come in reality he is an arrant coward. And though the contrast between his attitude towards imaginary dangers and real ones is of course exaggerated for the sake of amusing the audience, it is sufficiently true to nature to illustrate what I say. In the pictures he forms the dangers are not, to him, realities, and he believes that he can face them. The spirit of his heroic mother possesses him, and he promises himself all possible soldierly achievement. But in the field of battle or in time of real danger the caution of his prudent father prevails, and it is only when he cannot fail to realise his danger that he gauges accurately his own powers. Here, then, is another aspect of the personal element in the estimate of arguments. The individual effort to transform a dead fact into a living reality is absolutely essential in such arguments. And if I am to be philosophical over it, I should describe it, in the case of historical facts, as consisting, at least partly, in the endeavour to clothe that which is apprehended in the first instance by the memory only—involving of course some faint picture of the imagination—with the emotion and imagination which it would naturally have excited in the actual witnesses. Not as though one were to take the feelings of an excited mob, and the exaggerated conclusions which they might draw in their excitement, as infallible guides, but rather endeavouring so vividly to picture historical scenes and characters by means of those elements of emotion and imagination which constitute the actor's power of sympathy, that they, in turn, affect us as they would have affected us had we ourselves been among the mob.

'What you are speaking of,' said Darlington, 'seems to resemble the gift of an historian like Gibbon, who could make past facts stand out with wonderful vividness. I don't know,' he added, smiling, 'whether he will help you as an instance of its religious effects.'

Walton was pursuing his own line of thought, and unconsciously suggested the answer to Darlington's question.

'I have just said,' he continued, 'that the actor's power of sym-

pathy constitutes an element in what I have called realising a scene or an historical character. But I think that there is something beyond this mere emotional aspect of it. There is a deep sense that it is a fact, with practical consequences and effects on the world around, and possibly on yourself.

‘I don’t quite see your meaning,’ said Darlington. ‘It seems to me that the emotional appreciation of which you spoke involves that, and that which you speak of now is nothing additional.’

‘No,’ pursued Walton; ‘I think that there is something over and above emotion—deeper than emotion. Grignon may have had the vividest possible emotional picture of his dangers in the battle-field, and was as brave as a lion; but when danger was actually present, and he steadily felt that it concerned him, and might lead to practical results of a serious nature in connection with his own comfort, his courage evaporated. I think it was Charles Kemble who used to relate how he felt Mrs. Siddons’ tears streaming down over his own face when he played Arthur. Yet human grief which concerns facts has something far deeper than the actor’s sympathy with it. Mrs. Siddons could have wept had she lost a child in the play; but the aching sense of reality, with all its consequences which the death of her own child would have aroused, could never have found place on the stage. There is one side of belief which is closely allied with emotion and imagination; another with facts, consequences, and action. Bain, I think, had this latter element in his mind when he spoke of belief as being “readiness to act.”’

Walton paused, feeling that he had not fully expressed his meaning, and yet not at the moment seeing his way further.

‘I am afraid,’ he continued, ‘that I am rather fragmentary and scrappy. But I think some of the most important psychological truths are hard to express quite clearly. They are recondite in proportion to their depth and intimate connection with ourselves. Newman says of certain motives for religious belief that we cannot see them, just as we cannot see ourselves, and in defence of my own imperfect account I can only cite George Eliot’s expression. Do you remember how she speaks somewhere of “that complex, fragmentary, doubt-provoking knowledge which we call truth”?’

‘I think I see your meaning, though, all the same,’ said Darlington, reflectively.

‘Well, now,’ continued Walton, ‘let me try and show more clearly, by an example, how this element of realising may affect the conclusions one draws from a certain class of arguments. Some one says in 1780: “The awful misery and oppression which the common people are undergoing in France, must lead before long to a terrible revolution;” and he mentions fact after fact. This is at the dinner-table of M. le Marquis de R——, who is entertaining guests at his

château. He is sipping his claret and listens with much interest. Some days afterwards other guests are dining with him, and he repeats with great gusto, as giving a zest to the entertainment, the sensational facts which he has heard. "F—— thinks," he adds, "that it must ere long lead to a general revolution." Neither the facts nor the revolution are realities to him. He could not draw the conclusion, though he can repeat it. He does not *see* it, because it is the vivid apprehension of the facts which leads to it, and that apprehension he has not got. But M. le Comte de V——, who is at his table, takes in every word with hungry avidity. After each of the details he is visibly shocked, and the whole company remark how moody he becomes. He leaves early. "Do you know, M. le Marquis," asks one of the guests, "what makes our friend so much out of sorts?" M. le Marquis does not know. "I think the facts you mentioned came home to him rather unpleasantly. He has been something of an absentee from his property, and his agent appears to have ill-treated his tenants past all bearing. They make little distinction between servant and chief, and one of them attempted to stab him the other day. I fancy that your account of the oppression which goes on, often unknown to the landlord, made him feel what reason there might be to apprehend another attempt of the same kind." But in truth M. le Comte has been made very serious by the details in question. The facts which were forced on his attention in connection with the attempt on his own life, have given him a keen sense of the possibilities of serious results, and the whole question—both the oppression and the consequent danger to himself and to the State—is very real in his mind. You see at once my meaning—the danger was a conclusion from the reality of the facts. The Count realised the facts, and so could infer the danger. The Marquis could not see the reality of the danger, because excellent claret and the dinner party were much more real to him than anything else.

'The Count might easily be carried too far by his fears,' Darlington remarked.

'As usual,' said Walton, laughing, 'you always want me to answer everything at once. Hear me out first. All I say at present is that there was a *just* conclusion to be drawn, and no one could draw it by logic, but only by realising the facts and their significance. I think, then,' he continued after a pause, 'that this element of realising the considerations involved in some of the Christian evidences, throws considerable light on your original question. The man who is intensely in earnest and anxious for knowledge, if it is really attainable, will take far more pains than another to do this. If he is anxious in the way I described for a true belief, if it is only attainable, his anxiety tells both ways; it guards him, as we saw yesterday, against over-estimating the force of arguments, and yet at the same

time it stimulates him to use his utmost endeavour to appreciate fully all that may help him to find or hold what he is so anxious for. "Where there's a will there's a way," says the proverb. A man who is bent on passing an examination, finds his faculties stimulated and works with a concentrated energy and success, which he cannot command in the absence of such an incitement. And in the same way, if a man feels keenly that true religious belief, if attainable, is all-important to him, his whole nature becomes intensified in the search for it. He will marshal the evidences which are offered to lead him to it with an activity of mind, and will ponder them with an earnestness, which one who views the whole matter as an interesting problem only can never possess; and so he is convinced sooner, not through bias, but because the arguments, instead of remaining logical *formulae* outside him, have taken full possession of his soul, and are not felt as vague ideas, but facts vividly realised in all their connection with each other and with himself. To draw, then, for the moment only, a partial conclusion, is it not at least a possible hypothesis, that when Gibbon gave five causes which he thought would account for the spread of Christianity by merely natural forces, he had failed, through want of earnestness, both to gauge correctly the powers of human nature, and to realise the significance of the phenomena with which he dealt? And when Locke, on the other hand, said that he found in Scripture alone, sufficient proof of the divinity of Christianity, or, to take a more satisfactory instance, when Newman finds in the very phenomena which Gibbon explains away the strongest confirmation of his belief, is it not, on the principles we have allowed, at least possible that he may have intensely realised and felt the true force of what would have been but partially understood by one who was less in earnest?

'Anyhow,' said Darlington, 'these principles of yours apply only to a very narrow portion of Christian evidences. Christ's character, the growth of the Church, and destruction of Jerusalem are of course remarkable facts, but they are only a tithe of the evidences. There is the whole question of the alleged miracles—most of all, the Resurrection. Then, again, a critical inquiry is necessary as to how far we are justified in believing many of the marvellous facts alleged. Much of the Scripture is disputed as to its authenticity. These and kindred matters call for dry historical research in which all your personal effort, and reflection, and realising, and the rest have no place. They only affect a small portion of the argument.'

'I think their effect is far wider than you suppose,' said Walton. 'I cannot pretend in a moment to show how wide, but I may suggest one or two ways in which they act. No doubt their province is in the first place what we have been considering. But look at their indirect influence. Consider, for one thing, the practical effect upon

a mind which is engaged, even over the purely critical portion of the argument, of a keen sense of the uniqueness of the history and character of Christ and His Church. One who goes to work without this feels, now-a-days, that he is defending a losing cause when he attempts to state the Christian side. All the presumption is against a breach of nature's uniformity. His own constant experience has worked deep into his mind a sense of the improbability of what is unlike the general course of phenomena. Then, again, he is cowed by the ridicule of a host of scientific writers who laugh at his superstition and lack of "exact thought." Surely he is in danger of underestimating the arguments, as feeling it highly improbable, before he looks at them, that they can be conclusive. Whereas, if he has truly realised that Christ's character is—to use the language of one whose whole education and belief were opposed to Christianity—unlike that of all other men, whether predecessors or successors, that the story of the Jewish people, and of the Christian Church is quite unparalleled in history, and so forth, then, even apart from the actual and direct proof to be found in these considerations, he has in his mind that which will give him heart and hope in his study of what remains. His mind instead of being filled, as most minds are, and biassed by a sense of the improbability of what is unfamiliar, is impregnated with the thought of a great marvel. If one marvel is true, why should not other marvels follow in its train? Then, again, the probabilities of the case are affected at every turn. The realising of what Christians have done gives an idea of human nature and its powers quite different from that which naturally and habitually exists in the average loungers of this civilised age. And, as we have seen, our estimate of human powers and qualities affects constantly the weight which we attach to circumstantial evidence. It affects the *a priori* probabilities of the case, and may give an entirely different view of the credibility of witnesses. If we realise the conduct of the Apostles after the Resurrection, we see how deep must have been their assurance of its truth. Such an hypothesis as a pious fraud in the matter becomes at once absurd. If you reflect you will see that a similar effect is produced upon the weight of evidence at every turn. I do not say that those considerations which depend *entirely* on the personal effort and qualities I have mentioned for their just appreciation—the internal evidences of credibility, as Catholic theologians call them—are in themselves conclusive; but I do say, and I can at least speak for my own case, that a mind may be perplexed and depressed by the intricacy and subtlety of critical questions, and that considerations similar to those of which I speak, if vividly present to the mind, may, by their own direct weight combined with the indirect assistance and courage they give in appreciating more complicated arguments, raise such a mind to a clear and serene sense of

certainty in the whole matter, not necessarily solving every difficulty, but giving ample assurance that it has found the truth.'

Darlington shook his head and looked incredulous.

'Well,' said Walton, 'I don't want to insist upon the degree of confidence which may be reasonable, as that is going beyond my original point, and raises many other questions. I should say, even apart from any supernatural element, that there is much more in the mind than we have contemplated, to account for its certainty in such a matter. All that I here maintain is a view exactly opposite to the one you enunciated as a sort of truism at starting. You said that of two men equally able to understand the logic of a series of arguments in favour of the divine origin of Christ's mission and revelation, the cool-headed and impartial man is plainly he who will judge them at their true worth rather than the religious-minded man. I think I have gone far towards showing that, on the contrary, the logical apprehension being an extremely minor point, the mind which passively receives their logic with impartial indifference is the worst possible judge of their true worth; and perhaps all the more so for this reason, that he is so completely satisfied with his ready grasp and neat presentment of the verbal shell, that he never dreams that the whole strength of the argument lies beyond it.'

'You will find it hard to reverse my ideas so much,' said Darlington, 'as to make me believe that impartiality is not essential to a correct estimate of all evidence. Other things may be needed as well, but that most of all.'

Walton looked annoyed. 'You either cannot or will not see my meaning,' he said. 'Of course no one denies that partiality in the sense of bias is to be avoided. What I have been pointing out is that indifference is fatal, and earnestness for knowledge essential. What would you say if Newton professed himself indifferent as to whether he succeeded in making fresh astronomical discoveries, or failed? Should you say that that showed the needful attitude of impartiality which insured the evidence being valued correctly, and that without it he would run the risk of rash conclusions, and would believe on an insufficient induction? or should you not rather say that if he cared so little about it he would probably not succeed if discovery were at all difficult? I say again that we must secure ourselves from being biassed by our wishes, not as the juryman does, by indifference as to results, but as the physical explorer does, by a longing for true knowledge.'

This seemed to strike Darlington. 'True,' he said; 'that is a new aspect of what you insisted on last night. It brings before me better than anything you have said its connection with our present subject.'

They had reached Greystone and entered the wicket-gate of the presbytery garden. 'You have not proved to me,' Darlington said, 'that religious believers fulfil the necessary conditions even if I grant what you have been saying.'

'No,' replied Walton, 'and I do not suppose it is certain that all who profess belief do. Of course the same faults which prevent others from feeling the force of the evidences would, naturally speaking, prevent them too. And it is quite impossible to judge with certainty how far those faults do or do not exist in others, although with regard to ourselves we can be more certain; in the same way as a master cannot know with certainty whether a boy's assertion that he has found his lesson too difficult is genuine or a mere pretext for idleness; though the boy will know in his heart of hearts whether his efforts have been honest and ungrudging. I think, though, that I have shown certain qualities to be *essential* to a right estimate of the question, which qualities are associated with one's idea of an earnest and religious mind. I do not wish to sit in judgment on professing believers. I only show that the religious bent of mind, which you spoke of as making you suspect bias and unfairness, may well indicate the presence, not of unreasonable partisanship, but of a sense of the reality of religious problems which lights up with reality all that bears on them—just as our friend the Count, who felt the reality of his danger, saw the significance of each reason for fresh apprehension—of the blessedness of knowledge, of the wretchedness of ignorance, of the wickedness of apathy in such a matter, of possible personal danger in culpable ignorance, and consequently a passion for knowledge. And this sort of wish to believe, so born and so bred, this longing for certain knowledge concerning the highest and noblest interests of life, may well be, as we have seen, not only no obstacle, but an indispensable assistance to what is in the highest sense a reasonable view of the matter. Then, again, the apathy of a Hume or a Gibbon on the bed of death, is from any point of view *unreasonable*—even more so, if possible, for an Agnostic than for a believer, as he has no clear knowledge of a merciful Providence, which is a certain guarantee of just treatment. A sense of the insecurity of ignorance, and the consequent longing for knowledge, is as much the only reasonable attitude in such a man as in one who is told seriously by some, who profess to have good reasons for knowing, that there are dangerous precipices here and there, among the hills where he is rambling on a pitch-dark night.'

And they walked into the house without another word, and were greeted by Walton's housekeeper, who asked if she should have luncheon ready for them after they had seen the church.

In the church Darlington observed the 'Stations of the Cross,' and Walton gave him the information he required with respect to

them. 'They are, as you see,' he said, 'pictures representing the different scenes of the Passion. The people walk in procession every Friday, stopping at each while I read an account of the scene it represents, and praying for strength and forgiveness at every station before going on to the next. It makes them think: it makes them realise all that our Lord has done for them. "With desolation is all the world made desolate, because no man thinketh in his heart."' .

They walked back to Sandown in comparative silence. Darlington could not help having a certain feeling of moral inferiority after he had heard some of the details of Walton's self-denying life. 'Still,' he argued to himself, 'such a feeling is quite unreasonable. Walton's self-denial and devotion are based upon a belief which, to me, is unreal and superstitious. No doubt, if I were called upon to work for a great cause which really appealed to me, I should not be found wanting. All I lack is opportunity and motive.' Possibly, however, even after he had said this to himself, he had a lingering doubt as to whether he were not partly responsible for his lack of opportunity. But such a frame of mind was unusual with him and unpleasant, and he cast it off before they reached home. No attempt was made by either to resume serious conversation. Both felt that they had had quite enough of it, and neither saw much chance of producing any marked impression on the other. Darlington's frame of mind was one with which Walton was well acquainted. The latter had been subjected to the very same influences at Muriel in years gone by, and had worked his way through every argument and consideration by which his friend was still influenced. The apparent absence of any impression produced upon Darlington during the conversation set Walton thinking. How was it that two minds so similar to each other in their very choice of arguments should come to such opposite conclusions? And then he remembered that there had been a time when scepticism had enjoyed a short reign in his own mind. He had thought out and faced the very considerations which he had endeavoured—he was conscious with what imperfect success—to place before his friend, and he had been for some time unconvinced by them. An event had then happened—a misfortune, which had for a time embittered his life and thrown him back in great seriousness upon religion, and the very same train of thought which in his previous state of active and irresponsible speculation he had dismissed as an insufficient basis for belief, broke upon him with a new force and cogency when he was thus brought face to face with the realities of life. And, remembering this, he moralised and came once more to the very conclusion which he had endeavoured to impress upon Darlington, that it is a very different thing to state a fact and to realise it; to express an argument and to feel its force; and

that it is only a recognition on the part of the Church of a very plain and obvious law of the human reason which induces her to recommend a system of spiritual-training which gives the reasons for belief every chance of 'biting,' if I may use the term—of being felt in their full weight and significance, as well as heard and known as facts.

WILFRID WARD.

MEMORIES OF ISCHIA.

I AM not sure whether I ought to write an account of my impressions of Ischia, formed during a visit which was brought to a close only a few days before the awful convulsion that, in a very narrow area, and in the space of a few seconds, destroyed so many thousands of lives. A passenger in a ship which was wrecked, soon after he had been landed from it safely in port is scarcely justified in obtruding upon the world a narrative of the voyage before the vessel foundered; but he may be pardoned if, moved by affectionate remembrance of those in whose society he passed so many pleasant hours, he ventures to think that the public, who have been shocked by their terrible fate, would like to learn something about the passengers and crew. I must, however, warn those who might suppose, from the words at the top of the page, that I am about to give an account of the earthquake from personal knowledge or experience of its effects, that I was in England on the day it occurred, and that I left Casamicciola on my way home some eight or nine days sooner than I had intended to start on my journey, in consequence of a circumstance, which I shall not call 'providential,' considering that many good people were overwhelmed in the ruin I escaped. But the news of that catastrophe produced on me an effect, which may indeed be weakened in time, if I live, but which can never be effaced from my mind as long as memory endures. It is an effect I cannot describe. I know that awe and pity are of it, but that, in the thoughts of the fearful doom of those I saw so lately for the last time, I cannot, strange as it may appear, acknowledge the existence of the smallest feeling of that which is called 'thankfulness' for what should be considered an escape from almost certain death. And yet I cannot pretend to say that I am sorry I was not there. Who could?—who can say he would have borne the ordeal when the earth heaved like a stormy sea, and in the quarter of a minute the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds were realised to the victims of the caprice of the earthquake? '*Impavidum ferient ruinæ*' indeed! No! Man of woman born must fear at such a moment. The bravest surely uttered a despairing cry in the short, sharp agony wherein creation seemed to come to chaos, and the great globe

itself to crash out in thunder and fire the requiem of Nature herself—the utterance of the awful sentence of an angry and implacable God, ere He destroyed His handiwork.

On my way from Egypt to England, last June, I landed at Naples for a few days' rest. The first news which I read in the papers at the Hôtel des Etrangers there, was that an outbreak of cholera had occurred at Damietta after I had left, and the next steamer that came into the bay from Alexandria displayed the yellow flag at the main, and was sent off incontinently to quarantine at Nisita.

Very soon after my arrival at Naples, in the course of excursions to Castellamare, Pompeii, and Vesuvius, I was made aware of an increasing inability to use my legs with freedom, which I attributed to an accident in the Transvaal, to gout, and to rheumatism, rather than to what perhaps was in some degree responsible for it—*annus domini*; and so lamenting, as I walked with a friend along the quay one afternoon, I was asked abruptly, 'Why on earth don't you go and try the baths at Ischia? I know dozens of fellows who have been set up by them—Admiral Smith, Pickles, Jack Jones of the Blues'—and so on.

Ischia, somehow or other, was not within a measurable distance of my little expeditions from Naples. But in the hall of the hotel there were spirited sketches of the little group of islands which lies off the northern point of the bay; and in going to Capri one can just catch the picturesque outlines of Ischia and Procida, broken off abruptly, as it were, from the Misenian Cape. However, I did not care much to visit the Castle of Alfonso of Aragon, or to verify the accuracy of Stansfield's admirable picture or of David Roberts's drawing. So I went on to Rome, and there I soon became convinced that, whatever the cause of the lameness and pain by which I was affected might be, it would not be prudent to neglect the waters near at hand, which, everyone assured me, were all but omnipotent in the removal of such disabilities as those from which I was suffering.

The placards and notices which invited the Neapolitan and general public to resort to Ischia in the heat of the summer—which was now felt in great intensity—generally contained flattering allusions to the excellency of 'La Piccola Sentinella' at Casamicciola, and the advertisements *ad hoc* generally ended with an intimation that Signora Dombré, the proprietress, was an Englishwoman. Accordingly, to her I addressed a letter for a room, from Rome, and by return was informed that the 'Piccola Sentinella' was full, but that there was nevertheless a room at my disposal if I wished to decide swiftly on retaining it.

There are two rival lines of steamers from the port of Naples to the islands, and the unwary traveller is the object of much contention—of which probably he is unconscious—to hotel touts and boatmen engaged in promoting the interests of these contending navigations. I believe I succeeded, more by chance than by good guidance,

in selecting the better of the two steamers, which start every morning from the inner harbour near the Custom-house. There was a heterogeneous assemblage of tradespeople and ordinary travellers—visitors to the islands for health or pleasure—and a gathering of fishermen and their wives and daughters, and peasants engaged in the fruit, olive, and grape trade, on deck; and, moreover, the band of the 18th Regiment of Infantry, which had been assisting at some fête on shore, was on board returning to the headquarters of the regiment at the Castle of Ischia.

I shall not venture to describe the shores of the well-beaten sea which has been for so many centuries traversed by the fleets and navies of the world; or expatiate on the beauties of Baiæ, Pozzuoli, or Misenum. Bumping over the bright blue waves, threading the intricacies of the webs of great tunny-nets watched by the lumbering boats at anchor with their sleeping fishermen, who, roused up by the noise of the paddles, take a stare at the steamer, and then sink back again, to rest until the time comes for them to visit the *camera de morte*, in about an hour and a half we rounded the point and port of the island of Procida, whistling and blowing off steam all the while, and for the time effectually overwhelming the terrible brass band of the 18th, which certainly was more suitable for the field of battle and war's alarms than for the narrow deck of the 'Leone.' As soon as we had discharged some passengers we left Procida, and in less than half an hour the steamer entered the port of the neighbouring island. At Ischia the musical warriors were transferred to boats, and many of our fellow-passengers got out. Looking round on the deck, somewhat cleared by the departure of the Italian families for Ischia, I could only detect two of the passengers whose nationality seemed very well defined. They were undoubtedly English. A lady, with a soft melancholy face, neatly dressed, was seated in an easy-chair, with that air of languor which indicates the invalid who is seeking health, or recovering from a severe illness. By her side there was a fair young girl, whose bright blue eye and cheeks suffused with health presented a strong contrast to the appearance of the lady who was evidently her mother. How little do we know what the hour that is to come may bring forth! Some trifling attention which I paid to the elder lady, in adjusting her chair so as to keep it a little better amidships, to save her from the effect of a slight sea-way off Misenum, commenced the acquaintance which will cause me to retain for ever the sorrowful memory of the terrible fate of my temporary companions.

I find that I described the town of Ischia in my diary as a 'compound-looking place, like Folkestone-cum-Dover, dominated by a magnificent pile—a castellated barrack, covered ways, and drawbridges, and all the appurtenances of a vast mediæval fortress, perched on a rock at the end of the island, and approached by a causeway through the sea.'

The steamer remained but a few minutes in the harbour of Ischia, and shooting out by the Lighthouse at the end of the little pier after a short way, turned the corner, so to speak, and ran close to the coast, which is frowning with almost perpendicular cliffs, perforated with caves, and seamed with fissures up to the margin of the vegetation, which, in waves of fruit-trees, olives, and grapes, sweeps up to the base of Mount Epomeo, presenting terraces dotted with white villas, a prospect delightfully fresh to the eye. The land, mounting in sharp waves higher and higher, up to the sheer precipice of the mountain, seems to toss up here and there crests of rock, round which a sea of vines and olives rolls placidly.

'There!' said a fellow-passenger, 'is Casamicciola!' He pointed to a little bay, the beach of which was lined with white houses, among which I detected, without satisfaction, two or three smoking chimneys, which were, I was told, the appurtenances of certain manufactories of tiles, for which the island, from all time, has been celebrated. At the back of these houses the land mounted steeply, narrowing between two folds or arms that descended from the yellow rock forming the double crest of Epomeo; and in this natural amphitheatre were built the rows of houses, detached or forming short streets, and villas standing in their own grounds, which constituted the favourite resort of Roman and Neapolitan families. The names of many of these villas—or 'pensions'—were inscribed upon them in large letters visible through the glass, and looking upwards I saw 'La Piccola Sentinella' keeping watch and ward over the little town from a high plateau—a terraced front with windows fenced in by green jalousies, two lines of bright white buildings, girt tightly in a belt of fruit-trees, grapes, and olives.

A fleet of small boats came alongside the steamer, and I was transferred, under the care of Melchior, the commissionnaire of the hotel,¹ to one of them.

Although piers could be made very readily at almost every Italian port, passengers are always conveyed from the steamers by boats. 'What would become of the boatmen,' I was asked, 'if piers were made?' At every landing the natural enemies of Mr. Bright and mankind—the uniformed Custom-house soldier, with sword and bayonet—await their prey.

Escaping scatheless through the inquisitions of the Custom-house officers, and asserting my right of way notwithstanding the fierce opposition of many of the local *vetturini*, I toiled up the steep ascent for the hotel which I knew I could not miss, most of my fellow-passengers preferring the doubtful honour of seats in the crazy vehicles which, by long détours, reached the same point. I did not gain the hotel without some encounters with beggars, touts, guides, and proprietors of carriages and asses who sought to engage me

¹ He has escaped.

immediately to mount to the summit of Epomeo, or drive round the island, or go to Ischia, Forio, or Lacco Ameno.

Madame Dombré²—British by birth, Italianised by twenty-five years' residence—received me at the entrance of the hotel, and with some excuses for the fulness of the house—which otherwise I presume was not disagreeable to her—conducted me to my room, which was on the top platform, so to speak, or the uppermost and third of the terraces in which the building was disposed. And, if I had to mount a little higher, I was so amply rewarded by the beautiful view from the windows that I refused to change when a better apartment became vacant later on during my stay.

It seems to me as I write now, recounting little incidents of the most trifling import, as though I were recording things relating to a world that is past and gone; although nearly a month has elapsed since I became an inmate of the hotel, I still hear the voices and see the faces of the pleasant company amidst which I passed such bright hours, and I wonder if it can be true indeed that they were so soon destroyed in such a pitiless catastrophe!

The hotel was conducted on the usual principle of the Continent—*café au lait* in the morning in one's bedroom, *déjeuner à la fourchette* at noon downstairs, and *table-d'hôte* dinner at seven in a long room, at one end of which were a salon and a small drawing-room, from which windows opened out on the terrace, where there were bowers with chairs and tables from which you looked down over a great spread of foliage, falling almost sheer down for a quarter of a mile to the houses at the little port upon the placid bay.

The tinkling bell in the courtyard summoned the inmates of the hotel to dinner in the long room, and the old stagers and the new-comers scanned each other as they took their places at table. Nearly opposite to me were a young couple in whom almost from the very first day I was interested. The man I ascertained after a while to be blind, though he wore dark blue glasses, which prevented one seeing his eyes. A sad, somewhat stern face, marked with the hard lines of suffering; still young, but his jet black hair prematurely touched with white and grey. The lady by his side, some years younger, had in her face a placid beauty which attracted every one, and very soon, as day after day the devotion of her life revealed itself, she excited among the new-comers a solicitude of which she was but little aware; for to her blind husband, querulous at times, she was a living sacrifice. She led him about in the walks they took for hours up and down the garden; carved every morsel on his plate; prepared his dishes, watching every sign to anticipate his wants; submitting to reproaches about the toughness of his beefsteak, and to complaints that the place did him no good; dressing and undressing him like a child—she the slim oak, and he the clinging ivy.

² Mrs. Dombré and her husband are among the survivors.

'Perhaps,' said a lady one day, when I remarked how happy Madame ——— seemed as she tucked her husband under her arm and led him away from lunch, 'she is pleased because he can see no one, and therefore cannot be attracted from her.' But I believe it was in her intense affection she found all the happiness of her life.³

Among others at table was a young Roman prince, who had come to try the efficacy of the waters in curing an injury to his foot, a young Italian officer of cavalry, who was there to see whether he could be mended by the same agency, so as to mount his horse again—a fall from which on the hard pavement of the Neapolitan highway had injured his leg severely by contact with the pommel of his sword.⁴ Besides my two fellow-passengers, there were nearly opposite to us at table three English ladies;⁵ an old and distinguished officer of the Indian army;⁶ and at the end of the table a little family-group consisting of an elderly lady with a beautiful placid face, her son and his companion, and a younger lady, all of whom resolved themselves into a little whist party in the evening.⁷ There were some Germans, evidently artists: Herr Kiepert of Berlin, who left very soon after my arrival; the wife of a Dutch judge in the service of the Khedive;⁸ the rest of the company, some twenty-five in all, being for the most part Italians.

My place at the table was next to the fair young English girl of whom I have spoken, and her mother.⁹ In the little investigation of our neighbours which is usual the first night under such circumstances, we came to the conclusion that we English were in a very small minority indeed; but that, far away at the end of the long table, there was a small company who possibly might belong to the British Isles if they were not claimed by the great Republic. It was a very cosmopolitan assemblage. There were Germans, Greeks, Spaniards, French, Maltese; but by far the greater number of the visitors were Italians, and of these many were obviously 'taking the waters' and were absorbed in their cure. The principal topic of conversation was the launch of the 'Savoia,' which was to take place on the following day at Castellamare.

After dinner the company strolled out into the garden, which overhung the fields of olives descending to the sea, and sat out watching the stars and Vesuvius.

'Later on in the season,' said one of my acquaintances, 'we shall have some amusement. There is a little theatre down the town which

³ I believe that they left Casamicciola before the earthquake.

⁴ Prince de D——, I am told, left a short time before the 28th of July. The officer referred to went away soon after my departure.

⁵ Miss H—— and the two Misses C—— went away before I did.

⁶ Colonel M—— was in the hotel at the time, and was rescued from the ruins. He is recovering.

⁷ These all perished.

⁸ I believe this poor lady was among the victims.

⁹ Mrs. and Miss Robertson, who perished in the earthquake.

is generally well filled, and the people come up and dance the tarantella; and then there are conjurors and, of course, the inevitable Neapolitan street musicians with guitars and mandolins, who are always floating about the towns along the coast.

As darkness came on, and I sat out on the terrace in front of my room, I observed the dull glare lighting up the sky over Vesuvius, despite the effulgence of a three-quarters moon; and, seen from such a distance, it appeared to me as if the volcano was more active than it had been while I was at Naples. It was the 23rd of June, a delicious night, so fresh that most of the people who went out to take their cigars after dinner on the terrace put on their overcoats. Somehow or other, Vesuvius especially attracted my attention, and I could not help remarking the resemblance between the dull outline of the mountain in the distance and the form of the crest of Epomeo over my head. Besides, I had observed rents in the walls of some of the houses, and had noted certain wooden sheds which had been pointed out to me as the dwellings of those who had been rendered houseless by the earthquake of two years before. So, meeting Madame Dombé in the corridor, for lack of something else to say, I asked: 'Is there any fear of an earthquake? I hope we shall not have one whilst I am here.' 'Lord, sir, don't talk of such a thing!' she said. 'The last earthquake only shook down some of the ill-built old houses in the village above us; it did not touch any of the stout, well-built houses like this. And besides, there won't be any earthquake, wise people say, for the next eighty years, and when that comes it won't trouble either of us very much!'—which was, if the wise people were right, a very true remark.

Now the first thing a visitor to Ischia for health's sake has to do is to settle upon the water to which he will resort; for the sources are many, and the contentions of rival physicians most acrimonious and distracting. I suspect that the hotels were affected in the interest of these factions. That to which I was affiliated was altogether devoted to Dr. Salvi, of the Stabilimento Belliazzi. There are no less than fourteen different groups of sources, all thermal, varying from 18° to 80° C. Some contain chloride and bicarbonate of soda; others bromides and iodides; and others are impregnated with iron. But, truth to say, I did not make a very close investigation into the merits of these waters, being content immediately to apply myself to the establishment recommended on the walls of the hotel. Dr. Salvi, the physician of this establishment, had certainly every guarantee, in his degrees, in his experiences, and in his actual employment in a great medical establishment on the mainland, that he was entitled to the confidence of his patients.

But, as I am rather about to tell of my own experiences at Casamicciola than to enter into any disquisition on the baths, I will follow, with the permission of my readers, the incidents, such as they were, which I find noted from time to time in my diary.

My first morning was a complete *fiasco*; for, proud of my success in finding the hotel unaided, I determined to discover the *Stabilimento Belliazzi* by myself. I struck down from the hotel by a narrow and very dusty road, at every corner of which was posted a beggar, more or less crippled, exceedingly importunate when capable of motion, and making the morning hideous with his cries. At the end of this lane there were streetlets, small patches of houses, with narrow paved roads between them, which, in the then state of my knowledge, were very puzzling. Several efforts to ascertain from passers-by where the place I wanted was, having only produced vigorous efforts to lead me astray to other baths I knew not of, I was reluctantly compelled to ascend the steep, and arrived at 'La Piccola Sentinella' so completely exhausted by the heat that I did not feel inclined to renew my search that day. At the hotel, which is perched on the shoulder of a ridge of tufa, there was always a pleasant breeze; and as the sun sank down towards the mountain, the cool depths amongst the orchards gave a shade which invited the inmates to sit out and watch the steamers and the moving panorama of ships all the way from the distant mountains over Circe's Cave, round by Gaeta to the foot of Vesuvius.

Next morning I was up betimes and made another attempt to reach the *Stabilimento Belliazzi*, the locality of which I had well studied in the plan. Down by the *Via Garibaldi* and the *Via Vittore Emmanuele*, past the beggars, each watching his own strip of road for plunder as the robber chief of old looked down from his castle to mark the unwary traveller; descending always towards the sea, at last I emerged upon a small piazza (*dei Bagni*), with a church at one end and an inn at the other, and a little wooden theatre facing it on one side of an open market-place. Here were the various bathing *Stabilimenti*, as they are called, resembling Turkish mosques without minarets, unless the chimneys of certain steam-engines attached to these establishments were taken to do duty for them. I was especially recommended to Dr. Salvi, whose very name sounded pleasantly to a patient; but the people to whom I applied for information possibly were anti-Salvites, and knew nothing about him, though I had just read a long list of titles after his name in the treatise in which he warns all the world against the pretentious rivals of the *Belliazzi* baths, which he declared had no antiquity and no traditions, and possibly no virtues. At last I got to the right place—the *Stabilimento Belliazzi*, a large stone building painted or washed, like most of the dwellings in *Casamicciola*, blank white. The entrance was like that of a theatre, and on the left-hand side was an office wherein were the clerks connected with the administration, who took the subscribers' money, issued the tickets, and answered inquiries. Dr. Salvi had just gone off to Naples, but would certainly be back to-morrow. Not to lose time, I resolved to take a

bath. I was shown by the attendant into a marble apartment—one of the many small rooms on each side of the long corridors from inside which came the noise of the splashing of water and the groans of the patients, showing that the Stabilimento was at full work. My attendant spoke only Neapolitan Italian, but he seemed to know all about my cure; and with great promptitude he turned one of the cocks which projected from the walls, and filled the marble bath at the end of the room with water, from which came a faint sulphureous odour, and a moist hot air. It was an exceedingly agreeable bath. However, after a time there came either a real or imaginary sense of faintness, from which I was glad to escape by dressing as fast as I could and emerging into the open air. Next day, when I saw Dr. Salvi, I learned that I had been in a bath which was not appropriate to my case at all. He had, he said, cured many Englishmen—officers from India and others, and men of the sea who had come to him with exactly the same injury—rheumatism settling into muscles injured by fall, or blows, or overstraining. A grave, thoughtful man was Dr. Salvi, but fanatical about Belliazzì's Gurgitello, and utterly sceptical as to any other waters of Ischia; an investigator of the chemical virtues of all the streams and sources; a student of their ancient history; and himself a literary champion of the baths to which he was attached. He was proud to say that the chemical analysis of the Belliazzì baths, after the great disturbance caused to the springs in the earthquake of 1881, had shown that none of the ingredients have been altered, and that the chemical equivalents which gave them their efficacy were the same as before. I paid my subscription of twenty-seven francs for ten baths, and became the possessor of a yellow billet, divided into ten strips, one of which was obliterated each day; and having been duly cautioned as to diet, and manners, and customs, I was handed over to an attendant who was to give me a local *douche* for five minutes, and a bath at a temperature of 60° for fifteen minutes.

I saw Dr. Salvi but once—on the occasion of which I speak—but I read a good deal about him, and his name very often in the course of the warfare he was waging against the Stabilimento Manzi, the rival of the Gurgitello. It was a great comfort to one to know that if he went to the latter he would very possibly bathe in the very same sort of water as that in which the senators and others from Rome, in times past, were accustomed to indulge. The natives who had time to study the subject were, I discovered, very proud of the antiquity of their lovely island; which, indeed, they insisted, on what authority I know not, to have been the favourite retreat of Æneas, from whom was derived the name of Ænaria, in lieu of that by which it was known to the Greeks, of Pithecusa and of Arime, which later on was transformed into Inarime. The etymologists have been much exercised by these names. Humboldt would not hear

of the idea that the name of Pithecusa was derived from the apes which were said to have inhabited the island, for the reason that he did not think it possible there could have been apes there at all. But surely there might have been apes there as well as on the rock of Gibraltar? It is much more likely, indeed, that there were apes there than that the giant Typhoeus was buried under Mount Epomeo, although Homer and Virgil have spread the report. As to the origin of the modern name I could gain no accurate information. But in a little book I picked up in a shop in the main street of the town, I read the hazardous conjecture that it was derived from 'Iscla,' which was corrupted into Ischia—then came clouds and darkness. But of historical reminiscences the little book was full—many of them interesting, if not authentic. I was asked to believe that the beauty of the women—which in the case of the younger ones certainly might be fairly admitted—was due to rather an arbitrary proceeding of Alfonso the First of Aragon, who drove the men out of the island when he had conquered it, and gave all the women as wives to his soldiers. One fact was pretty well established—that the grand old castle, situated on the rock of basalt, towering above the town of Ischia proper, was built by that high-handed potentate.

Not very long ago there were not less than 25,000 people on this little island. The length of it is given as 9 kilometres, its breadth 5 kilometres, and the circumference 24 kilometres. When it is considered that a considerable portion is covered by Mount Epomeo, which rises abruptly from the sea, though the sides are cultivated up to the very base of the crags, it seems wonderful how the inhabitants could have lived, if it were not that they depended on the prey brought to them in the season by the steamers from the mainland, and on the produce of the sea, which they carried for sale to Naples. But the labour of these poor people has made the whole island, from the shore up to the foot of the mountain, one vast garden, rich with olives, cherries, lemons, grapes, almonds, figs, nectarines, and plums; every yard of land at all cultivable being banked up by walls, every pound of earth sedulously tended.

It would be interesting if we could have a list of all the remarkable people who have resorted to Ischia as a pleasant retreat from trouble, or who have gone there in search of health and repose; but, unless it has been much changed of late, it is not easy to imagine how anyone ever selected the charming island as a place where he could rest in peace undisturbed by any apprehension of danger, remote from the noise and tumult of the world. For it certainly was not a quiet island when I was there. There was plenty of life and bustle in the little streets of the town. The *vetturini* or coach-drivers, the muleteers or donkey-men, the files of women, and boys with straw hats and baskets to dispose of, the sellers of fruit, made noise enough in the thoroughfares. And then down by the beach was a tumult of

labour in the potteries where they made tiles and earthenware vessels, as they have done for hundreds of years, though it is probably only of late that those manufactories have been provided with horrible chimneys which send up volumes of black smoke to pollute the pure air.

As to the beggars, they pullulate in the place. A newspaper, describing a person who was taken up for a small theft, spoke of him as '*di professione mendicante*,' as it might write of a doctor, or a lawyer, or a clergyman. The professors have regular stands or stations along the thoroughfares, and, like trout in a stream, wait for their prey. In the early morning they distribute themselves along the main roads leading from the various *pensions* and hotels to the baths in the town below, so that no one could pass without hearing a supplication for every twenty yards or so from a blind man, or a lame man on crutches, or a curious deformity, or from some old person who thought it a good thing to go out in the morning and take the air and catch up a few halfpence from the early travellers. I knew nearly all of them in a week; but once I made a great mistake, for as I was turning down by a narrow lane past the chemist's, I was struck by the appearance of a very shrivelled old man, not quite in rags indeed, but still not over well dressed, with fine flowing hair and face with multitudinous wrinkles. Propped on a stick, he sat on a low stool by the wall. I stopped, produced a small coin, and placed it on his knee. But instead of being rewarded by the usual outpouring of benedictions and recommendations to many saints, I was met by a very different form of speech, and, in fact, the old gentleman seemed very much inclined, if he had the strength, to give me a whack with his stick. It turned out that he was one of the wealthiest men in the place; so I was very cautious in future of the way in which I offered my alms.

After the last flight of patients had walked or driven out from the baths, and the sun become hot, the ladies and gentlemen of the 'profession of mendicants' vanished like ghosts at cock-crow, but in the afternoon, when the boats were due from Naples, they reappeared on quite a different line of country, and took up their positions along the roads leading from the Marina, where the landing-place was, up to the hotels; and here they were masters and mistresses of the situation, for the ascent being very sharp from the beach, the horses—spirited little beasts as they were—which drew the carriages up could not go out of a strained walk, and the poorest cripples were thus enabled to hop alongside the passenger and weary him with appeals and demonstrations of their infirmities. Probably this infliction has grown out of the increasing popularity of the island as a health-giving resort. In times gone by more than one great personage, as my little book tells me, came here to indulge in the delight of woe, in that form of the *dolce far niente* which is termed meditation.

But I think I am justified in saying that though many naval officers and English tourists visited it from time to time, the great mass of the people in this island had to ask 'Where is Ischia?' when they read the account of the terrible earthquake. Indeed, we all do not know it was held by an English garrison at the time of the old war with France, who kindly blew up a tower of great antiquity on their evacuation of the island, as a mark of satisfaction at their going home.

'I am,' says Bishop Berkeley, writing to Pope in 1717, 'lately returned from an island which, were it set out in its true colours, might methinks amuse you agreeably enough for a minute or two.' After describing the island and its wonderful fruitfulness, the Bishop—who seems to have been there for three months, though he tells us nothing of the circumstances under which he was resident, or how he lived—gives an account of the prospect from Mount Epomeo over the bay and islands, and writes:

This noble landscape would demand an imagination as warm, and numbers as flowing, as your own to describe it. The inhabitants of this delicious Isle, as they are without riches and honours, so are they without the vices and follies which attend them, and were they but as much strangers to Revenge as they are to Avarice and Ambition, they would answer the poetical notions of the Golden Age; but they have got, as an alloy to their happiness, the evil habit of murdering one another for slight offences.

That habit has somewhat died out, but the people are still sudden in quarrel. Crossing to Naples one day in the steamer, three gendarmes boarded us, bringing with them a malefactor in irons—heavy chains on his legs and wrists, clad in a red tunic with a piece of canvas on the arm numbered 21,017, a red muffin-cap, coarse grey linen trousers—a powerful but not ill-looking young man. He had stabbed a friend and relative in a quarrel, and was sentenced to the galleys for life, and now he was going to work on the Mole at Naples, and—curiously enough—my informant remarked that 'it may be a good change for him, as there is no chance of his being swallowed up in an earthquake there!'

However, I must say, for my part, I never saw a quarrel nor a blow struck during my residence in the island, though I heard a good deal of what may be called 'vociferation,' chiefly about what a London cabman would call 'fares.'

There was nevertheless much political excitement in the island, and bright yellow and blue posters were on the walls calling upon the electors to vote for eminent local politicians; but I did not quite understand the issues, nor indeed the position the candidates sought to attain by the favour of the Ischian population.

Every evening when the boats came in there descended on the island a flight of newsboys with the *Roma*, the *Pongolo*, the *Capitan*

Fracassa, &c., which were eagerly bought up; the great subjects of discussion at the time being the cholera 'which had been imported into Egypt by the English,' the election for the vacancy in the Parliament for Rome, the reception of the body of Romolo Gessi at Naples, and the quarantine—which was now in full force.

I plead guilty to having spent a very lazy, indolent time, in which I resisted many opportunities to improve my mind with great success. But really the morning was necessarily devoted to the bath, and the day was passed in the shade, or in *siesta*, as the thermometer generally stood over 80 in the darkest chamber; in the broad day it was impossible to venture out, and when the evening came, the only chance one had of a walk was somewhat shortened by the dinner-hour. But still I was enabled to go out a little, though I did not make the excursion round the island by sea, as I was invited to do—the best way, it is said, of seeing the wonderful cliffs of lava which form bold bluffs, and present the most fantastic outlines where the lava came in contact with the water. The Campo Santo, or cemetery, of Casamicciola, stands on one of these bluffs of lava, and is charmingly laid out. English names on the tombstones denote that even the marvellous health-giving streams of Ischia cannot avert death. The *Arso*, or 'burned ground,' is a perfectly arid rock; but in the clefts of these lava streams and on the surface where mould has gathered, there is a brilliant vegetation, and the quantities of flowering myrtle along the coast, particularly near the cemetery, are astonishing. Stone pines, Spanish broom, and cacti of various sorts, abound in places which are not won over by the vine, the olive, and the fruit-tree; and in the deep dells of the *vallone* forming the base of the central mountain and its offshoots are the hot springs of mineral water, coming up from the bowels of the earth, to be turned into baths, or into cooking water, or adapted to the many purposes for which the inhabitants have found them available. In one ravine there is a source in which the water is so charged with carbonic acid gas that it is heard making a noise like a drum, giving its name to the ravine of '*Val de Tamburo*.' In another valley there is a spring which has a peculiar property: if a fowl is put into it the feathers come off with the greatest ease, and so it is called the '*Spenna Pollastro*,' or 'pluck-fowl.' In another *vallone* there is a spring which bleaches linen; in another there is one which the people declare yielded gold and silver in times past. In fact the island is a vast laboratory—a huge medicine-chest. But we know now what are the perils which attend those who seek health there.

Although there was not much variety in the aspect of the little villages, Forio, Lacco Ameno, Fontana, Serrara, &c., when the day was not too hot it was pleasant to make little excursions along the roads, narrow and dusty as they were, shaded by trees and vines, and to look down from some culminating point on the flat-roofed houses, scattered

irregularly on the slopes of the hillside to the very verge of the sea, each with its little church and its café, its priest, and its gendarmes; swarming with children generally approaching a primitive condition in regard to dress, and to watch the women at work in the fields, or the fishermen engaged with their lines close at hand below. I saw nothing of the *fumarole*, or smoke-holes, from which vapour and smoke are said to issue, around Epomeo; nor did I visit the baths whence come streams of scalding water and mud. But it was easy when one was on the spot, and looked down, from an elevated point, upon the island of Procida, the islet of Levarà, close at hand, and Ischia itself, and then cast his eye across the bay to Vesuvius, to believe that those truncated pyramids rising from the sea were in fact but the points of the craters of some vast volcano down beneath the bed of the ocean.

I never attempted to get as far as the lake, which is an ancient crater now filled with salt water, and serving as a little port of refuge; nor to the town of Ischia by land, content with the picturesque view, from the sea, of the castle, and of the ancient houses along the beach.

If one could have been aware of the terrible forces which were at work beneath that smiling surface, how delusive would the whole of that bright pageant—the charming little villas nestling in their gardens, the country houses white as snow, with their green jalousies, and the small spires of the chapels piercing the mass of foliage—have appeared! It is 581 years since the last great outburst of lava, which has left a broad track, called the Arso, to the west of Ischia, sent the Syracusans in a fright from the island, which the colonists of Eubœa abandoned at an early period in consequence of awful earthquakes, with the particulars of which we are not acquainted. Until Vesuvius became active in the first century of the Christian era, it is held by geologists that Ischia was the great safety-valve or escape-pipe for the volcanic agencies at work in the Terra di Lavoro. But all the eruptions which devastated the island, and drove out two successive colonisations in turn, were apparently stilled for ever.

There will be, no doubt a close investigation into the actual geological condition of the island, because it will be necessary to determine whether the Government will permit the reconstruction of the town of Casamicciola, which will otherwise be certainly immediately proceeded with in spite of the two catastrophes of 1881 and of last July, so great is the efficacy of the waters, so urgent the need of the people of the island for extraneous means of support, and I will add, so great is the beauty of the scene itself and the attractions afforded to the sick and weary. In the pursuit of health and of repose people will brave great risks of death. Perhaps some research will determine how it is that Ischia itself and its proud castle have been exempted

from the shocks which have twice brought ruin on a hamlet a few miles off.

Undeterred by any apprehension of the recent outburst of these forces which had given such a warning two years ago, people were busy building new houses and repairing old, and marrying and giving in marriage. Some, indeed, had settled down quietly amidst their vineyards to abide for ever—that is, as long as they lived; among them a lady, Miss M——, who had a charming villa perched high above La Piccola Sentinella, who gathered the English visitors to tea and music of an evening before dinner. One of my acquaintance proposed, as land was to be had at a cheap rate, to buy a little plot on which to build a villa which should be a *pied-à-terre* for either or both; and when I asked, ‘What about the earthquakes?’ he laughed and said, ‘There won’t be one for a thousand years!’ . . .

I was rather struck by the absence of birds; but I was informed that quails came in considerable quantities to the island during their migration, and it was hinted that a determined sportsman might get such a thing as a partridge. There were many blackbirds, indeed, and the inevitable sparrow, and an unusual sort of swallow, differing somewhat in colour and shape from our own, hawking about the cliffs.

The vegetable wealth, however, of the island seemed extraordinary, and the table of the hotel was covered at meal-times with delicious fruit, especially figs, as well as with flasks of an excellent golden-coloured wine, made from the grapes which grew in our host’s enclosure—equal, he proudly maintained, to the finest Capri—and I was told of one peculiar plant, called the *giglio di Santa Restituta*, which is found only on the sea-beach at Lacco, close to Casamicciola. This plant is supposed to mark the place where the body of the martyr of that name was drifted across the sea from Naples, and it is found nowhere else in the world. But of this, and of many other things which I was told, I cannot answer for certain.

Morning, noon, and night the air was filled with the monotonous notes of conch-shells, sounded by the watchers over the vineyards and gardens to scare away thieves and birds.¹⁰

Day after day our lives quietly glided on, and if ever there was an island which the lotus-eaters might select, it was this doomed spot. The air was delicious, but, unless to the younger and more intrepid, who delighted in climbing the mountain, or making excursions to the small towns, as like each other as peas, which lay nestling down by the sea-side in the valleys formed by the spurs of Mount Epomeo, there was little to break the monotony of going down to the baths and coming up from them, and the intervals between early coffee, the

¹⁰ ‘Et tua, Triton, buccina tortæ,
Nocte silente littora complet.’

midday repast, and dinner, till bed-time came, according to one's taste, after an hour or two spent in watching Vesuvius, or listening to the music in the salon, or a desultory game of moderate whist. Indeed the doctors enjoined repose as one of the concomitants of the bath, and patients were ordered to lie down and to do nothing whatever for an hour at least after they returned to the hotel from the Stabilimento. There were amongst the company several accomplished musicians, especially Mr. Struve, a young gentleman whose fate has touched so deeply all who knew him—an admirable pianist, whose playing was full of expression and masterly in execution.¹¹

As to the general effect of the baths I could not quite make up my mind; but I certainly thought it depressing. The local influence, however, was unmistakably good; and I was emerging rapidly from a state of crippledom to one of comparative activity. I was exercised, however, about the Gurgitello because there was in connection with it some apparatus I could not quite understand. There was a steam-engine at work, and I could not quite see the necessity for such an adjunct if there was a natural *sorgente*. And then once or twice I heard strange noises down below in the earth, or fancied I did, right through the marble; but when I spoke of them to the attendant, he smiled and said 'it was the water in the pipes.' And making a similar remark to one of the gentlemen interested in the establishment, he asked me rather tartly if I 'did not hear noises in a bath at home when I turned on the water.'

Although there were photographs of the destruction caused by the earthquake two years ago, and there were traces of its effects on the church walls, and in the masses of ruins of the houses a short way above the 'Piccola Sentinella,' I could not get anyone to entertain the idea that there was danger of a similar disturbance. Certainly if for a restoration to health it was worth while running a little risk, there was reason for coming to Ischia; for I saw day after day people who had arrived in a state of suffering and decrepitude making progress towards recovery of peace of body at all events.

At five o'clock every morning the steamer went off with the hotel commissioners and the early risers to Naples. Another went later in the day. And both returned in the evening, generally bringing a contingent of visitors to the various hotels—the Manzi, the Pension de Rome, the Villa Verde, and all the other 'villas,' turned during the season into boarding-houses and restaurants. The arrivals of the steamers were perhaps the incidents of life which exercised the greatest attraction for the visitors. There was generally an irregular procession down to the Marina, as the smoke rising from over the side of the hill

¹¹ He was at the piano playing Chopin's *Marche Funèbre*, a favourite piece of his, when the earthquake destroyed the hotel.

announced the approach from Procida of the 'Leone' or its fellow, although nothing more interesting might be expected than the landing of a few passengers at the little quay, and the overhauling of the bundles and baskets and portmanteaus of the fresh arrivals by the vigilant officers of the Dazio. This is not the place in which to vent the feelings I entertain against that abominable institution—the Dazio—which seems the most perfect contrivance for crushing the poor and breaking down all internal trade that ever was devised—an *octroi* of the most tyrannous and vicious kind—the plague of Italy from end to end.

I heard of a gentleman who was invited to a pic-nic party outside the walls of Rome, and who took with him a litre of wine to contribute to the *répast*. The wine was not needed, and so he brought it back; and because he returned by another road, and passed another gate, he had to pay duty upon the litre, although he could prove that he had taken it out of the city a couple of hours before. At Ischia, a small army of these soldiery of the Customs, with sword-bayonets and rifles, in full uniform, are at each landing-place to inspect everything that arrives, and to carry off every article liable to duty to the Dazio, although it has been carried only from the opposite shore. The cost of such a force must be very great; but I am told that one of the reasons for maintaining the Dazio is that it gives employment to a certain number of able-bodied men of a military character, and prevents their becoming troublesome. To the Daziari must be added a force of gendarmerie in cocked hats and long dress-coats, armed to the teeth. The population generally are peaceable, and not criminal, but they are quarrelsome enough, and the use of the stiletto in deciding arguments is not unknown amongst them. As far as I could judge, they had but few pleasures and a great deal of work; but certainly they had also fine bursts of idleness when the numerous saints' days and feasts liberated them from any claim of duty except idling or dancing the tarantella in the evening. They were much given to fireworks, and on St. Peter's Day, the 29th of June, the fishermen celebrated the festival of their patron saint by a procession in the streets, and by a great gathering in front of the wine-shops.

Now and then a few of the boatmen came up to the hotel, the servants, male and female, turned out in the hall, and the visitors assembled to see them dance the tarantella, which I must admit, after a while, did not give me so much pleasure as it appeared to afford to those who took part in it. Then, of course, we had conjurors and photographers and strolling minstrels. By degrees the visitors to the hotel formed themselves into little cliques, not always hostile or indifferent—a common point of union between them being formed by little Berri, Mrs. Struve's pet terrier,¹² which went inces-

¹² Saved, the only survivor of that party.

santly from one group to the other in search of fun or excitement; and by the music every evening which, varying occasionally in its merits and attractions in some respects, never failed when Mr. Struve was playing, or when the lovely voice of — was heard through open windows, to fill the salon.

I began to know the people in Casamicciola. On my way to the baths, I exchanged daily civilities with a very intelligent-looking and courteous apothecary. He always took off his hat with a 'Buon giorno, Signor.' I returned his salutation, and occasionally we exchanged an observation about the weather, agreeing that it was very hot, as it certainly was. I had my pet beggars, who came in for a copper when I happened to possess one, as I had my aversions—harpies whom I often put myself to immense inconvenience to avoid by sudden retreats or devious wanderings, to turn their flanks. My vetturino, Antonio,¹³ established such a vested interest in me, that he would not allow anyone to go near me, but appropriated me at once the moment I appeared in sight, whether I wished it or not. On one person, however, I could make no impression—an old woman who kept the *Sale e Tabacchi* establishment on the Marina, where I used to resort when I wanted something to smoke; the minghetta tabacchi at 1½ *l.* apiece being the highest form, and most expensive, of tobacco enjoyments known to the place. This old lady, somehow or other, appeared to have formed the idea that I was a coiner, and nothing would induce her to take any piece of solid money from me, whether five-franc, two-franc, or one franc. She must have paper; otherwise she pretended she had no change and could not give me the tobacco. So occasionally when I happened to have none of the dirty little parallelograms of the National Bank, which I suppose she thought could not be forged, I had to send in Antonio to buy my cigars. The padre of the little chapel on the hill and I had also got to speaking terms, and I was familiar with the postman. But attempts at conversation with the inhabitants were for the most part baffled by want of a proper medium in which to express our thoughts. The priest, indeed, thought that Latin might be useful; but quotations from Virgil and bits of Horace did not always supply means of conversation adapted to the circumstances of the hour.

There are repeated entries in my diary as to the appearance of Vesuvius; but of course I could not maintain my view that it was unusually active in face of the opposition of people who knew better, and who declared there was 'nothing unusual.' On the 26th of June:—'Vesuvius very active to-day; an unusually dense and lofty column of smoke rising from the summit like a plume from a staff-officer's cocked hat.' On the 28th of June:—'Strange noises in the air, as if of rolling thunder, very high up. I was told it was from

¹³ I cannot ascertain his fate; an excellent fellow.

the workmen. For the last three days fifteen or sixteen men armed with wooden rammers, like those formerly used by street paviours, have been on the top of a house down below us pounding down a concrete of white cement of which the roofs of all the houses here are made. They advance in line, thumping with regularity like one man and singing in chorus, and when they have crossed along from side to side of the roof, they wheel in line and return the same way. To-day the work seemed complete, and they marched round the building in procession. I do not think it was they who made the noise I heard.'

'June 30.—The young cavalry officer, Miss Robertson, and the charming Florentine lady who speaks English so well, started off on horseback and went up to the summit of Mount Epomeo, whence they had a lovely view all over the bay and the islands. I was not able to join them, as I could not yet manage the saddle; but I went out to look through my glass at the top of the hill in order to make them out. As I rested it on the wall I felt a strange kind of tremor, as if the stones were shaking.'

'July 3.—I was awake at dawn, and looked out on the sea. It was steel-coloured. The mountains in the background seemed purple and black. Vesuvius poured out jet-black smoke, the effect of the light behind. The fumes from the crater, being opaque, seemed to me as if a sheet of ebon darkness was suspended in the sky, whereas the smoke is really snowy white, and turned so when the sun came out upon it. The coast-line was quite clear when the sun rose at 4.32 from behind the range opposite my window, but it was obscured by a huge cloud, which formed, apparently, behind the hill, and floated right over Vesuvius. The steely sea, like a mountain lake, on the still expanse of which the hulls and sails were reflected, was studded with the *speronari*, which seemed as if carved out of charcoal, black as the volcanic smoke. Down below my window the little steamer for Naples was just waking up, and a solitary figure walked along the pier. A small boat was moving off from the shore—I could hear the sound of oars from which broken lines of the water scarred the still surface, moving on in widening curves from the beach. The tile-makers' chimneys were busy polluting the morning air; and from the Marina a sweep of vine, fig, and olive lands, dotted by flat-roofed houses with white lines of green lattices, rose up to "Piccola Sentinella," higher and higher still, up to the brightest green, laden with grapes and fruit, to the foot of the yellow-white rocks which form the serrated peaks of Mount Epomeo. It is a very pretty picture. Is Typhoeus, who dwells beneath, dead? Or will he ever struggle again to get out at the Olympians? The shape of the indent of the mountain, in which the houses which form the town cluster or spread with terraces, the wavy lines of which are hidden by the trees, is that of half a teacup—a semisphere turned outwards.'

The heat at mid-day drove most of us to take refuge in darkened rooms and enjoy the universal *siesta*; but morning and evening were heavenly. In a week more the sun became intensely powerful at noon. I have an entry in my diary for the 10th of July: '7 A.M. Thermometer 80° in my room.' Just at this time the passenger boats brought great crowds of visitors, mostly Italians; and their influence was felt in a proposal to change the hour of the *table d'hôte*, so as to have the *collazione* at two o'clock, and the dinner at half-past eight, which to the English faction was distasteful.

So 'delicious,' to use Bishop Berkeley's adjective, did I find the island, that it was with the greatest regret I found myself compelled to shorten my visit, and that I made up my mind to strike out into the world and all its tumults from that quiet happy resting-place. For some days before my departure I had to hurry to and fro between the island and Naples, so that I did not keep my usual regular notes of the trivial events of each day. But when I had at last to pack up my portmanteau, I made a solemn league and covenant with myself that I would soon return, and indeed I told Madame Dombé that it was my intention to visit her again ere I finally turned my face towards England. What determined me mainly to leave was the fact that I had experienced all the benefit which I thought it possible the baths could bestow, and that I was anxious to go to Rome while it was yet possible to stir out in the streets, in order to visit a friend who was about to leave the Imperial City, and to take a look at the new and interesting excavations in the Forum.

What a happy, pleasant company I left! Even those who were most troubled by their ailments were gathering up their spirits under the influence of the pure air and the effects of the mineral waters. The intimacy of the *table d'hôte* had developed with my neighbours into something like friendship. The day I bade them good-bye I was surprised by an ejaculation from a young lady. 'How,' she exclaimed, 'I wish I were going with you!' 'I should be very much obliged to you for the compliment,' I said, 'if I thought you did not mean that you wished to go to Homburg or Monte Carlo, or some livelier spot than this. Why should you desire to leave beautiful Ischia?' 'Because,' she replied, laughingly, 'I am afraid of being swallowed up in one of those horrible earthquakes.'¹⁴

I see her fair young face as I recall the words; I see through the open windows the groups seated in the salon listening to one of the loveliest voices ever heard, or to the strains of the music which Mr. Struve led with such exquisite taste. I see the German artists seated in one of the bowers over their coffee and cigarettes, the maimed soldiers pacing the gravelled walk, and all the little

¹⁴ It was her fate; a few days afterwards that fear was realised.

coterie gossiping in their easy chairs on the open terrace looking out upon the sea. My eye wanders back over that lovely island which Bishop Berkeley described to Pope as 'an epitome of the whole earth;' and I ask myself, is it possible that in the twinkling of an eye, in fifteen seconds, such a scene of human happiness and industry, peace and pleasure, should have been swept into a common ruin in one of the most awful catastrophes recorded in the recent history of the world?

WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL.

HAVE WE AN ARMY ?

If we are to judge by the 'Jeremiads' lately published in newspapers and reviews on the present condition of the army, the above question would require to be answered in the negative. Yet, although matters are not quite so bad as the Pessimists would have us believe, the present condition of the army is not altogether satisfactory—the causes of which it is one of the objects of this paper to expose:

A discontented body of officers, is weakness for an army, and in any country but England would be a danger to the State; and English officers are not yet by any means reconciled to the changes which have been introduced since 1870, in connection with which a new and mischievous industry—that of military grievance-monger—appears to have arisen.¹ The unsettled state of the military mind in England dates from the abolition of 'purchase;' and whatever may be thought of that system in the abstract, it unquestionably provided a fair flow of promotion at no cost to the country. By its abolition the Government assumed the responsibility of providing an efficient substitute in that particular, and the Minister principally concerned pledged the Government, so far as assurances could do so, to bring in a measure for that purpose. It was on the faith of that pledge that the Commander-in-Chief, in a speech in the House of Lords on the 12th of July 1870, accepted the abolition of 'purchase' in the following words:—

The Secretary of State for War has declared, most distinctly, that he intends that the flow of promotion shall be maintained at its present rate. That is the point at issue. If the retirements are such that the flow of promotion is maintained at the same rate without, as with, 'purchase,' there can be no two opinions but that it is the better way to do away with 'purchase.'

Now, how was the pledge fulfilled? From the time when the Bill for the abolition of 'purchase' became law, a stagnation of promotion set in, and nothing whatever was done for its alleviation by the Government that introduced the measure. It was left to the

¹ The following advertisement appears daily in the *Morning Post*:—'Grievances in the Army, Navy, and Volunteers, sought by Statistician. Address H. W., 19 Wellington Street, Strand.'

Conservatives, after the lapse of five years, to deal with an evil that it had then become impossible any longer to neglect. A Royal Commission reported on the subject of promotion and retirements, and in compliance with their recommendations, officers who were still found in certain grades after a fixed length of service, were compulsorily retired. And thus many excellent officers who would have passed out of those grades if the pledge above referred to had been redeemed, were compelled to retire, to the ruin of their professional prospects, and, in many cases, of their lives. The unjust operation of such a regulation was too glaring, and Mr. Childers, in 1881, was obliged to modify it very considerably.

The army has been too much a battle-ground for party. The abolition of 'purchase' was a party cry, and as soon as it had served its purpose it was left to take care of itself, and the measure to which the Government was pledged as being necessary to its successful operation was neglected.

And as with the abolition of 'purchase,' so it has been also with the 'short service' organisation. Ushered into life with a great flourish of trumpets, at a cost of three millions sterling, it was no sooner born than the bantling was left to fight its way through the world without any of the anxious nursing every new system should receive. On the contrary, the neglect of its conditions on every occasion prior to the campaign in Egypt, never allowed it the smallest chances of success, and in this matter successive Governments have been equally to blame in attempting to carry on war, on one occasion two difficult wars at one time, on peace estimates. Many causes for which the system was in no way answerable, combined to produce what was called the 'break-down' during the Affghan and Zulu wars. But by far the most potent cause was the denial by successive Governments of the number of men requisite to work it.

What has been called Lord Cardwell's scheme was based on 'short service,' and although long service is hopelessly defunct, and any radical alteration of the present terms of enlistment must probably take the form of a yet further departure from the latter system, it is still desirable to say a few words in explanation of the causes which led to the adoption of 'short service.' Changes in a long-established system, even though abstractly good, are to be deprecated unless the necessity for them can be demonstrated. And the most cogent argument in favour of 'short service' is its overmastering necessity. It would simply be impossible to keep up the army by means of long service enlistment. That system failed to attract sufficient men so far back as the Crimean war, and it was of course powerless to create a reserve. Eleven years later General Peel, the then War Minister, told the House of Commons it had become a question whether the British army was to be allowed to collapse for want of recruits. During the last years of its existence long service was powerless to

raise the requisite number of men; in its very last year it gave us only 12,000 recruits, leaving the army 4,000 men below its proper strength; and it was only when 'short service' enabled young men to enlist for a few years and then go back to their homes, that the army began to obtain men enough for its current requirements. Thirteen years have passed since the nation declared for 'short service;' the different Governments that have been in power during that period have refused to reconsider the question; and the agitation against it has only tended to unsettle men's minds without any useful result. Lord Cranbrook, the Conservative War Minister who followed Lord Cardwell, speaking recently in the House of Lords, bore the following testimony:—'My noble friend behind me has spoken of going directly back to long service; my noble friend may say what he likes on that subject, but it is an absolute impossibility to go back, because under the long service system we could not get the recruits.'

So far as to the necessity of the change referred to. Next as to its advantages. The primary advantage of 'short service' is the formation of a Reserve. Owing to our supposed immunity from invasion, the cost of the army will always be kept down to a lower figure than is compatible with a proper preparedness for war. The number of men of the Indian and colonial garrisons being capable of no reduction, the strength of our home battalions is, therefore, always kept below the level that would enable them to perform their ordinary peace duties with efficiency. For the exigencies of a European war, the home battalions would have for the most part to be doubled in strength: the only possible method of raising peace battalions to war strength, by an infusion of proper fighting material, excluding what is known as 'volunteering,' is to form an adequate Reserve for the purpose; and 'short service' supplies the only possible process by which a Reserve can be manufactured out of the army itself. For those who see no advantage in such a force, this argument possesses no value; but if the formation of a Reserve be an essential measure of national insurance, that consideration should be conclusive in favour of 'short service.'

If our Reserve be unreliable as a mere paper force, the men of which cannot be depended on to turn out when wanted, we are no doubt living in a fool's paradise; but on the only occasion when the force was tested prior to the campaign in Egypt—viz., in 1878—the result, so far as regarded the men, was entirely satisfactory. For the purposes of the Egyptian War, 11,650 men of the Army Reserve were called out. Of these 11,030 responded to the call by reporting themselves at their respective depots; and after eliminating the medically unfit, 10,580 were made available. Of these 9,700 were for infantry and were thus distributed: 2,290 were employed in completing with proper fighting material, and without resort to 'volunteering,' the battalions ordered to Egypt, including six bat-

tations from the Mediterranean ; and these were all ready to embark in two weeks from order : 2,200 Reserve men went to Alexandria to form intermediate depots ; 4,750 remained in reserve at different depots in England, for the purpose of either furnishing field-drafts or of completing the battalions of a third division if required ; and 460 were attached to the hospital and transport corps ; while behind them again were the balance of the Army Reserve (15,000), and the whole of the Militia Reserve, in case it should be necessary to call them out.

Contrast this with the arrangements for the Crimean War. The army that embarked at Varna consisted of thirty battalions, for the most part of very fine material, but six months were required to get that army together ; and the expedients resorted to were such as are now forbidden by public opinion. After that army took the field there were literally no fighting soldiers to fall back upon, and the reinforcements that became necessary immediately afterwards consisted of recruits, in the words of Lord Raglan, 'so young and unformed that they fell victims to disease and were swept away like flies.'

But besides the Reserve, 'short service' provides a large body of men in the country between thirty and forty years of age, not on pay or pension, who have been trained to arms, and who on sufficient inducement would join the ranks again if the country were in danger of invasion.

Another result of 'short service' is the power it gives to limit the number of women and children, who are a serious hamper on the movements of a battalion when ordered to change its station, especially for service in the field. Besides a large proportion of married sergeants, seven per cent. of the other non-commissioned officers and men were allowed to be married. A large proportion married without leave, and formed always a great embarrassment for any commanding officer when ordered to move. But the cost to the country of the women married *with* leave, in respect of barracks and rations during peace, and of transport and subsistence when their husbands were in the field, was very large. When several regiments were suddenly ordered to the Transvaal from different stations abroad, great misery was suffered by the married families, and much additional labour in providing for them was thrown on the military staff. As an instance, the 97th Regiment landed at Gibraltar from Halifax, on December 13, 1880, with forty-nine women and sixty-seven children. Fourteen days later, the regiment was again embarked for Natal, where they landed on February 4, 1881 ; but the women remained on board ship till the 16th, when they were sent to Simon's Bay, where they landed and remained twelve days ; they were then conveyed to Cape Town, there embarked on the steam-ship 'Queen' on March 2, and landed in England on the 29th ! Those women who had homes were sent to them, the remainder were attached to a regiment at

Shorncliffe! Under the old system, while 16 per cent. of the men were married, with or without leave, 84 per cent. remained in a state of forced celibacy up to forty years of age—a state of affairs objectionable both with regard to morality and general policy. Since the introduction of 'short service,' the number marrying without leave has greatly diminished; and as formerly a soldier did not obtain leave to marry till he had served seven years, the application of that rule will now limit the number of women attached to a regiment to sergeants' wives and a few others, the wives of men permitted to prolong their engagement—a limitation from which will result a large yearly saving as well as increased mobility.

Although not to be claimed as a result of 'short service,' it is gratifying to learn that a remarkable improvement has taken place in the education of the soldier since its introduction. It is shown in the 'General Annual Return of the Army' for 1880, page 67, that the number of men who could neither read nor write diminished from 69 per thousand in 1872 to 40 per thousand in 1880; the number who could read but could not write, diminished from 64 per thousand in 1872, to 34 per thousand in 1880; the number of men who could do something more than read and write, gradually increased from 137 per thousand in 1872 to 677 per thousand in 1881. And the Inspector-General of Recruiting, in his Report for 1881, stated that of the recruits enlisted during that year, 766 per thousand could both read and write. •

Above are some of the advantages of 'short service;' but even without any of those advantages to recommend it, the system would have been imposed on the country by the force of circumstances; and 'short service' being once accepted, the organisation of our infantry into corps of two or more battalions grew out of it as an inevitable consequence. That organisation was devised in order to meet the heavy drains occasioned by passing the soldier into civil life at the end of six years. The old depot system would have been inadequate to supply the casualties at home and abroad without increasing the depots by at least 20,000 men, at the cost of 800,000*l.* a year to the country. And the alternative was therefore adopted of making each battalion at home practically a depot for some battalion abroad. This is the part of the system that is naturally obnoxious to commanding officers, who desire to see their battalions smart and efficient. And it must be allowed that they have reason for disliking a system under which the home-battalions are reduced to the condition now justly complained of—a condition, however, that is by no means a necessary outcome of the double-battalion organisation, but is due to exceptional causes that might easily have been avoided. It is no doubt true that a system which obliges a battalion at home to furnish out of its establishment all the drafts required by a battalion abroad, in addition to the other serious drains to which it

is subjected on its own account, is vicious in principle, and only to be defended on the score of economy.

In his evidence before Lord Airey's Committee, the Duke of Cambridge, being asked (Question 3398) whether the power of always having recourse to the Reserve would render it unnecessary to take men from battalions at home to complete those abroad, replied :—

No, certainly not; you could never do without two battalions; it is perfectly impossible; if you have 'short service' you must have a battalion at home to feed the battalion abroad; it is utterly impossible to do it in any other way, unless you were so enormously to increase the army that no Government would stand it. Unless you added 50,000 men, I do not think you could do it through depots alone.

Such is the explanation of the adoption of the linked-battalion organisation, which his Royal Highness stated before the same Committee (Answer 3401) to have been proposed by himself in order to avoid the 'greater evil' of converting certain regiments into second battalions of other regiments. In an entirely new system such as that under remark, it was inevitable that there should be considerable friction of its new machinery, requiring constant watchfulness and care to avoid increasing its inherent disadvantages. But this care has been entirely wanting. The system was based on the condition that a certain *minimum* number of rank and file should be maintained in the infantry at home, as indispensable both for the manufacture of an adequate Reserve and to enable the home-battalions to meet the many demands to be made upon them during peace without their absolute destruction as military bodies. But the requisite number of men were voted for one year only; in the very next year 7,000 men were struck off from the home army, and to this cause were chiefly attributable the shifts to which the Government of the day was driven to complete a few battalions for Zulu warfare, and the deplorable condition to which the battalions left at home were consequently reduced. To this cause also is attributable the disappointment of expectations held out as to the growth of the Reserve for which the War Office actuaries were unjustly blamed. The Government that introduced the 'short service' organisation, recommended it to Parliament on the ground that after the lapse of a certain number of years, the Reserve would have attained a certain large development; yet in the year following, by reducing the number of men, they rendered it impossible to fulfil the expectations they had raised.

A steam-engine may be admirably contrived, but if denied a sufficiency of steam it must work feebly. Our military organisation represents such an engine, and where it has failed to produce the hoped-for results it has always been chiefly owing to a deficiency of steam, in other words, to an insufficiency of rank and file. Parliament has the power and the right to refuse any increase, but it should be with the full knowledge that the system of 'short service,' established by the will of the nation, can neither yield an adequate Reserve, nor respond efficiently to the demands of even a small war, without a larger number of men than are now voted.

Without more men the Reserve cannot attain its due development; without more men the home-battalions must continue to suffer from demands beyond their strength; and without more men one system on paper is practically almost as good as another, for any system must break down under a severe strain in the future as in the past, unless that remedy be applied. What is the cause, for instance, of the weak state of the home-battalions at the present moment, which supply an easy theme for ridicule to the opponents of 'short service'? The first condition of our organisation is, that as the casualties of the force abroad must be supplied by the force at home, the latter should always balance the former, either in the number of battalions or in the number of rank and file; yet there are at this moment sixty-six battalions at home, called on to supply the casualties of seventy-five battalions abroad, without any compensating addition of rank and file to the numbers of the former. If one soldier is required to do the work of two, as is often the case in England now, and as has generally been the case in Ireland during the last two years, it can hardly be surprising if he should break down, and be not altogether contented with his position.²

The difficulties in applying the German system of 'short service' and Reserves to England, where the conditions are so dissimilar, are not perhaps sufficiently appreciated. German battalions are all and *always* of the same strength during peace; owing to their complete localisation, they are always stationed within their territorial districts; their men are raised by conscription, all at twenty years old, and serve in the ranks for a fixed period of three years. The discharge of men into the Reserve is the only drain to which the battalions are subjected. Their Reserve men reside close at hand, and can be recalled to the colours in a few hours. The transport and material for the mobilised force of each district are always at hand. And if war arrives, all that is needed to breathe the breath of life into the machine, is a telegram to the Generals of the districts to 'mobilise,' and the process is accomplished with mathematical precision.

If this simple method be contrasted with that of our army, what do we find? The half of our infantry are always abroad, and sometimes an indefinite number of battalions in addition. The home-battalions, during peace, are divided into a number of different classes, with establishments varying from 400 to 950, the number of the classes and the establishments being changed almost yearly; the battalions are rarely, and only by accident, stationed in their territorial districts; their men are raised by the uncertain method of voluntary enlistment, at ages ranging from eighteen to twenty-five, and serve in the ranks for periods varying from three years to seven. They suffer depletion every year by passing men into the Reserve, by furnishing drafts for abroad, by purchased discharges and desertions, and until recently many of them have had to supply large numbers of volunteers for other battalions; their Reserve men are scattered all over the country, and to recall them to the colours is a work of days. When war occurs, every detail of mobilisation must be ordered by the Adjutant-General, who is overwhelmed with the labour and responsi-

² Letter in *Morning Post*.

bility of devising expedients to meet the numerous cases that present themselves. The whole of the transport has to be created, and all the military stores are centralised in one large magazine, causing a delay that would prove most disastrous if a serious war were on hand. Instead, therefore, of being a matter of surprise that there have been shortcomings in the administration of such a system, it is wonderful that these have not been worse and more numerous.

Lord Wolseley could doubtless confirm the truth of the above remarks, from his experience when preparing for the expedition to Egypt. The *Times*, in referring to that emergency, wrote: 'When war threatens, what do we find? The War Office wild with hurry and pressure, so as to drive the commander of the expedition into a fever, and Woolwich manufacturing for bare life, and sending away arms and stores which ought not to have been at Woolwich at all after they were once made.'

The great difficulty of the military organiser in England is the liability to the change of establishments from year to year, which is due to government by a popular assembly, and which more than any other cause disconcerts the working of any system. Supposing a battalion numbering 450 on April 1 in any year to be ordered to increase to 600, the additional 150 men will of course be recruits, raised; perhaps, within three months; but besides these will be the recruits raised to fill the current casualties due to the establishment as it stood on April 1, the result being that at least half of the battalion will consist of recruits under six months' service, and an immediate outcry that the short-service organisation has broken down. The history of the past fourteen years is a history of numbers reduced in one year, when matters abroad seemed peaceful, to be increased in the next under the influence of panic. Unfortunately the simplest expedient for reducing the general estimates of the year is to reduce the number of rank and file of the army; and it is to be feared that no government will resist the temptation offered by that easy method, whenever the political horizon is clear and the cry for economy is loud. And thus the army is destined to move round in a vicious circle; and the general public, taking account only of results, without probing the causes, are led to conclude that our system is rotten, when it is really its administration that is to blame.

To point the moral, the establishments fixed for the home-battalions in each year since the present organisation was introduced, are here given:—

		Total
1872-73	18 at 820; 18 at 700; 35 at 520	45,500
1873-74	3 at 820; 1 at 750; 6 at 700; 60 at 520	38,610
1874-75	2 at 820; 13 at 600; 55 at 520	38,040
1875-76	4 at 820; 11 at 600; 55 at 520	38,480
1876-77	18 at 820; 52 at 520	41,800
1877-78	18 at 820; 51 at 520	41,280
1878-79	18 at 740; 46 at 520	37,240

		Total
1879-80	6 at 800; 6 at 720; 6 at 640; 6 at 560; 39 at 480.	35,040
1880-81	6 at 800; 6 at 720; 6 at 640; 6 at 560; 43 at 480.	36,960
1881-82	12 at 950; 4 at 850; 4 at 650; 8 at 500; 43 at 480	42,040
1882-83	12 at 950; 4 at 850; 4 at 750; 4 at 640; 4 at 550; 7 at 500; 37 at 450	42,750

It remains to notice some of the current statements respecting the lamentable condition of the army, to which reference has been made in the opening paragraph of this paper.

We are told that the army is so thoroughly unpopular that time-expired men cannot be induced to prolong their service either in England or in India, even though a 10*l*. bounty is offered in the latter case, and that the same cause prevents recruits from enlisting in sufficient numbers.

With respect to the backwardness of the men to prolong their services, although a certain amount of discontent may be expected to exist among soldiers who are systematically overworked, as those of our weak home-battalions have recently been, without question; it is not altogether fair to attribute the unwillingness to prolong their service entirely to the unpopularity of the army. It is at least as likely to be owing to the fact that young men, as a rule, will not on any terms give more than a few of the earlier years of their lives to military service. In this matter the soldiers in India, where service is, and always has been, popular, are in the same story with those serving at home. In the old days, when the soldier was bound to military service for twenty-one years, any number of men could be got to remain in India when their own regiments were ordered home by the inducement of 1*l*. a head, because they preferred Indian to home service. And now, although they still prefer Indian to home service, the fact that they reject the inducement of 10*l*., if it be a fact,³ would seem to prove that the soldier, both at the beginning and end of his engagement, has made up his mind not to spend more than a few years in the army. So far respecting the contention that it is the unpopularity of the army that prevents the soldier from extending his service with the colours.

Next, as to the statement that it is the unpopularity of the army that prevents recruits from enlisting. If the numbers enlisted in any year are to be taken as an indication, the army must be twice as popular now as when long service offered the inducement of pension. For whereas, under the old system, the army could not be kept nearly up to its establishment when only 15,000 recruits were required annually, during 1882, the worst recruiting year since 'short service' was adopted, 23,802 were enlisted; and during the first six months of the present year the number enlisted has been 15,000, or at the rate of 30,000 for the year. And up to the present time the

³ There is no proof of this alleged fact, the returns from India not having been yet received.

numbers have exceeded those enlisted up to same date last year by 5,000 men. Last year the numbers enlisted fell considerably below our requirements. Those requirements were, however, exceptionally increased by the following circumstances. In April, 1869, because the political horizon was then clear, the Government of the day reduced the infantry by about 14,000 men. In the August of the very next year, in the panic occasioned by the Franco-German War, the same Government ordered the army to be increased by 20,000 men, of whom about 16,000 were to be infantry. A large proportion of that number of recruits were accordingly enlisted in 1870, with all the disadvantages attendant on panic haste; the remainder were not enlisted till 1871. All these men, being twelve-years' men, came up for discharge in 1882 and 1883, and thus in 1882 a short supply coincided with an increased demand. It is desirable to establish clearly the causes of that diminished supply.

The first in importance, if not the only cause, was undoubtedly the limitation of the *minimum* age at which a recruit could be accepted to 19, it having been previously 18. Lord Airey's Committee recommended that change, which came first into operation in July 1881. From that recommendation I was the only dissentient member, because I feared that the change would unfavourably affect recruiting. That it has done so is proved by the fact that although 43,714 men offered themselves for medical examination in 1882, only 23,555 were passed into the Service. Thus 20,159 were rejected, of whom 11,271 were rejected before attestation; and according to the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 'large numbers of men, between 18 and 19 years of age, have been rejected by recruiters as under age, without being medically examined.' And these, in addition to the men who were rejected on medical examination as not possessing the physical attributes due to 19. It is, no doubt, desirable to obtain recruits of 19 if we can, provided they have been previously properly nourished; but so far as my experience goes, a badly fed youth enlisting at 18 makes a better man at 20 than a youth of the same class enlisted at 19. As a rule our recruits have hitherto come from one class of the population, and it is found that many men who have enlisted at 20, break down under work sooner than many who had enlisted younger. If our army were properly administered, our home-battalions would be maintained at the strength which, in view of the many demands upon them, is indispensable to their efficiency; and in that case many commanding officers would prefer taking their recruits at 18, provided they were really of that age, and not 15 or 16 as was too often the case formerly. Since June 1880, the responsibility for the final approval of recruits has been thrown on the medical officers, and after the many injunctions that have been issued the medical examination ought to be now so strict as to prevent fraudulent statements as to age being accepted. The reports

of the general officers commanding, and of officers commanding corps, are, according to the Inspector-General of Recruiting, on the whole, very favourable. Returns have been rendered of such 'men as, in the opinion of the commanding officers, should not have been enlisted; the total number of men objected to amounted to 292'—out of 23,802. Some of these 292 supply, perhaps, the material for the good stories told respecting boys being enlisted for 19 and being only 15, but it is not likely that such cases have been numerous. Be that as it may, it appears that recruits of 19 are not to be had in sufficient numbers, and the question now arises, What is to be done? The Secretary of State has already applied the remedy by reverting practically to the limit of 18, and the result is apparent in the increasing number of recruits weekly attested. The danger is that for the purpose of filling our depleted ranks, there may be a tendency to relax the strictness of the medical examination. The recruits are now more than sufficient numerically, if only the same rate be maintained, to satisfy all the usual requirements of the year. But other causes over and above the short recruiting of last year have been at work to swell the normal requirements of 1883. Mention has already been made of the number of twelve-years' men enlisted in 1871 who are now taking their discharge. In addition to these, 6,000 six-years' men, enlisted during the Turco-Russian war in 1877, are now being passed into the Reserve; and we are called on, moreover, to provide for an increase of 2,460 men to the army-establishment for the present year. It is with a view to meet the exceptional demands created by the above three causes, all to be traced to maladministration, that efforts are now making to induce soldiers to prolong their service, with that indifferent success that might have been expected from the history of the past ten years, during which it has always been difficult to induce men to remain with the colours after the end of their engagement.

In his able and thoughtful article in this Review for August, Captain Hozier attributes the scarcity of recruits to the discouraging effect produced by the 'numbers of men wandering about the country as tramps who were only too willing to remain in the army, but have been dismissed after five or six years' service and are now unable to obtain the means of livelihood.' With respect to this statement, although unable to speak with knowledge, I imagine that the numbers of Army Reserve men wandering as 'tramps' have been greatly exaggerated. However that may be, the number of recruits now enlisting weekly proves that no discouraging effect has been produced on recruiting by the supposed cause; and as to the assumption that soldiers are driven away from the colours after six years' service, the fact is it has been impossible, as a rule, to induce them to remain; and I am able to state that in the command which I have lately re-

linguished hardly any men could be found when invited to extend their service with the colours for even one year. /

The ranks of the army must be filled, but it would be a grievous mistake to radically alter our terms of enlistment on the occurrence of every check to recruiting; and if any such change should be found necessary, it certainly would not be in the form of a *rapprochement* to long service. Any increase of service with the colours commends itself to a system of voluntary enlistment, because the number of recruits required to work any organisation founded on voluntary enlistment is reduced in proportion to the extension of the colour service. On the other hand, any such increase retards in the same proportion the development of the Reserve, and we should therefore steer a middle-course between those two considerations.

A remedy that is advocated by writers whose experience and position lend to their proposals the weight of authority, is to enlist men as a rule for three years with the colours and for nine with the Reserve. It would be difficult to reconcile such a system with the service of half of our infantry abroad; for before a soldier could be sent to India or the colonies, he would have to extend his engagement with the colours from three years to at least nine; that is to say, before a battalion could make up a draft for India, the Secretary of State must approach the men, hat in hand, to solicit their acceptance of whatever inducement it might be thought proper to offer. The inducement might take the form of a 'bounty,' in which case the soldiers would soon understand that they were masters of the situation, and that the Government must come to their terms. Or the inducement might consist of increased pay for all soldiers serving abroad, such increase at the rate of 6*d.* a head representing an addition of 750,000*l.* to the yearly estimates. However probable it may appear that the men required for our foreign reliefs could be got by such means, the success of such a plan would depend entirely on contingencies, and would be very far removed indeed from the self-acting certainty that ought to characterise the working of the military machine. And if they are not to be got by such means, what then? At the risk of being tedious it must be repeated that our one crying want is an increase of men in the home-battalions; and if we are to have an efficient army that remedy must be applied in any case. The proposal to enlist for three years with the colours is no doubt motivated by the apprehension that recruits cannot be obtained in sufficient numbers to bind themselves for so long a period as seven years. Where, it may be asked, is the proof of such scarcity? Even during harvest time we are enlisting at the rate of nearly seven hundred per week. In every year since short service was introduced, excepting 1882, the recruiting agencies have not only kept the army up to its establishment, but on several occasions have raised so many men in excess that to restore the balance it was necessary to pass men into

the Reserve before their time. The actuaries estimated that the number of recruits required to keep up the army would be under 28,000 annually for the next nineteen years; that was before the extension of the colour service to seven years at home and to eight abroad, which, after 1887, will proportionately reduce the number of recruits required annually. We have already enlisted in the present year 5,000 more than at the corresponding date last year, and at a rate exceeding 30,000 for the whole year. In the name of all that is reasonable let our recruiting system be proved inadequate, and let our organisation be fairly tried, as it has never yet been, before changing them again, and making ourselves a spectacle for the military nations of Europe by a floundering that may only plunge us deeper into the mire.

Another proposed remedy for the scarcity of recruits is to increase the pay all round; but when it is considered that the addition of sixpence to the pay of the soldier, in whatever shape that increase might be given, would add a million and a half to the yearly estimates, the proposal would seem to be outside the sphere of practical politics. Neither does it appear that such inducement is required to obtain an ample supply of recruits, provided we are prepared to take them at 18, and to raise the home-battalions to such a strength as would give time to the lad to grow into a man of 20 before sending him abroad. Just as it is calculated by the theory of averages that a certain number of births, deaths, marriages, and accidents will assuredly happen within the compass of each year, so it may be calculated that the floating population of youths will give a certain number of recruits for the army. And the lesson to be learnt from the recent pinching of the shoe is to accept recruits of 18, if otherwise suitable, and to make up our minds not to overwork them afterwards, either as recruits or as duty soldiers. But those who see ruin for the army if we accept any age below 19, may derive comfort from the fact that although they were then taken at 18, no less than 69 per cent. of the recruits of 1880 were 19 years old and over on enlistment.⁴

The statement that desertion is on the increase does not seem to be borne out by facts, the net loss from that cause having been, according to the 'General Annual Returns of the Army' for those years, 1.81 of the average strength in 1880, and 1.4 per cent. in 1882.

There can be no doubt that the condition of the soldier while serving has been greatly improved within the last thirty years, but it is necessary that any reasonable grounds of discontent remaining should be sought out and removed. As already remarked, the most obvious cause of discontent existing among the soldiers serving at home is that there are not a sufficient number of duty-men to do the

⁴ See General Annual Return of the Army for 1880, p. 15.

work required of them, owing to the low strength of a large proportion of the home-battalions. It has happened quite recently that battalions of low strength have been called on to supply 300 men for India within the year; and considering that such battalions suffer further depletion from losses by death, by desertion, by purchased discharges, and by men passing to the Reserve, it must be evident that they cannot possibly remain efficient even for peace-duties, and that if required for war they would have to be composed of Reserve men in too large proportion.

In a recent speech in the House of Lords the Duke of Cambridge is reported to have said that if we could get some men to come for long and some for 'short service,' we should have the best organisation possible. The attempts now making to induce soldiers to prolong their service with the colours will, if successful, accomplish to some extent the object his Royal Highness desires. It is true that in proportion to the success of these attempts the Reserve would suffer, but the necessities of our first line cannot be disregarded, and if the Reserve should be retarded there is a remedy at hand in the increase of the Militia Reserve, as recommended by the Duke of Cambridge in his evidence before Lord Airey's Committee. On being asked (Question 3,395) whether, taking into consideration the retarding of the Reserve, he would lengthen the service with the colours, his Royal Highness replied:—

I would; but I would meet that by having more Reserve men in the Militia. If you increased the Militia Reserve—which I believe to be as good a force as any, if they were properly drilled—to the same extent that you would lose by the number of men diminished in the Reserve, I believe that would meet the case.

The Militia Reserve now numbers 26,980, and hitherto the men have been well reported on both in respect of conduct and *physique*.

There seems to be a general *consensus* of opinion among commanding officers, an opinion which I share from personal experience, that discipline has to some extent suffered from the arbitrary and capricious action of the too young non-commissioned officers, the offspring of short service. If it is desired to retain a good sergeant with the colours at the end of his six years' engagement, we must offer him inducements which will compete with the attractions of civil life by giving him an assured career in the army. Lord Airey's committee recommended that non-commissioned officers, after passing a satisfactory probation of one year,—

should acquire an absolute right to serve on for pension, with the option of quitting the service on the expiration of the period for which they were originally engaged. By these means a man would have a career assured to him for life, with a door open by which, if he felt himself not quite equal to the duties of his position, he could leave the service without disgrace or loss of character. Unfortunately this

recommendation was not accepted; a non-commissioned officer may extend his services to twelve years, but then a special *veto* is reserved by the Secretary of State.*

And the summary discharge, without pension, of a sergeant who has been permitted to serve on beyond twelve years for pension, if reduced to the ranks by sentence of court-martial, is a measure of impolitic severity certain to defeat itself, since many commanding officers would prefer to condone even a serious offence in a sergeant rather than turn him destitute into the world after, perhaps, fifteen or sixteen years of otherwise good service.

The foregoing remarks are designed to commend for consideration the following remedial measures:—

Firstly and principally, to increase the strength of the weaker home-battalions to the extent required to make them efficient both as duty-battalions and as feeders for their twin battalions abroad. In order to fulfil the purposes of the present organisation, no battalion at home should be under 700 rank and file in ordinary times. Such a strength would enable us to accept recruits of 18 without detriment; would remove what is stated to be a fruitful cause of discontent arising from the duty-soldiers being overworked; and would enable the home-battalions to furnish the yearly drafts for India with comparative ease. But supposing the House of Commons to vote the number of men that would be necessary to fulfil the above object, owing to past maladministration, the effect could only be prospective, since it would require eighteen months, even at the present rate of recruiting (about 700 per week), to complete the present establishment, and to raise the additional number of men supposed. And this shows the danger of experiments in recruiting. If the age had not been changed from 18 to 19, there could probably have been a supply sufficient for all our requirements. But, in any case, the only measure that can give efficiency to the present or any other system, and that only by slow degrees, is an addition of rank and file to the infantry serving at home; and what is not less essential, the maintenance of the different battalions at the same strength from year to year.

Secondly—In view of the immediate necessities of our first line, it might be desirable to invite men who have quitted the colours during the last three years to return to the ranks. There need be no apprehension of the Reserve being seriously diminished by the numbers who would accept the invitation.

Thirdly—Let the diminution of the Army Reserve that might result from the foregoing measure, and from the extension of service of men now serving in the ranks, be compensated by increasing the Militia Reserve.

* Sir Lintorn Simmons, *Nineteenth Century* for July.

Fourthly—Let the recommendation of Lord Airey's Committee, with respect to giving sergeants the absolute right to serve on for pensions, be adopted.

One word in conclusion, to those who appear to think that no views differing from their own can be honestly held, and who impute, therefore, unworthy motives to their opponents. Such gentlemen may depend upon it that no cause was ever yet promoted by such means, and that they who resort to them only give thereby a certain proof of argumentative weakness.

P. L. MACDOUGALL.

INEQUALITY IN PUNISHMENT.

FROM time to time letters appear in the newspapers inveighing, often in no measured terms, against the inequality of the sentences pronounced by judges or magistrates on particular offenders, and similar complaints are frequent topics of discussion in public places and in social circles. I have no intention of investigating the justice or injustice of these complaints; but what I wish to notice is—first, the testimony which they give to a widespread sense of the existence in thought of such a thing as equality in punishment; and, secondly, the want of anything like a definite conception of what it is, in what it consists, or how it is to be discovered.

People, for instance, will glibly complain of the inequality of two sentences; say one on a woman for embezzling her master's money, and one on a man for beating his wife. What is the desired equality between the punishments for these two offences? What is their equation? When are the punishments equal? If the same punishment were inflicted for all offences, as by Draco, punishments would be equal. But that is not the sort of equality which is suggested when inequality of punishments is complained of. What is really complained of is the want of proportion between two punishments and two offences. So that we are driven to a new inquiry, viz. What is this true proportion? When can you affirm that punishment A is to punishment B as offence A is to offence B? If a woman ought to receive six months' imprisonment for embezzling her master's money, how many months' imprisonment ought a man to undergo for beating his wife? That is a rule-of-three sum which I have never been able to answer, and which I know of no direct and simple method of answering.

Many people would say, without further inquiry into the particulars of the two cases, that the man ought to receive the heavier punishment, and, if you ask why, you would get various answers. Some would think, but, perhaps, not say, because he was a man—an answer not absolutely conclusive to my male mind. More would say, and with more plausibility, because the person is more sacred than property, and therefore all offences against the person ought to be punished more severely than offences against property. But is

this conclusion certain? Is it clear that the offence of treading on my toes or kicking my shins should be punished more severely than the offence of a servant who, bound to me by ties of long years of kindness, should by a skilful fraud and conspiracy rob me of my all, and reduce me and my family to beggary? Perhaps on this the answer would be amended, and we should be told that offences against the person deserved severer punishment than corresponding offences against the purse—an answer which would raise the difficult question of what offences do so correspond.

Some people would reply, as to the supposed crimes of the man and the woman, that you must consider the circumstances of each case separately, and must, after such consideration, award a fair punishment to each offence. This suggestion has a great deal of good sense in it; but it is scarcely an answer at all to the question, for it abandons the notion of any relative proportion between two punishments, and it treats each punishment as separate and depending on separate considerations. It denies equality between two punishments; it affirms the relation between them to be, so to speak, purely accidental and casual, and it only seeks to find the relation between a given offence and its own proper punishment.

Let us try this course and see what light this suggestion will throw on our inquiry. But, before we ask what are the circumstances of each particular case, we must inquire what principles we are to apply to the facts; for, until we know what principles are to be applied, we shall hardly know what circumstances to consider or inquire after.

On what ground, then, do we punish people at all when they do wrong? This is the primary question in the theory of punishment, and the one, therefore, to which all our attention should be drawn. Many people will say,—for their reformation, and that the reformation of the offender is the sole principle upon which we ought to proceed. This is a very attractive suggestion; it robs punishment of its last tinge of vindictiveness, and makes the judge seem as if he were only occupied with doing good to other people. But its results would be remarkable. Suppose the jury have found a man guilty of burglary with an attempt to murder, and the judge, having before him the long list of the prisoner's previous crimes, comes to the conclusion that the man is past reform, and says to him: 'Prisoner at the bar, you are an incorrigible villain; this is the fourth burglary of which you have been convicted, and the second attempt at murder. It is plain that there is no hope of your reform, and I, therefore, discharge you.' Suppose, I say, a judge were to pronounce such a sentence, I am not sure that it would meet with universal approval. Reform, then, may be an element in the mensuration of punishment, but it is not and cannot be the sole sufficient guide, or the sole ground and reason of its infliction.

To the question under discussion some will reply that punishment should be commensurate with the injury inflicted on the sufferer. But this principle is open to difficulty, for, if it is alone to govern, the consequences would be curious; an attempt to murder which caused no injury to the intended victim would receive no punishment at all, and a trifling act of negligence which unexpectedly resulted in a man's death would be punished more severely than a deliberate and brutal attempt on a man's person which miscarried and did no harm. The results of the particular crime seem immaterial, or nearly so, to the measure of punishment; but the expectation of results in the mind of the culprit may still be a matter of great moment, for the man who designs serious evil results is more wicked than he who designs slight evil results.

But, if the injury inflicted on the primary sufferer be not an adequate measure of punishment, it may be that the injury inflicted on society may prove a more satisfactory one. 'There ought,' so Beccaria has said, 'to be a fair proportion between crimes and punishments.'¹ 'Crimes,' he further says, 'are only to be measured by the injury done to society. They err, therefore, who imagine that a crime is greater or less according to the intention of the person by whom it is committed.'² So that, according to this authority (and Beccaria's name has been a great one in the history of criminal jurisprudence), we should only consider which of the two crimes would do the greater injury to society, and neglect entirely the consideration of motive and intent, all regard for the veniality or the malignity of the crime, all reference to its moral character. This conclusion seems to me at variance with 'the indelible sentiment of man' to which Beccaria himself appeals as the only sure foundation of moral policy.³

With regard to the effects of a crime on society, surely we ought rather to regard the expectation of such results in the mind of the criminal than the results themselves. Let us suppose that a crime was designed which would have shocked the sensibilities of the whole nation, and have spread alarm far and wide, and given rise to a well-founded fear of other crimes of the like sort; that this scheme had miscarried, and was never discovered till years after, when a change of knowledge and circumstances rendered the example innocuous, and the fear of its repetition small, how should we punish such an attempt? Should we measure the punishment to be awarded by the expectation of great evils which the culprit ought to have entertained, or by the small evil which his crime actually produced? It seems to me that the former would be the true measure; and, if so, we are really considering not the results of the crime but the internal condition of mind of the offender. We regard the crime as it existed in calcula-

¹ *Essay on Crimes*, chap. vi.

² *Ibid.* chap. vii.

³ *Ibid.* chap. ii.

tion, not as it was unfolded in fact. In a word, a great wickedness which resulted in no harm to society would go absolutely unpunished, whilst an innocent act which resulted in widespread misfortune would be the subject of severe pains and penalties. That result is to my mind absurd.

But perhaps the force of example, the tendency to repress other like crimes, is the true criterion of the measure of punishment, and its severity should be in proportion to its success in preventing the like crime in others; so that, if death for every offence would have the greatest tendency to repress small crimes, death should be inflicted for such crimes. And this seems to accord with our sense that society has the right to do the best it can for itself, even at the expense of its individual members; that the life of the State is more precious than that of any members of the State; and that the culprit has no merits which he can oppose to the welfare of the society of which he is a delinquent member. On its affirmative side, then, the principle will hardly shock us, but if we consider it negatively we shall see that it fails just where the theory of reform seems to fail also. For it would lead to this conclusion, that if punishment would produce no repressive effects it ought not to be inflicted, so that we get entirely away from any relation between wickedness and pain, and in so doing we, to my mind, go wrong. But why?

We must go a little deeper into the matter, and we must try to get some answer to the question which lies at the bottom of the fact of punishment at all, viz. Why do we strive to associate pain with sin? The judge who pronounces sentence on the criminal tries to do this, the parent who punishes his child for a lie strives to do this. In our whole talk about the inequality or the fitness of punishments we assume some relation between the two things. Why do men complain of the sufferings of the good and the prosperity of the wicked—why do they esteem it one of the hardest riddles of the universe—but that they assume that in a right state of things pain ought to go with sin, and happiness with righteousness? Why, but for this, should not hell appear the proper home of the righteous, and heaven of the wicked? Is not this the foundation of Job's loud wail, and of the echo which it has found through long centuries of men? Here we seem to be near a fundamental fact of human nature, a moral element incapable of further analysis (so far at least as my chemistry goes), the fact that there is a fitness of suffering to sin, that the two things, injustice and pain, which are both contrary to our nature, ought to go together, and that in consequence we naturally desire to bring about an association of the two where it does not already exist.

Whence do we derive this principle? Not from the outer world; for, as we have seen, the world responds to it only imperfectly, and by reason of the very imperfection drives us to efforts to realise by punishment that association which otherwise would not exist in fact.

Punishment, in short, is an effort of man to find a more exact relation between sin and suffering than the world affords us. But we may go, I think, one step further and say that to the mind of man this principle is true, not only absolutely, but also *secundum majus et minus*, and that we feel that great suffering is fitting to great sin, and small suffering to small sin.* In fact men have always, so soon as the idea of punishment arises at all, sought for some relation between the punishment and the particular offence; they have not been content to regard merely the effect of the punishment in preventing other like crimes.

Adsit

Regula, peccatis quæ poenas irroget æquas :
Nec scutica dignum, horribili sectere flagello.

Let's have a rule

Which deals to crimes an equal punishment,
Nor tortures with the horrid lash for faults
Worthy a birchen twig—

is the language of Horace which Jeremy Bentham has adopted as the motto of one of his chapters on the Penal Code, and translated as I have given it above (Chapter II.), and he himself has given what he considers as the principal rules of this moral arithmetic.

C'est un fait (says M. Rossi ⁵) que l'homme saisit un rapport entre le mal moral et la souffrance même physique qui est infligée en raison de ce mal. Certes il n'est pas facile à la logique d'expliquer ce rapport entre deux éléments aussi étrangers l'un à l'autre que le sont, en apparence du moins, le mal moral et la douleur matérielle. Mais leur liaison n'est pas moins un fait irrécusable : la conscience, au lieu d'en être choquée, l'approuve et s'en déclare satisfaite.

The writers, too, who now so often complain of the inequality of punishments, all proceed on the same footing. All alike, and justly as I think, decline to throw away all regard for the crime committed; all refuse to confine their attention to the future effects of the punishment. In a word, then, it seems to me that men have a sense of the fitness of suffering to sin, of a fitness both in the gross and in proportion: that so far as the world is arranged to realise in fact this fitness in thought, it is right; and that so far as it fails of such arrangement, it is wrong, except so far as it is a place of trial or probation; and consequently that a duty is laid upon us to make this relationship of sin to suffering as real and as actual and as exact in proportion as it

* 'Qu'on place la conscience humaine en présence d'un délit déterminé, et d'une certaine souffrance infligée à l'auteur de ce délit, le moment arrive où elle s'écrie "C'est assez." . . . Ce sentiment d'une justice accomplie et satisfaite au moyen d'une certaine souffrance est indépendant de toute pensée relative au besoin de prévenir les délits par la crainte ou par la réforme du coupable. C'est le sentiment de l'expiation morale, de la justice absolue, pur, simple, désintéressé.'—Rossi, *Traité du Droit Pénal*, vol. iii. p. 100.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 99.

is possible to be made. This is the moral root of the whole doctrine of punishment.

If this be the true view, some things become clear to us. First we see that in the apportionment of penalties, we have to regard primarily and directly the moral nature of the crime, and to assign pain and suffering as nearly as we can to the enormity of the sin. This primary measure of punishment will differ essentially from that of Bentham, which has relation only to the evil of the act to be restrained and not to the moral condition of the actor. On the theory I present, the evil consequences of an act are important so far, and so far only, as they were known, or ought to have been known, to the actor, and so ought to have acted on his conscience, and are an element in the magnitude of his sin.

It follows again from what I have said that reformation, repression, example, however important they may be in themselves, are only secondary or collateral to the main idea of punishment; and I stand in hopeless antagonism to those philanthropic minds who seek to make our punishments solely reformatory, and to eliminate from our penal institutions every trace of moral reprobation.

Nor do I stand in less plain opposition to those who have found in the right of defence the origin of the right to punish—a doctrine which would, I suppose, give the thieves the right to punish the honest men if they could get the upper hand.

Again we see that the primary doctrine of punishment stands cleared of the least taint of revenge with which it has often seemed to be afflicted. Historically, no doubt, revenge may be the parent of punishment; but in its transfer from the injured party to the judge, it has struck a deeper and purer spring of righteousness in man's nature, and now draws from it alone its true supply. The historical parent is not always a safe criterion for the nature of its offspring. An ascidian may be the parent of man; but it affords no measure of his moral or intellectual or spiritual nature—a fact often forgotten by those who affect the so-called historical method of treatment.

The result of this reasoning, if it be correct, is, as I have already said, that before everything else we must look at the moral nature of the act in question. This is incapable of quantitative measurement, but it would help us if we were to consider its elements. This is an inquiry into details in each particular case, and it may be enough here to indicate some of the commonest heads of inquiry:

1. The moral responsibility of the actor; by which I mean not merely the question whether he be sane or insane, but what is the nature of his moral training, his ethical environment, his knowledge of right and wrong; what is the light against which he has been sinning—for surely it is as true now as of old that he that knoweth

his master's will and doeth it not shall be beaten with many stripes, but he that knoweth it not with few.

2. What was the relation of the criminal to the injured one? Was it merely that of a fellow man, or did the criminal owe a grudge or a great debt of gratitude to the wronged one? Was there the tie of marriage or of kindred between them, or was there trust reposed, accepted, and betrayed?

3. What was the intention of the act done? If it had in fact far-reaching consequences of injury or of evil, were those in the mind of the criminal at the time of the commission of the offence, or were they such as no reasonable man would expect to follow?

4. What was the temptation to the act or the excuse for the act? Was it done by a rich man in the insolence of his wealth, or by a poor man in the extremity of his need?

But here arises a difficulty. In practice we draw a distinction of a very marked kind between a consummated crime and an attempt to commit the crime. If we did not, an attempt to murder would result in hanging as well as murder itself. But why should a criminal be benefited by the fact that his intention was never completely effected? The answer requires us to draw a distinction. There are cases in which it is possible that between the commencement and the completion of the crime, the culprit's heart might have changed, that the uplifted arm might have been withdrawn, that the attempt might never have become the act. In these cases the intention wants the constancy and the perseverance which in some cases is one of its vilest features, and here some difference may well be drawn between an attempt and a crime. But there are other cases in which the act so far as it relates to the criminal is complete: the gun has been loaded, the victim has been tracked, the watch has been kept through long hours of patient wickedness, the gun has been aimed and discharged, but the victim escaped. On the primary principle of punishment that man appears to me to be worthy to be punished as a murderer.

But if the adjustment of pain to vice be the main ground of punishment, it must be admitted that there are other ends which society has in view in its infliction, of which we have already caught numerous glimpses in the course of our inquiry. It will, I think, be found that punishment, as we find it in practice, is not a simple idea; but that several ideas or principles are involved in it: that they are in themselves essentially distinct; but that as they lead to the same result, viz. the infliction of pain, they have become confused with and are now with difficulty to be disengaged from the primary principle, viz. the adaptation of suffering to sin. Some of these secondary principles have so much more direct a relation to society that to many social philosophers they have seemed the primary and to others the sole ground of punishment, greatly, as I think, to the obscuration of its true moral foundation.

These secondary elements in punishment appear to be (1) the reformation of the offender, (2) the prevention of further offences by the offender, (3) the repression of offences in others.

These secondary grounds of punishment seem to me to differ in one most essential character from what I have called the primary ground. In that the infliction of pain is of the essence: without that it has no existence; but in these secondary principles the creation of suffering is an accident and a non-essential.* If these were the sole justification for punishment, and if the State could reform the prisoner, or prevent his further offences, or repress like crimes in others, without the imposition of pain, it would be the duty of the State so to do, and the suffering inflicted would be a gratuitous and unjustifiable evil.

Let us recur to these secondary means for punishment and consider them a little more in detail.

Why does punishment tend to reform a criminal? Why is the saying true to us as to the ancients, τὰ παθήματα μαθήματα? Why was Jupiter by the wisest of the Greeks adored as he who through pain led men to wisdom?

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδῶ-
σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος
θεῖτα κυρίως ἔχειν.⁶

Why is the highest ideal of the Christian life associated with suffering and sorrow? Why, as Lord Bacon said, is prosperity the promise of the Old Testament and adversity the promise of the New? The question goes deep down into human nature. But, without attempting an exhaustive reply, it will probably be true to say that punishment connected with sin operates towards reform in two ways: (1) by the association of ideas—the linking together of that from which our nature shrinks with that from which it ought to shrink, so that the temptation to sin recalls not only the pleasure of sin but the pain of suffering; (2) by the shock to the habits of thought and of practice which suffering produces, by the solution of continuity in the man's life which it causes, by the opportunity for reflection and thought which it thus affords. Its operation in man is like that of the upward thrust of volcanic agency on rocks—it dislocates the structure, it interposes a fault between the strata on the one side and the other, it breaks up their continuity, it disarranges the mineral beds, it turns aside the currents of water. And because such results are more effectually produced by a sudden and severe shock, I believe that short and intense punishments are often better for the purposes of reformation than long punishments; that a sharp flogging will be better than a long confinement; and I often wish that the criminal law of this country gave more power of inflicting punishments of this description. To avoid mistake, I must repeat

* Æsch. Agam.

that in these observations I am speaking of the reforming influence of punishment, properly so called, not that of the refining influence of education when continuity and time are of the essence. A sentence of confinement in a reformatory, though inflicted *nomine pœnæ*, is really a measure of education, and not of punishment properly so called.

From this point of view the measure of punishment is quite different from that of the point of view we first considered. Now we think nothing of the enormity or lightness of the crime. We think only of the reform of the offender; and if a heavy punishment would cure the slight offender, and a slight punishment the great criminal, we should inflict such punishment fearless of the charge of inequality.

Preventive justice is a head of jurisdiction familiar, I suppose, to all reasonable systems of law. It consists in preventing a man from doing a wrong which it is proved that he is about to commit. In criminal law this principle is embodied rather in the police than in any action of the courts. In them Justice is content to follow the offender on her limping foot. This is, no doubt, mainly due to the fact that the occasions when the jurisdiction could be put in force would be few and far between. But now and then exceptional cases demand the invocation of this principle, and such legislation as we have recently seen in force in Ireland, by which uncondemned men were detained in prison, is an assertion of the justice of this principle of action.

Now it so happens that many punishments for a past crime tend for some period of time to prevent the commission of other crimes. The penalty of death is an absolute prevention; the punishment of imprisonment a less absolute one, but of considerable efficacy during its continuance. And this being so, there seems no reason why a judge in sentencing a prisoner should not have his eye on the principle of preventive justice, so that, if convinced that the prisoner will renew his course of crime so soon as he is liberated, he may sentence him to a longer period of confinement than he would otherwise have pronounced; or in the choice between two forms of punishment he may select that of most preventive influence.

Last, but certainly not least, the influence of punishment on others has to be regarded: and here the question of most nicety seems to be this: How far may the judge have regard, in assessing the punishment on one person, to the exemplary operation of the punishment on other persons? If regarded alone I should sentence A. to one month's imprisonment, am I at liberty to sentence him to a three months' term because I believe that the example will be beneficial to his neighbours? If in the particular circumstances of a case I believe that B might be safely treated with exceptional leniency, and that such leniency would be more likely to work his reform than severity, am I forbidden to be lenient because I believe it will produce an

expectation of like leniency in other cases not deserving of it, and so will tend to the reproduction of the crime in others? This is part of a larger question at which we have now arrived.

If restraint and pain may be inflicted on the several grounds and for the several reasons enumerated, and if the measure of punishment is or may be different in the different cases, what measure is to prevail? If they should happen to agree, no question occurs; but, if the one be greater than the other, which is to prevail—the least, or the greatest, or the mean? The answer is not far to seek. As each reason of punishment is independent and sufficient, it follows that the greatest punishment justified by any one independent reason ought to be inflicted. If A, B, C, and D be punishments in an ascending scale, and if, having regard only to the malignity of the offence, I should inflict A; if I regard the reformation of the culprit B, if I regard the prevention of further offence by the culprit C, and if I regard the repression of offences in others D, I ought, so I think, to inflict the last and greatest punishment; for the repression of offences in others is a legitimate aim and end of society, and the culprit has no merits which he can oppose to his thus being made useful for the good of society.

Our inquiry then has, in a word, led to this as its result—that the deepest ground of punishment is a purely moral one, viz. the adaptation of suffering to sin; that there are other and independent reasons why society may and ought to inflict punishment; that the measure of punishment may vary with the different reasons for its infliction, and that the highest of the measures of punishment for any given offence is that with which society ought to visit it.

Hitherto I have written with but little reference to the doctrines of Jeremy Bentham; but it will be necessary to consider these more fully, not only because of the great influence they have exerted, but because to do so will enable me to emphasise the views I have already presented to the reader. A great deal of what he has written about punishment has no relation to the questions I have mooted. But his theory, so far as material for my purpose, may, I believe, thus be fairly stated:—

There are acts from which there results more of evil than of good. It is acts of this nature, or at least acts reputed to be such, that legislators have prohibited. A prohibited act is what we call an offence. To cause these prohibitions to be respected it is necessary to establish punishments.⁷

Every offence produces evil, and every punishment is an evil;⁸ and the only justification for punishment is that the infliction of a lesser evil will avoid a greater one. In so far as I can discover, the two objects of punishment, according to Bentham, are the stopping an evil

⁷ Dumont, *Principles of Legislation*, chap. xi. p. 54.

⁸ *Ibid.* chap. x.

act during its proceeding, and the prevention of like offences; the latter object being stated as the principal one.⁹ In fact, if the incomplete crime be analysed into parts, it will appear that in both cases the sole object is prevention of future crimes or parts of crimes.

As regards the proportion of punishment, it is to be regulated according to the difference of malignity in different offences,¹⁰ and the malignity is to be ascertained by distinguishing the different kinds of evil which attend an offence. Evil of the first kind is that which falls immediately on such and such assignable individuals, the principal sufferer and his friends and relations; the evil of the second order is that which spreads through the entire community, or among an indefinite number of non-assignable individuals, and consists of two branches—alarm and danger; the evil of the third order is the more remote effect of offences when they have reached such a point as to deaden the active faculties of men, and to throw them into a state of torpor and decrepitude.

Again, the proportion between offences and punishments is to be estimated according to certain rules; one of which requires that some regard shall be had to the circumstances which affect sensibility, because the same nominal punishments are not the same real punishments,¹¹ and, in the choice of punishments, 'the great art consists in augmenting the apparent punishment without augmenting the real punishment'—the reality of punishment being only necessary to maintain the appearance of it.¹²

To me, this theory entirely misses the real idea of punishment and the real distinction between punishment and prevention. Punishment may prevent and prevention may punish, but, they are not conterminous notions. They differ in our conception of them; they differ in the effect they produce on the minds both of actor and of patient. In the one case the pain is of the essence—is the main object of intention in the mind of the inflictor, and is felt to be so by the recipient; in the other case, the pain, if any, is accidental and to be avoided if possible. If I flog a boy for a lie, I wish him to feel pain; I wish it to work remorse; I wish it to produce a change in the future. If I see my child falling over a rock by accident, I seize him by the arm and perhaps wrest it from the joint in my desperate effort. I have prevented one evil by a lesser; but I grieve for the pain I have unintentionally inflicted. I look for no remorse; I hope for no repentance. Or, again, if, as a legislator, I enact quarantine, I inflict some evils to prevent greater; but I desire to produce no more suffering than I can help, and I regret so much as is needful. No one who thinks or uses language with any exactitude would think or speak of quarantine as punishment.¹³ And, if the

⁹ *Penal Code*, part ii, chap. i. p. 271.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* chap. x. p. 51.

¹¹ *Ibid.* chap. ii.

¹² *Ibid.* chap. vi. p. 337 n.

¹³ *Whewell's Elements of Morality*, 4th ed. sect. 987.

breach of quarantine or any like regulation for the prevention of evil is made criminal, we feel instinctively that the penal consequence is a true punishment, not because of its tendency to prevent the spread of disease, but because it is wicked, and therefore criminal, to break the positive laws of the country where we are; that it is selfish and therefore wicked, with a full knowledge of what we are doing, to expose others to the chance of illness or death in order that we may get free from the weariness of a lazaretto. All this plain distinction between prevention and punishment, all the connection between punishment and moral evil, is overlooked in Bentham's theory.

If the utility of the punishment is the only object, the punishment of an innocent victim is as satisfactory if the error is undiscovered as the punishment of the guilty—nay, if the innocent victim happened to fill a more conspicuous position in society, the mistake is a positive good, because the effect of the punishment has been more widespread.

In fact, according to this theory, the association of the punishment and the crime in the same person is absolutely immaterial for the purposes of justice.

In a word, you can never separate the idea of right and wrong from the idea of punishment, without an infinite degradation of the latter conception. Punishment is part of justice if it is anything of moral worth; and I cannot bring myself to think of justice without regard to right and wrong, without regard to the utterances of the human conscience, without a thought behind all of an infinite and perfect Judge. To make justice a mere term for the enforcement of laws which have no moral colour, and rest only on the balance of the scales of pain and pleasure, is to rob it, to my mind, not only of all its dignity, but all its meaning.

This theory, moreover, seems to me absolutely wanting in logical coherence.

If the prevention of future offences is the sole ground of punishment, why are punishments to be apportioned according to the malignity of the past offence, and why am I to measure that malignity by reference to an elaborate schedule of evils? With that past offence we have really nothing, properly speaking, to do; and if we could produce the preventive effect without touching a hair of the murderer's head, if we could have an apparent and not a real execution, it would be our duty to enact it. Our sole concern is the balancing of future evils to be prevented against the future evil to be produced by the punishment.

But it will probably be replied that the crimes to be prevented are of the same kind and malignity as the crime punished, and that consequently the measure of malignity and therefore of punishment is the same. To this I have several replies.

(1) To adopt this defence is to accuse Bentham of a very slipshod mode of expression. To tell me to measure a thing by reference to the magnitude of A when it ought to be by reference to B, without affirming the identity of A and B, is, to say the least, obscure.

(2) But this will not avail, for A and B are not equal. The offence that is past and the subject of punishment may differ in malignity from the offences which the punishment may tend to prevent. A sentence of one month's imprisonment on a man for manslaughter, may tend to prevent a like offence of much deeper malignity for which penal servitude for life would not be more than adequate; and in like manner a sentence of servitude for life may check crimes for which no judge would pass such a sentence.

Again, the punishment of one offence often tends to check offences of a different description. The punishment of a murderer tends to repress attempts at murder as well as murder itself; the punishment of an issuer of counterfeit coin tends to check the maker of the counterfeit coin, the maker of the moulds, and all their accomplices.

(3) But again, as the offences prevented are not necessarily of one kind, so they are not singular in number. One punishment may prevent hundreds of crimes; and if prevention is the sole ground of punishment, this should be proportioned not to the malignity of the single past offence, but by the sum of the malignities of all the offences of what kind soever which the punishment will tend to prevent. How comes it then that Bentham proposes to measure punishment by the malignity of the offence? Because, as it seems to me, he had a lingering sense of the fitness of pain to evil, without regard to the utility of the result. He blundered into the truth.

Again, in computing the malignity of an offence, the evil of the first order is that already inflicted on the principal sufferer and his assignable friends and relations. But why should this evil be taken note of at all, on the theory in question? It is past or it is the inevitable result of a past act: it cannot, like the evils of the second and third order, be lessened or prevented by punishment. The irrevocable evil produced by the offence is no justification for the infliction of a new evil, viz. the punishment; and the theory of prevention furnishes no excuse for apportioning punishment to an unpreventable fact. 'If a case could be imagined in which the evil of the first order were the sole one, it is plain that, notwithstanding Bentham's view that it enters into the malignity of the offence, the offender ought to be allowed to go free with impunity. Again, to many it may seem strange to find Bentham laying down the proposition 'that the reality of punishment is only necessary to maintain the appearance of it;' and yet in so doing he is perfectly consistent—nay, more, it is the inevitable conclusion from his views that punishment is an evil to be inflicted only for the prevention of greater evils. You have nothing to do with the past offence, except as

an occasion for preventing other crimes. You have nothing to do with the offender except as a whipping-boy caught for the public good. It is worthy of consideration whether this system of shams might not advantageously be carried further; whether, for example, in such states of society as we have seen prevailing in Ireland, it might not be fitting to punish a sham offender for a sham offence with a sham punishment, or, if that is not available, with a real punishment, in order to prevent crimes which there is but too much good reason to anticipate.

Once more, on the doctrine in question it is difficult to see why we should pay any regard to the sensibilities of the offender. The sensibilities of the persons whose offences are to be precluded may be an important element for consideration, but not those of the person whose crime is past and irrevocable, and cannot be prevented by any scheme, however utilitarian.

In a word, then, the only pressing inquiry with Bentham ought to have been what punishment will prevent most crime; whereas, in fact, his primary inquiry has been what is the proportion between offences and punishments;¹⁴ and the exemplary influence both of crime and punishment has been introduced only in considering the malignity of the offence, and the proportion of the punishment. So shallow is the layer of utilitarianism that the firmer ground on which I would build the doctrine of punishments breaks through at every step we take in the inquiry, even when we pursue it under the guidance of the great utilitarian teacher.

EDWARD FRY.

¹⁴ *Penal Code*, chap. ii.

REPUBLICAN PROSPECTS IN FRANCE.

I.

I MUST begin by referring my readers to my last article, 'The Unmounted Bucephalus.' On the very morrow of Gambetta's death, and when that catastrophe had been interpreted by the immense majority of European opinion, as also by many Frenchmen, as the certain presage of the approaching triumph of advanced Radicalism—triumph to be followed by violent interior discords that would infallibly bring about the fall of the Republic and the re-establishment either of Empire or of Royalty—I said that these predictions would not be realised, and, moreover, that Gambetta's death would but serve to hasten the triumph of his political ideas and party. I will cite, word for word, what I wrote at the end of January in a paper that appeared in this Review on February 1 :—

'We even believe we may predict that the realisation of several of Gambetta's ideas will meet with fewer obstacles, at least among a certain fraction of public opinion, to-morrow than yesterday (p. 343). A formidable reaction will take place in favour of the great statesman whom we weep, a reaction in favour of his theories and his principles. In short, we shall most likely witness the contrary of what has taken place for some years. It was enough that Gambetta should defend a theory for it to be attacked with fury. From henceforth it will often suffice that an idea was formerly held up by Gambetta for it to be enthusiastically acclaimed (p. 344). As in the story of Cid Campeador, it is his corpse, that leads his followers to victory (p. 345), &c. &c.'

What I foretold six months ago has been fulfilled in every point. Those very Castilians who during Cid's lifetime suspected him of the darkest designs and reviled him as a criminal—what did they do after his death? They put the hero's corpse in an iron coffin, and the black gravecloth on the bier was the standard which, in the front rank of battle, led the Spanish army to victory. And so has it been, or nearly so, with French Republicans and Gambetta. The political history of our country during the last six months may be thus summed up: Out of Gambetta's death-bed has arisen a first (not

complete) victory for his ideas and friends; from the party more specially organised by him have been chosen most men now in office, that they may execute his will.

As a matter of fact, just after the excitement of the first few days, as soon as it became necessary for the Republicans to unite and stop the Royalists who thought the fruit already ripe, what Ministers did the President of the Republic call for? M. Jules Ferry, who for the last five years had been, if not the direct coadjutor, at least the most invariable and faithful political ally of Gambetta, was made Prime Minister; M. Waldeck-Rousseau, the late Minister for Home Affairs under Gambetta, and M. Raynal, the late Minister of Public Works, were both recalled to the same offices. M. Challemeil-Lacour, Gambetta's most esteemed and devoted friend, was named Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Martin Feuille, Under-Secretary of State for Justice on November 14, Minister of Justice; M. Margue, Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, resumed the same post. General Camponon could have been Minister of War had he wished it. And a great pity it is he declined his friends' proposals. Thus, in its general bearings, the Ferry Ministry is the Gambetta Ministry without Gambetta.

Except some secondary modifications made necessary by the change of circumstances, the political programme is about the same. Abroad an active and steady diplomacy, the regular development of our colonial politics, the consolidation of the protectorate in Tunis; at home the constitution of a strong government, the methodical realisation of social and democratic reforms, the policy of *scrutin de liste*, whilst awaiting the abolition of *scrutin d'arrondissement*. The principal Bills adopted last session, except the Magistracy Bill, are but legacies from the Gambetta Cabinet. Both Cabinets are animated by the same national spirit—national above all, but also progressist and governmental. The halo imparted by the presence of a man of genius is certainly wanting; but Carlyle's *hero-worship* is by no means a democratic necessity. There is certainly reason for rejoicing when a nation acknowledges and appreciates in one of its sons, sprung from its midst, an intellect of the highest order. But when Alexander leaves lieutenants profoundly imbued with his spirit, formed in his school, most desirous and capable of continuing his work—when these men, instead of being at variance, remain, on the contrary, more strongly bound together than ever—there is certainly no reason for complaining and giving way to discouragement.

Then it is not only in Parliament that the *opportunist* policy is again getting the upper hand. Throughout the whole country it has regained the ground it had lost by the intrigues of hostile parties. The great majority of Republicans have now recovered from a number of diseases for which Gambetta had always prescribed the remedy—

remedy, alas! that too many refused to stretch out their hand for. The mania for decentralisation is forgotten. The necessity for a strongly constituted and vigorous central power is almost universally understood and acknowledged. Demagogue charlatans are for the most part unmasked. Our foreign policy is steadier—we are no longer afraid of Egyptian shadows. Intransigents of the Right and Left still continue to see in our colonial enterprises but vulgar jobbing, and to denounce and revile them in every possible way. But the great mass of the nation is no longer to be made a fool of, and has understood the necessity of extending France beyond the seas. There is a story of an English peasant who locked the stable door after the horse had been stolen. Happily for France she has several horses in her stables. If she has lost, at least for a time, her beautiful Arabian steed on the borders of the Nile, that is but an additional reason for taking jealous care of the others.

However remarkable may be the reaction against the political course of that unhappy year 1882, can the actual situation of France, either as a whole or in detail, be said to appear very brilliant? As I have always believed and experienced that want of sincerity in political literature is quite useless, I will unhesitatingly reply in the negative. It is certain, I confess, that on the morrow of the famous elections in 1877, and during the Universal Exhibition in 1878, our young Republic was far more brilliant than at present. But the month of May is not eternal, and every rose must fade away.

This is the summer season, the season of hard labour under a hot sun; we must wrest from the earth the fruits she conceals; frequent storms blacken the serene sky. To be brief, we are in a time of practical realities; it is less pleasant but it is necessary; and what augurs well for the harvest is that we all know what is and must be, with its many and inevitable difficulties, the life of a modern democracy. Four or five years ago we were full of illusions. We imagined it would suffice to cry *Vive la République!* and to post up on all the walls *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*, for the Republic to prosper—liberty to exist without entailing anarchy, equality to be everywhere identical with justice, fraternity the common law of those striving for the same cause. We were but dreaming a pretty dream. But to-day we are awakened. The first moment of our waking was disagreeable, and we passed through all the phases so wittily described in the famous story of the *Thousand and One Nights*, 'The Sleeper Awakened.' However, we have now accepted the rather brutal truth—we have even courageously accepted it. We understand that the Republic must be a government in all the force and meaning of the word; that liberty and anarchy are not to be confounded; that there is a democratic conception and a demagogic conception of equality, &c. To get rid of illusions is to become strong. We have accordingly grown stronger.

II.

Whilst the policy of *union républicaine* is thus slowly but surely triumphing amongst us, the prevailing opinion abroad is, that, at no distant date, either Radicalism or a Royalist reaction will have gained the upper hand. Most Englishmen who give any attention to French politics bet 'on Radicalism. Radicalism is the favourite horse of your bookmakers, and M. Clémenceau is the winning jockey.

I believe you will lose as much money on M. Clémenceau as on the horse St. Blaise at the last Grand Prix.

Everyone has observed stones being thrown into the water. In falling, the stone makes, as it were, a hole in the water, and the small circle becomes gradually larger and larger. But the wider the circle grows—I mean the ring formed on the surface of the water—the more faint does it become, whilst the bubble in the middle gradually disappears. It is just so with many reputations and many political forces in our country. The man who arises and rapidly becomes very powerful and very popular in Paris is unknown, or almost so, in the provinces. Whilst his name is growing to notoriety and gaining sympathy in the provinces, his glory is diminishing in the capital. By the time the circle of his renown has reached foreign countries, his authority has already paled in our departments. Such is the case with M. Clémenceau. At the time when he really was a considerable political force in France (whether for good or for evil we will proceed to show) the members of the Cobden Club were almost unaware of his existence. Since they have become aware of it—at the precise epoch, indeed, when they began to see in him an heir to Gambetta—M. Clémenceau ceased to be a preponderating force in the Republican party. Now were the members of the Cobden wrong in doing M. Clémenceau the honour of enrolling his name in their books? By no means. Firstly, M. Clémenceau is a true *homme d'esprit*. Indeed, it is not the delicate Attic wit that sparkled in Ernest Picard's speeches, or in the pamphlets of Courrier, we must expect from him, but something between Parisian sarcasm and English humour—and for the space of half-an-hour (an hour would be too much) this is really very amusing. Then M. Clémenceau has a quick and clear understanding. His sharp eye pierces like a gimlet and seizes distinctly and at once the contours of things. True it is that the very facility of his intelligence has become a danger; ten minutes of perusal suffices, at least in his opinion, to know the very bottom of matters. And thus, whilst making pretensions to speak in a competent manner *de omni re scibili*, he speaks but, in a superficial manner, and is continually being convicted of flagrant ignorance. M. Francis Charmes, M. Jules Roche, M. Herbette have blocked him several times, in a

manner highly diverting to the public (discussions on Egyptian policy, the reform of the magistracy, the Recidivist Bill). M. Clémenceau, following M. Thiers's advice, does not take things tragically. But he rather outsteps M. Thiers's advice, and sometimes does not take things seriously enough. Though he is, in his way, very ambitious, he seems at times to consider politics as a mere amusing pastime. M. Clémenceau's eloquence is very sober, which is rarely the case with an intransigent; still, when he lays claim to proceeding but by rigorous syllogisms and by demonstrations of mathematical exactitude, he labours under a delusion. His reasoning has but the appearance of syllogisms, and if at first—and this should count for something—it seems as logical as logic itself, you may soon perceive upon reflecting a little that it is almost as lame as Thersites. M. Clémenceau is endowed with great personal pluck. If General de Rochebouet had attempted a *coup d'état* in the month of November 1877, he would have risked his skin against the Royalist or Bonapartist *coup d'état* with the same courage as Gambetta, Ferry, Madier de Montjau, Léon Renault or Brisson. But the most ridiculous demagogic insanities turn him to shyness. Although the Commune much ill-treated him on account of his sincere but tardy and useless efforts to save Clément Thomas and Lecomte from the hands of their assassins, he never anathematised in his journal but Thiers and Galliffet. At the present hour he never dares to disavow even those intransigent pamphleteers who are the least worthy of esteem; though much too intelligent to consider Louise Michel as aught else than a madwoman, he professes to entertain a great respect for her; and again, for the sole aim of retaining some ultra-Radical votes, though he be far too honest not to condemn in his heart the dynamitists of Lyons and the Parisian revolutionists who exhorted the soldiers to burn down their barracks, he nevertheless asked for an amnesty to be extended to these scoundrels. M. Clémenceau is a rather eminent physician; his *thesis* was much talked of under the Empire, and up to the time of his election he gave gratuitous consultations at Montmartre, and was as active as learned. But however learned he be, he is unacquainted with (or pretends to be unacquainted with, which is worse) the famous precept *natura non facit saltus*, and the most Radical, the most premature, the maddest reforms are accepted by him without hesitation if demanded with a resounding voice by a Red journal or club. Thus in his last electoral programme (August 1881) he advocated the suppression of the Senate and President of the Republic, the repeal of the law against the Internationale, the separation of Church and State, the right to integral (*quid?*) instruction for children, the progressive substitution of national militia for the standing army, elective and temporary magistracy, communal autonomy, a progressive tax (not a proportional one) on capital

and on the inheritance of property by succession; the revision of contracts for the transferring of public property, mines, canals, and railroads, &c. M. Clémenceau is perhaps the cleverest and most indefatigable demolisher in this country; he overthrows Ministries one after the other like houses built of cards; it is he who has played perhaps the greatest part in the successive downfalls of Dufaure, Waddington, Jules Ferry, Gambetta, Freycinet and Duclerc, and when by chance he has not overthrown a Cabinet between his breakfast and dinner, he declares, as he does to-day, that the Republic is in great peril. But, if he is an incomparable destroyer, he has never been a founder of anything; the Extreme Left itself does not recognise him as its leader, and in the little group that he naively believes himself to guide as a master, young M. Camille Pelletan and old M. Barodet exercise about the same influence as he.

To sum up, M. Clémenceau is a man of wit, full of talent and resources, with about as many good qualities as bad ones. But he has none of the good qualities nor any of the bad ones of a great statesman. He is a brilliant orator, a quick journalist, a learned physician, a true republican, an amiable Parisian. He is no *homme d'Etat*. M. Clémenceau has succeeded in preventing the machinery of many Governments from working, and will perhaps do so a few times more. But he will never be what the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* predicts—the Government of France.

If my readers will allow themselves to be convinced that the great majority of our democracy, after having laboured for some time under a mistake, hold now the same opinion of M. Clémenceau as I myself hold in this rapid portrait, they will cease to see in him Gambetta's political successor. It would be much less inexact and naïve for a Frenchman to maintain that Lord Randolph Churchill has succeeded Disraeli as leader of the Tory party. M. Benjamin Clémenceau is a very brilliant vanguard officer, very alert and very courageous when at the head of three detachments or so. He will perhaps one day, late in life, become commander of a regiment. But of an army, never!

The fact is that M. Clémenceau, who so much abused Gambetta with practising occult power, has himself practised occult power during the whole time of the Freycinet-Goblet Ministry. That period was the culminating point, the zenith of the political life of the honourable member for Montmartre. The Chamber listened to him, not only with pleasure—that was legitimate—but even with deference, which was a cause of much astonishment to M. Clémenceau himself. The President of the Council and the Home Minister paid much attention to him and his advice. The vulgar courtiers of fortune, who had deserted Gambetta, now flocked round him. No recommendation was more precious than his for obtaining a favour in any Government office. This lasted for six months. At the end

of these 160 days public opinion discovered that M. Goblet had succeeded in putting out of order the whole governmental machine at home, whilst M. de Freycinet had been occupied in giving over Egypt into the hands of the English. The fall of these two Ministers entailed the fall of their former defenders, although M. Clémenceau at the last moment had turned against them. The fact of Gambetta's being the chief of the reasonable Republican party still, for a little while, lent M. Clémenceau the appearance of force; the reactionary and intransigents were but too pleased to magnify artificially the deputy of Montmartre by opposing him to the deputy of Belleville. But Gambetta died; and M. Clémenceau is just now getting a clear idea of all he lost when his former friend was laid in the grave.

What is at present the precise Parliamentary situation of M. Clémenceau? The Extreme Left, which is always divided into a number of little chapels, still applauds him as an orator, but energetically refuses to acknowledge him as its head. The Opportunists not only have made him no serious advance, but manifestly refuse to take his politics in earnest. And thus M. Clémenceau, seeing that there is no hope of coming into office with the present House, has concluded that it would be well to prepare for himself a majority in the next, in consequence to ferment a continual agitation throughout the country. He calls this policy 'the policy of salutary agitation,' which I irreverently translate: 'the St. Vitus' dance policy.' And he formed the league for the immediate revision of the Constitution. In spite of an extraordinary display of advertisements, baits and conferences, the *fiasco* of this league has been a signal one. M. Clémenceau, following in the traces of the former schoolmaster, Barodet, the former Pole, Sigismond Lacroix (by way of parenthesis, the strongest head in the whole Intransigent party), and the former writer of feuilletons, Revillon, has in vain offered concession after concession, capitulation after capitulation. After having already claimed for the suppression of the Senate and the Presidency of the Republic, he now demands, for the purpose of revising the Constitution, the election of an assembly *ad hoc*! And all these fluctuations, all these abdications, according to the mood of a suspected party of demagogues, have been useless! 'The revision,' replies the country, 'will be carried out at a later date, at its right hour, since you refused Gambetta's motion in 1882. For the time being, let me work in peace. Leave me alone.' M. Clémenceau, driven to his intrenchments by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, has himself avowed that the league has not prevailed as quickly as he had hoped. When a general writes that his troops are retiring in good order, we know but too well, alas! what that means.

About 1873 or 1874 it became the fashion to entreat M. Gam-

betta to reduce the number of irons he had in the fire.¹ M. Clémenceau has but one single iron; for him to take that one out of the fire—that is to say, to come to a rupture with the extreme intransigeants, socialists, &c.—would be to commit suicide. As, in spite of his weaknesses and great frivolity, I consider M. Clémenceau an honest man, I am quite convinced that he will before long commit that very suicide. It will take place, in my opinion, some time after the first elections by *scrutin de liste*, which will be in reality as moderate as the five or six partial elections by *scrutin d'arrondissement*, over which M. Clémenceau raises more exulting shouts than did ever Gambetta about the great victory of October 14, 1877, are actually radical. Indeed, this suicide will do M. Clémenceau much honour. But what will those say who bet on him?

III.

Some months ago a few Royalist senators were whispering among themselves about the numberless errors that had been committed by their party, and especially about those personal to the Comte de Chambord, his ultra-Catholic spirit, his invincible attachment to the antediluvian White Flag. The only statesman worthy of the name that the Royalist party has produced for the last fifty years, the Comte de Falloux, said: 'God has not willed that the Count's eyes be opened; perhaps it may be His will to close them.'

The death of the Comte de Chambord has indeed been for some time the grand hope of practical Royalists. This death would remove the difference between Orleanists and Legitimists which the journey to Frohsdorf had not effaced. It would give to the two parties united a head whose mind is modern, rather Liberal than otherwise, and by no means Ultramontane. Many 'Republican Orleanists' might then rally round the Monarchy—a new defection in the contrary direction. . . . What a singular destiny is that of the Comte de Chambord! His birth was formerly the Royalists' supreme hope. His death has appeared for some years to be their only chance of rescue. In 1820 he was very near not being born. To-day he will not die. He was *l'enfant du miracle*. He will perhaps be to-morrow *le ressuscité du miracle*. How is it possible for a party to manœuvre skilfully with such a man as its leader?

The truth is that the Orleanists hold the most extraordinary illusions as to the probable consequences attendant upon the Comte de Chambord's death. The last of the Bourbons was very near death yesterday, surrounded by his grieving family, and attended with the unanimous respect of the whole of France. He will perhaps die to-morrow—in six months, in a year. But this death can have no

¹ We say in our French political jargon, *couper sa queue*.

startling results. When Charles the Tenth re-entered Paris in 1814 he is said to have uttered the following happy words: 'It but makes one Frenchman more.' When Henri V. dies, there will be but one Frenchman less—that is all.

As a matter of fact the Royalists are not a strong party in France. With the exception of the Republicans, there exists no real strength in any party other than in the simply Roman Catholic and the simply Conservative parties. But the Clerical party has been greatly enfeebled within the last ten years, and the Conservatives are not men to bring about revolutions. It is certainly true that many Conservatives, who had very readily accepted the Republic, have rather fallen away since the many faults lately committed. It is certainly true that they would gladly see the Comte de Paris on the throne. But they are, as they always were, a party that expects the good things of this world to come down ready prepared by the gods. It is a Platonic party, as it is also an anonymous one. Now, as the Scripture says, the kingdom of this world belongs to the strong; and our Conservatives are peaceable people, as is also the Orleans family. The latter, even at the present moment, are not sure whether they are princes or simply citizens. The descendants of the old Crusaders say to them, 'How glorious to see the crown of France gleaming in the future!' They answer, 'How delightful in the present to live in our own native land, to stroll on the boulevards, to have a box at the opera, to hunt at Chantilly!' Anon, they are no pretenders, and by the very force of circumstances they cannot be considered as mere citizens. They are hybrid. They are Orleans.

What can the Republic have to fear from such enemies? The Bonapartists must always be feared, or at least closely watched, because, by tradition, they are always capable of committing some crime or other (Brumaire or December). But the Orleans of to-day are scarcely capable of an intrigue. If the Comte de Chambord dies, they will be, as a general expulsion at their first movement would be inevitable, still more prudent and circumspect. They would be the first to say to their friends: Keep quiet. . . . And thus the news of the Comte de Chambord's illness produced no agitation among the Republicans. It cost them no effort to be as respectful of the grief and suffering at Frohsdorf, as the reactionists had been gross and indecent when in face of the death-agony at Ville d'Avray.

To conclude, the Royalists have no more chance of success than the Radicals, and the Bonapartists have hardly any chance at all. I must repeat this once more: The Republic has nothing to fear, save from her own faults, and she has certainly committed many—last year above all. It is quite right to have an eye over the Intransigents and the Royalists; to keep guard over ourselves is much better still. Now the Republic has much need of surveillance on her own part. She has made some progress since Gambetta's death, the disappearance

of this admirable leader having given her matter for reflection, and she understands that she can no longer follow all her whims. But still much remains to be done.

It is not enough for the Republic to live. She must become again that ideal to which we have given ourselves up, body and soul. But how again to become so? She must turn her eyes less often to the ground, and raise them oftener upward. As says the Italian poet:—

Ma per se stesso
Al polo erige la mente.

She must turn her eyes less often towards the Place de la Bourse, and more often towards the black-veiled statue on the Place de la Concorde.²

JOSEPH REINACH.

² The statue of Strasburg.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. LXXX.—OCTOBER 1883.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA.

SIR ARTHUR HOBBHOUSE makes the following observations at the end of an article upon Mr. Ilbert's Bill which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* last June :—

I am only too well aware of the recrudescence of the doctrine of force, and the doctrine that mankind are mostly fools who require the strong and wise ruler to break their heads if they do not conduct themselves as he thinks proper. I am aware what charm such doctrines have for those who are pleased to identify themselves with the strong and wise ruler, and their weaker neighbours with the fools. . . . And now we are told, not by Lord Salisbury I am glad to say, as a weighty argument against Lord Ripon's measure, that we hold India by conquest, and that if we do not govern in the spirit of conquerors, and by open straightforward assertions of our superiority, we are shifting the foundations upon which our Government rests. I cannot discuss these matters at the end of a paper already too long. I will only say that I consider such principles of government to be shallow, short-sighted, and dangerous, and I for one disclaim them as earnestly, though I cannot do so so eloquently, as Macaulay disclaimed them in 1833 and in 1853.

This passage is obviously aimed, amongst others, at me, for it paraphrases a passage in a letter of mine published in the *Times* on the 1st of March last, which was as follows :—

It has been observed that if the Government of India have decided on removing all anomalies from India, they ought to remove themselves and their countrymen. Whether or not that mode of expression can be fully justified, there can, I think, be no doubt that it is impossible to imagine any policy more fearfully dangerous

and more certain in case of failure to lead to results to which the Mutiny would be child's play, than the policy of *shifting the foundations on which the British government of India rests*. It is essentially an absolute government, founded not on consent but on conquest. It does not represent the native principles of government, nor can it do so until it represents heathenism and barbarism. It represents a belligerent civilisation, and no anomaly can be so striking or so dangerous as its administration by men, who, being at the head of a government founded on conquest, implying at every point the superiority of the conquering race, of their ideas, their institutions, their opinions, and their principles, and having no justification for its existence except that superiority, *shrink from the open, uncompromising, straightforward assertion of it*, seek to apologise for their own position, and refuse, from whatever cause, to uphold and support it.

The similarity between what I wrote and what Sir Arthur Hobhouse denounces is so close, extending even to the turns of expression which I have italicised, that I cannot doubt that he wrote with my letter in his mind, though he may probably have had in his mind other writers as well, for anyone who reads the two passages will see that the first is by no means a correct representation of the effect of the second. I did not use the expressions about conquest as an argument against 'Lord Ripon's measure,' but as an argument against the tone in which some of its advocates wrote and spoke about it, and about the far more important question of local self-government. I did not say that we ought to govern India 'in the spirit of conquerors,' if that spirit is understood to be what I suppose Sir Arthur Hobhouse suggests, namely, a spirit either of hostility or of indifference to the interests of the natives of India; nor have I said that we ought 'to govern by open, straightforward assertions of our superiority.' I said that no one ought to shrink from such assertions, meaning, of course, upon proper occasions. It is, however, useless to discuss at length the question whether Sir Arthur Hobhouse has understood me or not. I think he has not, and it is possible that if any misunderstanding exists it may be my fault. I may have yielded to the temptation of expressing my opinions in a needlessly trenchant and unpopular style. If so I regret it, but the interest and importance of the whole subject is great, and the views which I and some other persons hold upon it are little understood. What, then, are the foundations on which the Government of India rests? What are the principles on which its power ought to be exercised? First, then, what is 'the doctrine of force' of which the recrudescence is so familiar to Sir Arthur Hobhouse, and of which I suppose myself to be regarded as at least one of the exponents? No political doctrine of any importance can be expressed in a word. Sir Arthur Hobhouse himself feels that an explanation is required, and he accordingly gives one. The doctrine of force, it seems, is, in other words, 'the doctrine that mankind are mostly fools who require the strong and wise ruler to break their heads if they do not conduct themselves as he thinks proper.'

The language here employed is obviously and intentionally the language of caricature, collected, not very unfairly, from the writings of Mr. Carlyle. It pleased that great man to throw many of his opinions into the shape of wilfully unpopular paradoxes—a circumstance which has been the foundation of much of the popularity which he attained, but which has exposed his opinions to caricature and ridicule. However this may be, I will try to state seriously and temperately what I regard as being the sense in which the doctrine caricatured by Sir A. Hobhouse is true and important.

In all discussions on government, the existence of some kind of organised force is presupposed. Without this presupposition such discussions would be as idle as discussions about statics and dynamics if the words weight and motion were unmeaning. Every political theory whatever must, by the nature of the case, be a doctrine of—*i.e.* of and concerning, or about—force. The whole problem of government is how and how far is the collective force of any given community to be organised? in what hands is it, when organised, to be vested? to what ends shall it be directed? by what means shall it be made to effect those ends? I suppose, therefore, that this ‘doctrine of force’ has been understood to mean the same thing as the doctrine coupled with it, namely, ‘the doctrine that mankind are mostly fools who require the strong and wise ruler to break their heads if they do not conduct themselves as he pleases.’ This statement implies that there are persons who think that all rulers are wise, and all subjects foolish; that every form of strength implies a corresponding degree of wisdom, and that the way in which a wise or strong ruler is to make the foolish subject conform to the wise ruler’s will is by ‘breaking his head,’ which, I suppose, means by the habitual use of military force or its equivalent. I never met any one who held such an opinion, or anything which distantly resembled it. Its folly and ignorance are glaring. Does any one worth speaking of—not to say any one at all—seriously deny that there have been in the world instances of brutal tyranny in which the ruler was far from being wiser than his subjects? or that the principal mark of such a brutal tyranny is that the ruler cannot and does not try to act upon his subjects’ wills otherwise than by the immediate fear of pain or death?

Whilst, however, I disclaim all responsibility for the doctrine of force as thus stated, I admit that I do hold opinions which have just enough in common with that doctrine to tempt persons who dislike them to confound them all in a common description. To speak of mankind in general as ‘fools’ is an absurdity. The word fool means a person who has much less than the average degree of wisdom: but that all men or most men should have much less than the average degree of wisdom is obviously impossible, for a degree below which they fell could not be the average. Such an expression

is like saying that most men are extremely tall or very short, remarkably strong or exceedingly weak. But though men in general are certainly not fools, it is at least as certain that whether we take as the standard of comparison the whole amount of knowledge upon the subject referred to, or the amount of knowledge necessary for persons professionally conversant with and occupied upon such subjects, men in general are extremely ignorant, especially upon subjects which do not immediately and obviously affect their own personal interest. The number of voters would be few indeed, if, in order to qualify a man for being a voter, it was necessary that he should pass an examination upon political subjects which would be child's play to any one who made political life his principal occupation.

Though, therefore, I do not think that men in general are fools, I do think that they have little political knowledge, and that they therefore use blindly such political power as they possess, and are thus likely to put it to bad uses unless they submit to the guidance of those who know better than themselves.

Further, though many rulers have been unwise, and though some have been cruel tyrants and oppressors, I think that, speaking generally, and particularly in reference to modern times and to our own country, and perhaps above all other times and places to India, the class from which rulers have hitherto been usually taken, namely, the rich and educated, are far wiser than the poor who form in nearly every country the bulk of the community. I also think that though ruling by threats of military force hardly deserves to be called ruling at all, and is the method of ruling which a wise or strong ruler would resort to with the utmost reluctance, and only in cases where he has no other means of ruling, the possession and the use, in certain cases, of military force is essential to all government. The best of rulers can no more govern without the command of police, soldiers, or organised force in some other form, than the best of riders can ride without a bridle. However, such generalities as these are of no great value, and I will come at once to the definite question of the foundations on which, in my opinion, the British Government in India stands, and the spirit in which I think it ought to be governed.

I have said that it is essentially an absolute government, founded not on consent but on conquest. Sir Arthur Hobhouse does not deny the fact which I assert, but denounces the opinion, which he seems to consider equivalent to it, that we ought to govern in the spirit of conquerors. Thus he does not deny what I affirm. Indeed I do not know how any one can deny it in terms. Whatever may be thought of the fact, and whether it is or is not regarded as matter of reproach, it can hardly be denied that the establishment, and each successive extension of the Indian Empire, was effected by military force.

The battles of Plassey and Buxar, and other operations now generally forgotten, were the causes of the grant of the Diwani, which was equivalent to the conquest of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The wars carried on in Lord Wellesley's time, against Tippoo in 1799, and against the Mahrattas in 1802 and 1803, added to the Empire the greater part of Southern and Western India, and the North-West Provinces. The wars in Central India under Lord Hastings and Lord Dalhousie, the two Sikh Wars in 1846 and 1849, and some others which I need not mention, for good or for evil, completed the structure. That these were in fact conquests no one can possibly deny. It is equally impossible to deny that these transactions form the basis on which the British power in India was founded. For these reasons I repeat what I said before, namely that the British power in India was founded not on consent but on conquest. . .

To speak of any government as being founded on conquest may sound harsh, but I did not intend by the use of that expression to convey a harsh meaning, as a fuller explanation will show. Like other words, 'conquest' has many different meanings. Almost every conquest recorded in history has had its own special characteristics, by which it has been so much distinguished from others that the common name is likely to be deceptive. A conquest like those of Genghis Khan, or the early Moguls, often involved massacres on the largest scale, and the reduction to slavery of those who were not massacred. Other conquests, ancient and modern, have involved the destruction of well-established political institutions, and of associations endeared to the feelings of those amongst whom they existed. Others have involved interferences with the religion or the property, especially the landed property, of the conquered people. But the conquests by which the Indian Empire was constituted were of a totally different kind. They involved no injury, except such as was inflicted in open war, to either person or property. They involved no interference with religion, no confiscation of property, and no destruction of cherished institutions or associations. In these conquests the persons conquered have as a rule been in no sense whatever the chosen representatives of any race or nation, or the heads of any institutions valued by those who lived under them. Take a few instances. The first and by far the most important of all the conquests of the East India Company was that of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which was accomplished in fact, though not in name, by the grant of the Diwani in 1765. Of the military operations which brought about this event, the most important were the battle of Plassey in 1757, and the battle of Buxar in 1764. The person defeated at the battle of Plassey was Surajah Dowlah, then Nabob of Bengal, and the immediate result of his defeat was the elevation of Meer Jaffier. If any sort of national or patriotic feeling had existed in Bengal in 1757, it would have been absolutely

indifferent between the contending parties. At the battle of Buxar, which was perhaps even more important in its results, the person defeated was the Nabob Vizier of Oude, who was then in the act of invading Bengal for the second time within a few years. The effect of the battle undoubtedly was to make the Company the only power of much importance between the Bay of Bengal and the Himalayas, and to enable, perhaps to compel, Clive to accept in the following year the grant of the Diwani on behalf of the Company. This grant made them substantially sovereigns of what is now called Lower Bengal, but if Bengal is regarded as a nation, the battle of Buxar was a victory of Bengal over Oude. In the same way the defeats of Tippoo, and of the Mahrattas, involved no humiliation of anything like a national sentiment in any native population. It must be remembered, too, that all Indian wars have been wars between natives and natives. If the Sikhs were mortified by the result of the wars of 1846 and 1849, the Bengal Sepoys from Oude and the North-West Provinces were pleased in proportion, and the share which the Sikhs took in the suppression of the Mutiny wiped off any humiliation which the Bengal Sepoys had inflicted on them. There has never been a war in India, from the days of Clive to those of General Roberts, in which the victory has not been won to a great extent by native troops. This was the case even in the Mutiny of 1857.

If, therefore, we look at the conquests by which the Indian Empire has been constituted from the point of view of national sentiment, it may fairly be said of them that no wars recorded in history have inflicted less humiliation on anybody. If we look at them from the point of view of their consequences, it may be said that no set of wars have ever done so little harm or so much good. The actual conflict has, of course, caused losses, but the consequences of English victories in India have invariably been to produce internal peace, to substitute law and order for oppression and anarchy, and in many cases to introduce elementary principles essential to civilisation, which were previously unknown, or at best obscurely apprehended.

Having regard to these considerations, the assertion that the British Empire in India is founded not on consent but on conquest is neither insulting nor humiliating. It reminds the people of India of nothing in any way discreditable to their manly qualities, of nothing involving the destruction of valued institutions, or of the rude disturbance by force of arms of cherished associations. It states a fact of the first importance, but a fact which is in no way discreditable to any one now living, or to any one in whose reputation living persons are interested. In short, conquest in India has in no case meant anything more than the transfer by military force of political power from one hand to another, and I do not see what there is in this which can be regarded as necessarily or essentially disgraceful either to the conquered or to the conqueror. As a matter of historical fact, a vast

proportion of the governments of the world have been established by such means, nor is it easy to say what there is in such a transfer which can be reasonably objected to in cases where the power transferred rests on the same foundation as that which supplants it. Popular writers may stigmatise conquest as robbery, and describe conquerors as criminals, but the analogy between political power and tangible property is fit only for rhetorical purposes. To describe Surajah Dowlah, or his successor Meer Jaffier, or Hyder Ali, or his son Tippoo, or any of the Mahratta princes, or the Mogul emperors, or their Afghan conquerors, as having had any sort of property in the power which they possessed, and of having been robbed of it when they were conquered, is the same absurdity as that of which many advocates of the East India Company were guilty when they used similar language in condemnation of the Acts of Parliament which altered the position of the East India Company, and vested by successive steps in the Crown the greater part of the political power which had been acquired by the Company. Thus much must at least be allowed with regard to the conquests on which the British Empire in India has been founded. As regards the princes actually conquered, the wars in which they were overcome were to the full as justifiable as most of the conquests on which the present distribution of political power over a great part of Europe rests. The history of Europe down to our own days is such that if titles resting upon conquest were regarded as iniquitous, universal anarchy would ensue, even if a prescription of, say a century, were to be regarded as sufficient to establish the rights of occupiers.

It may very naturally be asked why, if the fact that the British Empire is founded on conquest is so inoffensive an assertion, so much prominence should be given to it and so much importance attached to it. Conquest, it may be said, usually means a condition of things in which the interest of the conquering Government is avowedly opposed to the interests of the conquered people, in which one race intends to injure and oppress another, and in which therefore the object of the conqueror is to weaken his subjects, and not to promote their interests. If this is not what you mean when you insist so much on the fact that the Government of India is founded not on consent but on conquest, you cannot at all events complain of being misunderstood.

That great unpopularity is attached by modern habits of thought to the word 'conquest' must be admitted. This seems to me to be a shallow and ignorant sentiment, to which those who disapprove of it are not bound to pay respect in choosing their words. It arises from the neglect of the obvious and well-known distinctions pointed out above between different kinds of conquest. I do not think that it is justified by experience at all, but in one important respect it is clearly ill-founded. The

conqueror has obviously as strong an interest as any other ruler in the prosperity of his subjects, perhaps even a stronger interest, for if they are wretched, and if they hate him, his position may become altogether intolerable; whereas, if they are prosperous and he is popular, he soon becomes their natural and accepted ruler. The conquest of Canada in 1763 did not prevent the Canadians between 1776 and 1782 from siding with the English against the revolted colonies, though the latter were the allies of old France. The conquest of the Punjab in 1849 did not prevent the Sikh levies in 1857 from joining in the siege of Delhi. But however this may be, the fact that any government is founded on any particular basis does and must colour all its proceedings, and ought always to be a leading consideration in determining the course of its policy. Who would have advised in the days of Louis XIV. a policy not consistent with the principle that France was at that time practically an absolute monarchy? What would follow if any one were to propose any measure in the United States which was not based on the fact that political power there resides in the voters and their representatives? It is at least equally characteristic of the Government of British India that it is founded on such a conquest as I have described.

But to come closer to the question, what are the practical inferences from the fact which I have stated? One great practical inference is that government in India must proceed upon principles different from and in some respects opposed to those which prevail in England, and which, since the outbreak of the French Revolution, have acquired in many parts of Europe something like the consistency and energy of a new religion. In England, and in countries which derive their political institutions from our own, the government has come directly to represent the great body of the people; all modern legislation has been directed to a great extent towards the object of making that representation more and more complete, and the action of the constituents upon the representatives more and more direct and peremptory. In India the opposite is the case. The government which now exists has not been chosen by the people. It is not, and if it is to exist at all, it cannot look upon itself as being, the representative of the general wishes and average way of thinking of the bulk of the population which it governs. It is the representative of a totally different order of ideas from those prevalent amongst the natives of India. To these ideas, which are those of educated Europeans, and particularly of educated Englishmen, it attaches supreme importance; they are the ideas on which European civilisation is founded. They include all the commonly accepted principles of European morality and politics—those for instance which condemn cruel acts like the burning of widows, or the offering of human sacrifices in the name of religion, or the infliction of

disabilities, as for instance disability to marry, on account of widowhood or a change of religion, and others of the same sort. These are the facts which make the existence of the British power supremely useful to India and honourable to England. It seems to me to be dangerous in the highest degree, and to be a long step to the destruction of the Empire, to refuse to admit this, or to shrink from the necessary inferences. In point of fact, all our legislation and administration in India is coloured by these circumstances. This was what I meant by saying that our government implies at every point the superiority of the conquering race, and that those who administer it should not shrink from the open, uncompromising, straightforward assertion of that superiority. At the time of the Mutiny of 1857 no assertion was more common than that the East India Company had erred in this matter on the side of timidity, that it had shrunk from asserting the principles of government which were characteristic of Englishmen, and that the result of this had been to weaken our hold on the country and to take away the principal reason for our presence there. Whether the charge made against the Company was just I do not inquire, but I should be ashamed to doubt the soundness of the policy which the charge implies. As an instance of what I mean by open, uncompromising assertions of superiority, I may mention: the abolition of suttee; the laws which abolish the infliction of civil disabilities for changes in religion; the laws against infanticide; the suppression of many practices dangerous to health and revolting to decency, like the throwing of dead bodies into the Ganges; and, to conclude with one glaring and undeniable instance in which the whole current of Indian opinion has been overruled by the leading public men of this country, the enforcement of free trade. It seems to me monstrous to deny that these measures were right, and absurd to deny that so far as they were understood by the natives they were unpopular.

Another practical inference from the fact that the British power is founded on conquest is that it must be absolute. The British Government of India differs from the various native governments which it has successively conquered, and on the conquest of which it is founded, not in its origin, but by its objects. The Moguls were conquerors. Most of the subadars—the Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of Bengal, the Nizam—were successful rebels against the Moguls. Hyder and his son Tippoo were conquerors on their own account. So were the various Mahratta princes. Indeed the dominions of almost every existing native prince in India have been acquired by war and conquest just as much as the English dominions, and often in alliance with English Governors-General. The princes of Rajpootana, and some small rulers in the south of India, stand in a somewhat different position. Some of them are rather chiefs of clans than the descendants of conquerors. One or two (Travancore is one), but not more, are the

representatives of the old Hindoo Rajahs who were not conquered by the Mohammedans. The position of the Rajpoot princes was, till the English supremacy was established, as much regulated by the military power of their clan for the time as the extent of the dominions of the princes of Mysore, or that of the different leaders who collectively represented the Mahratta power. Indeed the origin of clans, as Sir Alfred Lyall has lately explained, is to be found in conquests on a small scale. Put the English out of the question, and suppose that no other European power had taken our place, and it is easy to see what sort of country India would have been. It would have been divided into a number of kingdoms resembling in their constitution and character the native states which now exist. The rulers of these kingdoms would have shared the whole country between them in proportions varying according to their military power. At all events from the mountains to the sea no form of government other than absolute power resting on military force has ever been known. The rule of the Queen, and that of the Moguls whom she displaced, differ, not in the foundation on which they rest, nor in the extent of the power which they possess, but in the spirit in which they rule and in the principles by which they govern themselves. The great peculiarity of the British Government in India is that it is essentially both English and European. It rests on the foundation common to all Eastern governments. It is animated by a spirit and principles essentially European. My proposition is that it is absolutely essential to its existence, and to its utility both to England and to India, that the foundation on which it rests should be as distinctly acknowledged and borne in mind in practice as the principles by which it is animated; and I further say that much of the language recently used by persons high in authority, both in India and in England, either conceals this fact or shows that the writer or speaker is afraid or ashamed of it. It would be easy to prove this, but it is so notorious that I assume it.

Before I proceed to the direct proof of my own views, it is necessary to give some further explanations in reference to natural prejudices on the subject. In the first place, then, it should be observed that the strong association which exists in the minds of most English people between good government and representative government is likely to mislead them in dealing with the government of India. I cannot even glance in this place at the reasons which have created this association of ideas, or at the limitations which even in this country ought to be imposed upon it. It would be useless to attempt to disturb an opinion so deeply rooted as that which leads the great mass of English people to regard as cause and effect the development of just and beneficent legislation and the development of representative government. It is as easy to understand the opinion that absolute government means bad and brutal government, as to under-

stand the opinion that the use of the words 'conquest' and 'conqueror' implies a reproach.

In this country, representative and popular government is so firmly established that it is useless to discuss its merits and defects. Its continuance or modification is in no sense an open question. I think, however, that it may be safely asserted that absolute government has its own merits and conveniences; that it is, so to speak, as legitimate a form of government as any other; and that if it exists, if it is well and successfully administered, and if it is suited to the circumstances and tastes of those amongst whom it exists, there is no reason why those who administer it should seek to substitute for it a representative system, or should feel in any respect ashamed of their position as absolute rulers, or desirous to lay it down. Much of the language used about the British Government in India implies, if it does not exactly state, a doctrine which might perhaps be called the doctrine of the Divine Right of Representative Institutions, or of the Sovereignty of the People; it seems to assume that the exercise of absolute power can never be justified except as a temporary expedient used for the purpose of superseding itself, and as a means of educating those whom it affects into a fitness for parliamentary institutions. The point at which I differ from many of those who write and speak upon the Government of India is that I do not in any degree share in this view, whether it is regarded as a doctrine or a sentiment. I do not think that the permanent existence of such a Government as ours in India must in itself be a bad thing; that we ought not to desire its permanence even if we can secure it; and that the establishment of some kind of parliamentary system instead of it is an object which ought to be distinctly contemplated, and, as soon as it is practicable, carried out.

The expression 'absolute government' has an unwelcome, not to say terrible sound, in English ears, but does it mean anything which Indians regard with aversion or terror? To the natives of India the substantive would appear to involve the adjective. They have never had any experience of any government which is not absolute in the only sense in which the Government of India is absolute: that is to say, in the sense of being vested as far as the law is concerned in a single person, or in a small number of persons not chosen by those whom they rule, and not checked in the exercise of their powers by any elected body which is so chosen. A government absolute in this sense is not necessarily cruel, indifferent to the interests of its subjects, or arbitrary and violent in its measures. It may be just as careful of what they regard as their rights, just as well aware of the limits of its own power, and as much afraid of transgressing them, as the most popular government in the world. It may also be as much bound in its proceedings by known laws, clearly expressed and interpreted by independent judges. In other words, it by no means

follows that a government is arbitrary or despotic because it is absolute. It need not be the instrument of the mere changing personal will of any particular man or set of men because it is not responsible to an assembly elected by its subjects.

The absolute character of the Government of India in the sense of the word just defined is a necessary consequence of its existence. Any one who studies its history will see that by a succession of steps, each of which was taken reluctantly, those who had to administer the government were gradually forced into the position which they now hold, both in relation to their own subjects and in regard to the native states dependent upon and adjoining to their territories. History supplies no example of so reluctant and gradual an assumption of political authority as that by which the Queen of England became not only Empress of India but the avowed and recognised superior and protector of one large group of states, and the not less effective though unavowed superior of many others.

During the early part of the growth of the Company's power, the objects of their agents were almost exclusively commercial and pecuniary. Their first scheme, both in Bengal and in Madras, was to use the political powers of the Nabobs of Bengal and of the Carnatic as cloaks under which their own financial objects might be carried out. It was their earnest wish, certainly not from any exalted motives, to have as little as possible to do with the government of the country, and to leave it as much as possible in the hands in which they found it. It was only under the pressure of circumstances, and in consequence of the absolute inefficiency of the various native institutions, that the direct government of any part of the country was forced upon them.

How far they were also reluctant to extend their dominions is a question difficult to answer shortly. I think, however, it may be said, that the Parliament and people of England, and the East India Company, as represented by the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors, were, generally speaking, strongly averse to any extension of their territories; that the same may be said of most of the Governors-General, though not of all, Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie being the most conspicuous exceptions; but that such of the Governors-General as were not averse to conquest found reasons which many persons still believe to have been perfectly sound, for regarding the wars which they undertook as necessary to the protection and stability of the territories already acquired, and that others (Lord Minto for instance) who landed in India with the most pacific inclinations, were led by experience to similar practical conclusions. At all events, willingly or reluctantly, in the course of the present century the British dominions have been extended from Allahabad to Peshawur, and from Bombay through Sind to Peshawur by a different road. During the same period they have taken in the greater

part of Southern and Western India and the whole of the Central Provinces. The most important of these conquests have been made in the lifetime of men not yet old, and have been carried out in detail by men of whom many are still living. •

To this unquestionable fact, add a few more facts which are equally unquestionable. First, the whole of the native populations thus brought under British rule have from time immemorial been not only accustomed to absolute government, but have had no experience whatever of government of any other description, and this is as true of the most warlike and turbulent as of the most pacific populations.

Secondly, the whole of the population, with exceptions in point of number too trifling to mention, are ignorant to the last degree, according to any European standard of knowledge. Most of them are under the dominion of grovelling superstitions. The majority are divided into castes, each man's caste forming his world. Most of them are also practically fatalists, impatient in many instances of the burden of existence. They are moreover divided amongst themselves in all manner of ways. Mohammedans, Hindoos, Sikhs, up-countrymen, and Bengalees are in many ways inimical to each other, and the peace is kept between them only by the efforts of their common superior.

When all these considerations are put together, it appears to me to follow that the British Government must forget not only its origin, but all that is most important and characteristic in its position, if it forgets that it is and must be an absolute government founded on conquest.

Turning from this, let us look at the inference which wise and strong rulers ought to draw from this fundamental principle. Their great general inference must surely be one as far removed as possible from vainglory or boastfulness. I think, speaking from my own experience, that a man who takes any leading part in the government of India must be made aware every day of his life of the extraordinary gravity of his position, and that the thought that the whole system stands upon the foundations which I have attempted to describe must produce in him a feeling much more akin to fear than to the boyish boastful temper which seems to be ascribed to those who think about India as I do. I do not mean to speak of any unworthy fear or of any actual definite risk. I refer to the extraordinary magnitude, the vast inherent difficulties, of the whole enterprise, and I say that any one who appreciates them must be sobered, I might almost say awed, by what he sees, and must continually be led to take the measure of the work which he has to do, and to consider how it is possible to do it. I believe that, gigantic as the task is, it is one which it is quite possible to perform, if its nature and the conditions under which it is undertaken and must be accomplished

are carefully studied and observed, and if rhetorical commonplaces appropriate to and arising out of a wholly different state of society are put on one side. What then is the task which lies before the English in India, which they have been discharging for many years, and which they may hope to carry out successfully if they understand and carefully observe the conditions under which they are to act? The general problem is the welfare of the community. No one wishes to govern India merely for the sake of finding salaries for officials. The salaries paid would hardly be a sufficient price to induce men of ability to adopt such a way of life if it were not for the absorbing interest of the work itself. How then is the welfare of the community to be promoted? The answer is by the introduction of the essential parts of European civilisation into a country densely peopled, grossly ignorant, steeped in idolatrous superstition, un-energetic, fatalistic, indifferent to most of what we regard as the evils of life, and preferring the repose of submitting to them to the trouble of encountering and trying to remove them.

Now the essential parts of European civilisation are peace, order, the supremacy of law, the prevention of crime, the redress of wrong, the enforcement of contracts, the development and concentration of the military force of the state, the construction of public works, the collection and expenditure of the revenue required for these objects in such a way as to promote to the utmost the public interest, interfering as little as possible with the comfort or wealth of the inhabitants, and improvement of the people.

That this is, and for many years past has in fact been, the policy of the Government of India and the task which in their own opinion they have to discharge, and that they have in fact been actively and most successfully engaged upon it for a long series of years, and especially since the Mutiny of 1857, can be denied by no one who has anything like a competent knowledge of the subject. The following short statement might be expanded into volumes.¹

Since the suppression of the Mutiny, the internal peace and good order of India has never been seriously disturbed. In far the greater part of the country crime is neither more common nor more serious than in England.

Justice is administered, not only as between man and man, but as between the Government and individuals, with perfect purity, except so far as it is perverted by perjury. The laws by which the administration of justice is regulated are far more distinct and compact than they are in England. They are not only accessible to every one, but

¹ It is the substance of two remarkable books which should be read carefully by those who care to have a really statesmanlike account of the great enterprise of the government of India—*British India and its Rulers*, by Mr. Justice Cunningham, of the Calcutta High Court (Allens, 1882, 2nd edition); and *The Finances and Public Works of India*, by Sir John Strachey and General Strachey (Kegan Paul & Co., 1882).

are in fact generally understood better and much more widely than is the case in England.

The taxation is light; far lighter than it was under native rule, and the whole of it is expended upon matters of public necessity or utility, especially on the mitigation and prevention of famine and pestilence and the provision of the means of creating wealth.

Speaking generally, I do not think that it either is or can be disputed by any one even moderately acquainted with the facts, that for at least a quarter of a century, practically the whole of the attention of the British Government in India has been directed to objects like these. Indeed the Government has had little else to do, for since the suppression of the Mutiny there have been no wars of much importance except the Afghan war and the Umbeyla campaign. Assume the existence of any form of government you like. Suppose India to have been governed by a parliament annually elected by universal suffrage from electoral districts each containing precisely the same number of voters; suppose every member of that parliament to have been animated exclusively by a disinterested regard for the public good; suppose that the results actually obtained had been obtained by that parliament and by the ministers whom it supported; would not those results be justly cited as a splendid instance of the efficiency, purity, and success of representative institutions? I assert with confidence, and I am sure that I shall not be contradicted by any one whose contradiction is of any real significance, that the administration of public affairs in India for the last twenty-five years has been as pure, as energetic, as intelligent, and as successful as the administration of any public affairs whatever, and that the laws enacted during that period may advantageously be compared with those of any country in the world both in substance and in style.

Such is the task which the British Government in India has proposed to itself and has been at work upon with intense and sustained energy for at least a quarter of a century. I will now say something as to the conditions under which this task is carried out, in order to illustrate what I have already said as to the importance of recollecting that the British Government in India is founded on conquest and not on consent, and that it is essentially absolute.

First, the nature of the work itself should be noticed. With all its variety, it is essentially one. Every part of it is pervaded by the same or by closely allied ideas which adapt themselves equally well to many different subjects. Whether the question is the codification of the law of contracts, the establishment of a system of irrigation, or the spread of education, the same or similar principles are assumed and enforced. It would be pedantic to attempt to reduce them to a precise form, but it is easy to give an account of them definite enough to be intelligible.

Speaking generally, they are to the effect that the laws and institutions of the country are to be founded on European secular morality, on European views of political economy, and on the principle that men ought to be enabled by law, irrespectively of religion, race, caste, and similar considerations, to enjoy securely whatever property they have, to get rich if they can by legal means, and to be protected in doing as they please, so long as they do not hurt others. To carry out these principles in the enactment of laws and the establishment of institutions is the great work of the Government. To compel submission to such laws and institutions, and to protect the external security of the state, is the use of its magistrates, police, and soldiers. Upon these principles the Europeans by whom India is governed may be said to be practically unanimous, and their unanimity is all the more remarkable because it is unconscious. The differences between them are, with insignificant exceptions, differences as to the means by which results of admitted expediency and importance are to be attained; but notwithstanding the eagerness and occasional heat with which questions of detail are often discussed, such discussions are, as a rule, so completely confined to detail, that it requires long and careful observation to understand the connection between English political parties and Indian differences of opinion on public affairs. It would be, for instance, exceedingly difficult to say which of the different opinions as to land revenue and a permanent settlement, or as to the policy to be pursued towards the native states, had most affinity to the Liberal or Conservative way of looking at things.

So long, therefore, as the direction of affairs continues substantially in European hands, there is no reason to doubt that the policy just described will be steadily pursued, and if this is done it is at least equally certain, that India will in due time become a comparatively wealthy country, with an immense trade, a great mass of manufactures, and an enormous population, which will, within a comparatively short time, undergo changes of belief in all matters relating to religion, morals, and politics of the most fundamental kind, with what specific result no one who does not claim the power of prophecy can pretend to say.

I shall not here discuss the question whether this policy is in itself a good one, both because I believe that it would be generally admitted to be so, and because such a discussion would be useless. In the first place the policy has been irrevocably adopted. In the second place its adoption was, for reasons at once obvious and conclusive, a moral necessity. The only alternative would have been to keep India in its original condition, and this would have been regarded with almost equal abhorrence on moral and on economical grounds. Politically it would have been suicidal. If the English had tried to govern India by Indian ideas, they must have been involved in the

disputes which tore Indian society to pieces a hundred years ago. They must have sided either with Hindoos or with Mohammedans, or have trimmed between them, and any course, especially the more timid courses, would have led straight to destruction.

If, however, European civilisation in the sense above explained is to be introduced into India, certain practical consequences follow which it is impossible to avoid. The most important of them, which, indeed, includes all the rest, is that an absolute government, composed in all its most important parts of Europeans, must be maintained. One reason for this conclusion is that the natives of India neither understand this policy nor do they like it so far as they do understand it, nor could they be trusted to carry it out if they both understood and liked it, except under constant and vigilant European superintendence. That they do not understand it is self-evident. How is it possible that they should understand ideas which could not be expressed in any language with which they are acquainted? How is it possible that, if this difficulty were removed, they should welcome ideas which assume the absolute falsehood of all their deepest convictions and the barbarism of many of their habits of life? If the Government of India were in any true sense representative of the people of India, it would represent a Hindoo majority, an extremely powerful Mohammedan minority, Sikhs, Burmese, Parsees, and many other races and bodies of people, each divided amongst themselves in ways too intricate and unfamiliar to be explained. Does any one really suppose that anything distantly resembling unity of policy could be got out of such a government as that? We have seen during the last year the agitation caused by Mr. Ilbert's Bill even under the present order of things. How would it be if the question whether Brahmins and Soodras were to be equal before the law in Bengal, and whether Mohammedan butchers were to be allowed to kill kine in the Punjab, were to be submitted to and determined by really representative assemblies? Irish discontent has gone far to paralyse even the British Parliament. An Indian parliament or collection of Indian parliaments would produce undisguised, unqualified anarchy. I have said, and have been blamed for saying, that the English in India are the representatives of a belligerent civilisation. The phrase is epigrammatic, but it is strictly true. The English in India are the representatives of peace compelled by force. The Mohammedans would like to tyrannise over Hindoos in particular, and in general to propose to every one the alternative between the Koran, the tribute, and the sword. The Hindoos would like to rule over Hindoos at least, according to the principles of the Brahmanical religion. They would like to be able to condemn to social infamy every one who, being born a Hindoo, did not observe their rites. They would like to see Suttee practised, to prevent the

remarriage of widows who were not burnt, to do away with the laws which prevent a change of religion from producing civil disabilities, to prevent a low-caste man from trying or even testifying against a Brahman, and Mohammedans and Hindoos and Sikhs would all alike wish to settle their old accounts and see who is master. The 'belligerent civilisation' of which I spoke consists in the suppression by force of all these pretensions, and in compelling by force all sorts and conditions of men in British India to live in peace with, and to tolerate each other. With a slight alteration of language the British power might be described as Milton described peace. It—

Striking hard with armed hand

Compels a universal peace through sea and land.

The British Government owes its very existence to the fact that the anarchy and desolation, which were the cause and also the effect of the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, afforded the opportunity and demonstrated the necessity for the establishment of a power which could bring order out of chaos. Should it abdicate its functions, it would soon turn order into chaos. No country in the world is more orderly, more quiet, or more peaceful than British India as it is, but if the vigour of the government should ever be relaxed, if it should lose its essential unity of purpose, and fall into hands either weak or unfaithful, chaos would come again like a flood. No road is so smooth, hard, uniform, and level as a frozen river, but nothing so hopelessly unmanageable as a thaw complicated with a flood.

It is not improbable that in the course of time, though I think it will be a long time, native habits of life and ways of thought will give way to, and be superseded by, those of Europe. Should that happen, the bulk of the population might come not merely to submit to European rule, but in some degree to like it, and to sympathise with its spirit. What changes in the system of government this might involve no one can say. Till, if ever, that time arrives, it will never in my opinion be safe for the British Government to forget for a moment that it is founded not on consent but on conquest; that it must, if it exists at all, be absolute, because its great and characteristic task is that of imposing on India ways of life and modes of thought which the population regards, to say the least, without sympathy, and to which it might easily be brought to feel active dislike, though they are essential to its permanent wellbeing and to the credit of its rulers. There is a practical proof of the truth of what I have said, which appears to me unanswerable. It is the fact that we maintain in India an army one-third of which consists, or ought to consist, of sixty thousand British troops, amongst whom are comprised the whole of the artillery. What are they there for?

Obviously to sustain the British power. Would that power be maintained if they were permanently withdrawn? I do not believe that any one in this country upon whom the slightest responsibility for his words rests, or can ever rest, will answer this question in the affirmative. But if the maintenance of a great army, one-third of which consists of British troops, while the other two-thirds are officered by Englishmen, is the indispensable condition of British rule in India, who will say that the power is not essentially belligerent? or deny that, as long as it is to exist at all, it must be absolute, in the sense of not being controlled by a representative assembly or assemblies?

Upon all this it may probably be observed that what I have said is rather defective than false. That the British Empire in India is in fact founded on conquest; that this fact should be borne in mind by those whom it concerns; that representative government cannot be established in India at present, and that there is no prospect of its establishment for a considerable length of time; that the introduction of the essential parts of European civilisation into India is the great and characteristic task of the Government of India; that it has been zealously employed for many years in this task, and that it can be carried out only by a government composed principally of Europeans whose legislative and executive authority is not subject to the control of any representative body in India, and who are supported by an army composed to a great extent of Europeans, and officered by Europeans so far as it is composed of natives, are propositions which I do not think any person whose opinion is of much importance would wish to deny.

The criticisms which I should expect from such persons on what I have written will be such as these. We cannot, they might say, deny the truth of your statements as far as they go, but how do you deal with another side of the subject? Is it not as important a part of the duty of the Government of India to attend to the moral and intellectual and political education of the natives as to promote their material prosperity? Is any education comparable to that which is afforded by the actual management of affairs? Ought it not, therefore, to be an object with the Government of India to associate natives with Europeans in the government of the country? Moreover, is not representative government essentially the best form of government, and ought you not gradually to educate the natives up to it by inducing them as far as possible to manage their own affairs, and so teach them to recognise the truth of the principles which as you say it is the special task of the Government of India to impose upon them, and to be the willing instruments of their propagation and diffusion?

I should answer these questions, except the last, by a qualified

affirmative. I have always thought that natives should be employed to whatever extent is consistent with keeping the principal direction of affairs in the hands of Europeans.² How far this principle would extend in practice it is impossible to say precisely, but that the limitation upon it which I have stated is essential may be clearly shown. Suppose there were a native Viceroy, a majority of natives in the Viceroy's Council, native Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, a native Commander-in-chief, and a majority of native district officers, there would soon be an end of the Indian Empire. I do not believe that Englishmen worth having would consent to hold office under such a system, nor do I think that English merchants or planters would live or invest their capital in India whilst it was in force. Nobody proposes such a state of things, but the principle which would justify and involve it is asserted everywhere. If there are to be no distinctions of race, if every assertion that such a distinction does in fact exist is to be stigmatised as a prejudice, how is the conclusion to be avoided that the principal rulers of India should be taken mainly from the natives of India, and that Englishmen should hold a share of such appointments corresponding to some calculation (if such a calculation could be made) based upon the numerical relation between the natives of India and Englishmen interested in or connected with it? If such an arrangement is admitted to be absurd and impossible, what other principle can be adopted than that there must be in the Indian Civil Service such a proportion of Europeans as may be necessary to secure European ascendancy? And this is the principle for which I contend.

With regard to the question of local self-government, which is closely connected with that of the employment of natives, no one can doubt that if native committees can be got to undertake particular branches of local administration, and to manage them efficiently, it will be a great advantage to all persons concerned. Many experiments have been made in this direction, and it is certainly desirable that they should continue to be made. From what I have heard from specially well-informed persons as to the management of such affairs in the cities of Calcutta and Madras, and in some other towns which have municipal committees, I am as sceptical as to their efficiency as the Government of India itself would seem to have been when it stated in its resolution on the subject, that for a considerable time failures must be expected, and that the principal value of

² This has not been a mere speculative opinion on my part. When he was appointed Viceroy in 1876, Lord Lytton did me the honour to ask my advice on various subjects connected with India. I advised, amongst other things, a considerable increase in the admission of natives to the Civil Service. My advice was adopted and carried out, though not on so large a scale as I recommended, or (I believe) as Lord Lytton personally wished.

such measures lay in their educational effect. As to their value from that point of view, it seems to me as likely that frequent elections would educate a thoroughly corrupt constituency into purity, as that extended opportunities for jobbery and neglect of duty would educate municipal committees into efficiency; but there is no great harm in trying, and it is unquestionably true that it is desirable, if possible, to relieve the district officers of some part of their multifarious duties, or at least to assist them in their discharge.

These views greatly narrow the points at issue between myself and the present holders of power in India. The question between my friend Sir Arthur Hobhouse and myself is indeed a question rather of general theory, of tendency, and of sentiment, than a question as to particular measures. I do not approve of Mr. Ilbert's Bill, but I think its intrinsic importance has been exaggerated. I have not studied the details of the Local Government Bills, and can give no opinion upon them, but I do not believe that the local governments will allow them to be dangerous. The most definite point on which I should disagree with the views about India which seem to be becoming popular is that I do not share in the view so often stated and insinuated in all kinds of forms, that it is a moral duty on the part of the English nation to try to educate the natives of India in English ideas in such a way as to lead them to set up a democratic form of government administered by representative assemblies. That our own form of government is tending in the democratic direction, and that the House of Commons is rapidly becoming the practical sovereign, is, I fear, true. It is to me for many reasons an unwelcome truth. The only reason relevant to the present subject is that such a democracy as we are threatened with would naturally regard the existence of the Indian Empire as an evil, and seek to be rid of it by any means, and no means so plausible or so effectual could be found as to establish throughout India democratic representative assemblies, which, whatever else they did, would soon make the country ungovernable and uninhabitable by Europeans without in any way benefiting the natives.

I do not say that this object is seriously and consciously entertained by the present rulers of British India, or that it is at the bottom of their various proposals; but I do say that their sympathies, and in many cases their language, lead straight in this direction. They either share, or at all events do not dissent from and protest against the view which has been consistently avowed by Mr. Bright for a long series of years, that the British power in India was acquired by crime, that its existence is in the nature of an inherited curse and disgrace, that it can never really and permanently mend, and that our only real business with India is to get rid of all responsibility for it as quickly as possible.

It is against this temper and tone of mind that I protest far more than against any particular measure which has lately been proposed as to the government of India. It appears to me that there is no transaction in the history of England of which we have more just cause to be proud, or which anyone who cares for the reputation of England ought to be more anxious to perpetuate and carry out to a good end, than the establishment of the Indian Empire. I feel convinced that it never can be brought to a good end, or, indeed, to any end except ruin and destruction equally calamitous to both England and India, if those who administer it are ashamed of its origin, or of the object which supplies the justification of its existence, or of the means which are essential to the accomplishment of that object. I cannot here justify or even explain this view as I could wish, but I will say in conclusion a few words to those who think otherwise. I do not say that they wish to destroy the Indian Empire. No person of ordinary humanity could wish to reintroduce anarchy and confusion into a country which has suffered more from those evils than almost any other part of the world. What I say is that they wish to shift the foundations of the Empire, they wish to change its essential character, to change it from an absolute government founded on military force, into a representative government founded on popular election, and I further say that this is an operation so difficult and dangerous that it is morally impossible that it should succeed. Also that it is entirely gratuitous, and that it is undertaken solely on theoretical grounds which are in themselves unsound.

First, as to the difficulty and danger of the undertaking. The first and most essential part of the proposed change is to communicate to an essentially peaceable, docile, contented, somewhat apathetic people, first, the critical, discontented, unquiet, jealous disposition which is characteristic of that part of our own population which interests itself in politics, and next a confidence in public speeches and meetings, votes and parliamentary proceedings, which is characteristic of Great Britain, and perhaps of the United States, but is utterly unknown in every other part of the world. Within what assignable time is it morally possible that either of these conditions should be fulfilled? The whole machinery of votes, public meetings, and constitutional agitation is absolutely unknown amongst the natives of India. Agitation indeed is known, and the propagation of discontent is no difficult matter. But it displays itself in a totally different way from that of public discussion. The first steps in the political education essential to a change in the foundations of the British Government cannot be taken without incurring the risk of furious civil war. A barrel of gunpowder may be harmless or may explode, but you cannot educate it into household fuel by exploding little

bits of it. How can you possibly teach great masses of people that they ought to be rather dissatisfied with a foreign ruler, but not much; that they should express their discontent in words and in votes, but not in acts; that they should ask from him this and that reform (which they neither understand nor care for), but should on no account rise in insurrection against him; in short, that instead of regarding their rulers, according to the habits of their ancestors from remote antiquity, as persons who must be obeyed till they become intolerable, and who are then to be dethroned and destroyed with all their adherents, they should play the part of a constitutional opposition, though they have had none of the experience which is necessary to render such an idea intelligible? I do not believe that any one who really understood the nature of such a task would think of undertaking it.

One strong reason against undertaking it is that it is entirely gratuitous. Amongst the natives at large there is absolutely no desire whatever for any other political institutions than such as they have been accustomed to from time immemorial. Some few Anglicised Bengalee baboos have caught up and travestied the English commonplaces which have, in my opinion, most injudiciously been made a part of their education, and an absurdly exaggerated importance has been attached to their opinions by a few English sympathisers; but the great mass of the population, and in particular the best part of it, the warlike and vigorous races of Northern India, have never shown the smallest sympathy with such views. They are perfectly satisfied with the principles of the Government of India, they desire nothing better than to serve it in various civil and military capacities, or to enjoy under its protection the property which it secures to them. In short, but for the restless, dissatisfied, officious interference of English theorists, there is no reason why the present state of things in India should not continue indefinitely. If the British Government in India is ever seriously disturbed and ruined, it will be by reason of an agitation set up at the instigation of Englishmen against institutions with which the natives, if left to themselves, are perfectly satisfied, and which have conferred on them, and will, if left alone, continue to confer upon them, altogether inestimable benefits.

Why then should the British Government be disturbed? The answer is because their success would be inconsistent with the theory, that all absolute government must be bad, and that all good government must be representative. The most useful, the most beneficent government that ever existed is to be sacrificed to a theory, according to which all its proceedings are condemned in direct proportion to their success. This, I am convinced, is the real origin of the greater part of the excessive dislike which many persons feel towards

the system of government now established in India. As an absolute government it is a rock of offence to English Radicalism, which those who are themselves Radicals, or who depend for the continuance of their power on the votes of Radicals, are anxious to remove. This I believe to be the root of a way of speaking and writing upon Indian questions which appears not unlikely to produce fatal consequences.

The Radical theory of government is less often avowed in so many words in these days than it was in times when speculation had not, in the opinion of most persons who have given their attention to the subject, refuted all general political theories whatever, but it is tacitly assumed in all directions. It supplies all the most popular commonplaces on political subjects, and it has charms, to me wholly unaccountable, for those who, knowing the weakness of all such theories, seek to gain the votes of people with just education enough to be caught by the commonplaces of the last generation, and to be unaware of the fallacies which pervade them. It would be superfluous to attempt here to state these theories or to expose their defects.³ I will state in a few words what appear to me to be the doctrines which should be substituted for them. They are these: The goodness of forms of government depends essentially upon circumstances of time, place, and person. The establishment of any government at all which will keep the peace, protect person and property, enable men to think, speak, write, and live as they please, so long as they do not disturb the peace or hurt others, is in itself so unspeakable a blessing, so firm a foundation for the growth of every kind of virtue, of all forms of knowledge, of all the solid advantages which make civilised life possible, and of all the graces which adorn it, that I cannot wonder that our ancestors should have described the value of it by saying that kings reigned 'by the grace of God.' The modern equivalent of this phrase seems to be that it is impossible to lay down any rule as to the circumstances by which such a government may be called into existence, but that when by any means it is brought into existence, it is a priceless blessing, to be carefully preserved and strengthened, and regarded with profound respect. My own opinion is, that the docile, respectful, obedient temper, which is eminently characteristic of most of the natives of India, is the result of a natural and heartfelt recognition of this truth, that it is a great virtue, worthy not of the contempt which it sometimes provokes from the unthinking, but of profound respect, and constituting in itself one of the strongest imaginable claims for the natives of India upon the good offices and good feelings of the rulers of India. As to the actual distribution of political power, it has always seemed to me that there can be no greater mistake

³ An admirable article on the 'Prospects of Popular Government' in the *Quarterly Review* for last April may be referred to in connection with this subject.

than to give unqualified praise to that process of dispersing it through many hands and cutting it up into little bits which is involved in democratic institutions and which goes by the name of liberty. With regard to political power, as with regard to wealth, I think that the proper depositaries of it are those who by lawful means can get it and keep it, and I consider it absurd to assume that all political power not derived from popular votes is a usurpation, and that no man can respect himself politically unless and until he has a right to vote for a member of the representative body, whereas, if he has such a right, he may be taken to be governed by his own consent.

If to get votes, to have representative assemblies, to conduct their public affairs as people do in England, were an object to the natives of India, if in any distinct way they showed that they really and on their own account wished for such institutions, I for one should say by all means let them have them by degrees, and as they can use them, but if (as is notoriously and obviously the case) no such thought has entered their heads, I should certainly do nothing to put it there. Their present government suits all the parties concerned. If it does not, it is for those who feel a grievance to complain of it, but to me it appears like madness to try to tease a people who like an absolute government, who are accustomed to it, and who make no complaint of it, into a state of mind which might at any moment produce frightful catastrophes, but is utterly unlikely to produce anything else. Suppose a master and his workmen were going on perfectly well together, the master receiving from the workmen good and faithful service, paying them fair wages and doing them kind offices besides. What would be thought of his discretion if he were to be continually calling meetings to discuss Socialism; if he were to ask them if their wages were high enough; whether they did not think they ought to have shares in the business; whether they had no fault to find with his management of it; and so on? Would it not in such a case be good advice to him to let things take their course quietly, to rest assured that his workmen would look after their own interests, and to accept the situation in which he found himself placed, without constantly fretting over the question whether his great-grandfather had fairly acquired the capital invested in the business, and without trying to change his position from the absolute power of an owner of capital, acquired by speculation and not by subscription, to the constitutional authority of the manager of a co-operative association in numberless shares of five shillings each?

I have now stated and explained at length the sense in which I used expressions which may have appeared harsh, and which have certainly been understood, by persons for whom I have a great respect,

in a sense which I never attached to them. Nothing can be more contemptible than swagger, and no kind of swagger could be more contemptible than that of a man who must brag, if at all, of a prowess in which he never had, has not, and never can have any share whatever. That which Sir Arthur Hobhouse describes as the doctrine of force is, with me at least, much more the doctrine of conscious weakness. I am not conscious of having ever written, or said, or thought, that because our power is founded on conquest, and because it rests upon military force, we either ought to, or safely can, use it oppressively. I say our power is founded on conquest, not on consent; let us therefore use it only for purposes which can be justified on the strongest grounds of expediency, let us avoid far-reaching schemes, and let us leave it to our subjects to suggest political changes if they really want them.

The substance of all that I have to say is this—The English in India have been by circumstances committed to an enterprise which is in reality difficult and dangerous to the last degree, though its difficulties and dangers have thus far been concealed by the conspicuous success which has attended their efforts. That enterprise is nothing less than the management and guidance of one of the most extensive and far-reaching revolutions recorded in history. It involves the radical change of the ideas and institutions of a vast population which has already got ideas and institutions to which it is deeply attached. The only chance of conducting this revolution to a good end is by unity of action and policy, communicated from a central authority to a small number of picked local officers, the central and local authorities being supported by a military force sufficient to give them practically undisputed executive power, and the action of the whole body being regulated by known laws impartially administered. By these means the tremendous change now in progress may be carried out in a quiet, orderly, gradual way, with what specific results no one can foretell, but it may be hoped with good ones, unless the ideas on which all our European civilisation is based are essentially wrong. If, however, the authority of the Government is once materially relaxed, if the essential character of the enterprise is misunderstood and the delusion that it can be carried out by assemblies representing the opinions of the natives is admitted, nothing but failure, anarchy, and ruin can be the result.

These views may deserve eloquent repudiation, they may be essentially 'shallow, short-sighted, and dangerous,' but I cannot see why they deserve such epithets. At all events they are not those of a swaggering bully, in which light they seem to be regarded by men worthy of the greatest respect, and whom I personally have every reason, both in the past and in the present, to like and esteem.

One word more. Sir Arthur Hobhouse prefaces the passage which I quoted at the beginning of this article by asking 'Shall we abandon the noble principles of government which have animated our statesmen for more than half a century?' The principles to which he refers are principles in which I cordially agree, though I do not say that I agree with the whole of the passages which he quotes. I should repudiate quite as earnestly as he, or as our great predecessor in office, Lord Macaulay, the notion that Europeans in India should practically be subject to no law at all; that India should be treated as a prey to be used for the purpose of providing salaries for English officials, or a revenue to be distributed amongst English shareholders or applied in aid of English taxation; and that the great object of our government there should be to strengthen the chains by which the country was bound for those purposes. I should call such a policy not only short-sighted and dangerous, but infamous. It is no doubt true that in this, as in all other things, the great object of this nation ought to be its own greatest good; but what, in this matter, is its greatest good? Not money extorted by violence from others, but the natural and legitimate advantages which flow from the honourable enterprise of substituting civilisation for barbarism throughout a great empire. How it would be if there were a real conflict between English and Indian interests I do not consider. I insist upon the fact that there is no such conflict, and that nothing could inflict a more deadly injury on India than anything which diminished the security of the English 'rule. It is because I hold these views as strongly as they can be held that I earnestly protest against truckling to popular prejudices and commonplaces, and to measures which are of no use except to annoy Europeans and hold out all sorts of delusive expectations to natives.

We hear much of taking the side of the weak against the strong, and of the importance of curbing persons tyrannically disposed. It would be well to consider who are the weak and who are the strong? Whatever may be the case as regards individual force of character, or talent, or that strength which is given by a good cause, the strong here and now are the multitude, the poor, headed as they are by those who, as individuals, are amongst the strongest of the strong, and who for various reasons choose to use their strength for the humiliation of the class to which they belong and the destruction of the institutions under which they have grown up. In the presence of English voters and their leaders the English in India are weak and helpless, the Indian Civil Service is weak and helpless, the strongest and wisest man in the country is as helpless, if they differ from him, as a little child. It is beyond all question in the power of English popular leaders to give full swing to English commonplaces in the government of India, to break down the institutions and to throw to the winds

the experience of a century. I fear that if they follow this course they will discover when it is too late how shallow, short-sighted, and dangerous were the smooth phrases, the plausible virtuous indignations and the self-depreciation at the expense of others, which led them into it.

J. F. STEPHEN.

RECENT EVENTS IN INDIA.

It would be easy to attach an exaggerated degree of importance to the agitation which has recently sprung up in India. Neither Englishmen nor natives in India are much accustomed to political discussion. Controversies are not unfrequently conducted with a warmth out of all proportion to the magnitude of the interests at stake. Further it is to be borne in mind that the Government in India labours under great disadvantages in explaining, as also does the press in discussing, any legislative or executive measures which may be under consideration. In politics the only way of getting a truth thoroughly understood is to adopt Mr. Cobden's system of repeating the same thing in different words over and over again. This is exactly what the Government of India cannot do. The opportunity is wanting. The result is that when a false impression of some policy, or an inaccurate description of some fact, gets abroad, it is often impossible to arrest the progress of error. 'Crescit et auditis aliquid novus adjicit auctor.' By the time a tardy contradiction or explanation comes, the error has taken too deep a hold on the public mind to be easily uprooted.

I do not mean to say that the Anglo-Indian agitation of the last few months has been wholly based on a misapprehension of the views and intentions of the Government. Far from it. It is, I fear, impossible to deny that a section of the English community in India is opposed to the policy which has been pursued in India by a succession of Viceroys and of Secretaries of State, whether Liberal or Conservative, and which has always been supported by the leading members of the Anglo-Indian services. On the other hand, I have little doubt that the opposition of many moderate men, both in England and India, to the policy of the present Government is largely due to misapprehension of the nature of that policy.

The most prominent cause of discontent amongst the English community in India is the introduction into the Legislative Council of a Bill which, if it becomes law, will allow European British subjects throughout India to be tried for criminal offences by native magistrates and judges possessed of certain qualifications.

I do not propose to discuss fully the merits or demerits of this Bill. It would be difficult to add anything to the arguments for

and against the measure which are already before the public. Moreover, I do not believe that the real causes of the present discontent are to be found within the four corners of this Bill. My observations on this subject will, therefore, be confined to a few specific points.

Frequent exception has been taken to a remark made by Mr. Ilbert to the effect that the present position of the native members of the Covenanted Civil Service is 'anomalous.' The opponents of the Bill invite the Government to abandon first principles and to discard logical reasoning, whilst in the same breath it is urged with inexorable but highly inconsistent logic that the principles on which this Bill is based must necessarily lead to the appointment of a native of India to be Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, &c. The thin end of the wedge fallacy, which has done yeoman's service to the Tory party in many a past political discussion in England, is brought forward with tedious iteration in order to show that, if once any anomaly whatsoever in the Indian body politic is removed, it will be impossible to stop short in a career of revolutionary change until the greatest anomaly in India—namely, the government of the country by Englishmen—ceases to vex the mind of the political purist and visionary. This argument may serve to give point to the speech of a political partisan, but it is so little deserving of serious consideration that I must apologise for the commonplaces by which alone it can be refuted. The full application of this principle is obviously impossible in any country save on the assumption in an extreme degree that whatever is right, and that the only safeguard against revolutionary change is absolute political stagnation. We are here, in fact, brought face to face with the difference which distinguishes the Conservative from the Moderate Liberal habit of thought in politics; the former, in the fear that the ills he knows not of may be worse than those he now bears, preferring to *stare super antiquas vias*, the latter holding that timely reform and a process of gradual political evolution are the best safeguards against excessive and violent change. Not the least beneficent measures which have passed into law, whether in England or India, during the present century, have been those which have had for their object the rectification of anomalies in the sense of removing disqualifications to perform certain functions, or to exercise certain rights of citizenship. Anomalies exist, and must continue to exist, in India as elsewhere, and perhaps more in India than elsewhere; but this scarcely furnishes a sufficient ground for the perpetuation of every anomaly. It often happens that some particular law or institution is in practice perfectly defensible in spite of its anomalous character; but when, as in this case, the anomaly takes the form of a privilege conferred upon some special class, it appears to me that the burden of justifying its continuance rests with those in whose favour the privilege is

created. If I thought, as a great many Englishmen in India honestly think, that any injustice would be done to European British subjects by passing this Bill, I should be the first to defend the existing law in spite of its anomalous character. But as I think—in common with a minority numerically weak but strong in point of authority—that adequate safeguards can be provided against the perpetration of any injustice, I am in favour of the Bill. In a few years a law of this sort will become a necessity, and it is no disadvantage, but, on the contrary, an incidental advantage, that it should remove one of the many anomalies of the administrative system of India.

It has been urged that if this Bill becomes law it will exercise a deterrent effect on the investment of British capital in India. The application of English capital to the growth and manufacture of tea, indigo, &c., in India is not an unmixed benefit to the country. Lord Salisbury, when Secretary of State in 1865, truly remarked, in writing to Lord Lawrence, that 'the way in which English agents unwatched are apt to maltreat natives is a material argument in the question of encouraging private enterprise,' and a similar view was expressed by Lord Lawrence himself.¹ But the obvious advantages of affording every legitimate encouragement to the investment of British capital in India greatly predominate over the disadvantages. I should certainly be the last to say anything in depreciation of those advantages. During my tenure of office in India I have done all in my power to facilitate the flow of English capital to India, and it is, perhaps, sometimes forgotten that less than two years ago Lord Ripon's Government, in the teeth of strong native opposition, passed a Bill having for its object the relaxation of the law previously regulating the incidents connected with the employment of labour in the tea districts of Assam. That the reckless statements which have been made as regards the general drift of Lord Ripon's policy may, for a short while, exercise an effect in the direction of discouraging the investment of English capital in India, is within the bounds of possibility. But that the operation of the Bill itself, if it becomes law, will have any such effect I utterly disbelieve. Capital, it is said, is sensitive, which is true enough. It is also not sentimental. I venture to predict that, if this Bill becomes law, the lucrative nature of the

¹ *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. pp. 502, 550. The following remarks by Mill (*On Representative Government*, p. 136) are worth quoting in connection with this argument:—'If there be a fact to which all experience testifies, it is that when a country holds another in subjection, the individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortunes are of all others those who most need to be held under powerful restraint. They are always one of the chief difficulties of the Government. Armed with the prestige and filled with the scornful overbearingness of the conquering nation, they have the feelings inspired by absolute power, without its sense of responsibility. Among a people like that of India, the utmost efforts of the public authorities are not enough for the effectual protection of the weak against the strong. . . . It seems to them monstrous that any rights of the natives should stand in the way of their smallest pretensions.'

investment will remain, as heretofore, the sole test in deciding the question of whether English capital will, or will not, flow to India. I should be sorry to think that, in order to attract English capital to India, it is necessary to veto any reform having for its object the improvement of the condition of the natives. I do not believe that the adoption of such a course is necessary. If it were necessary, it would then become an open question whether the advantages of attracting English capital were not being purchased at too dear a price.

It has been urged that, independently of the merits of the question, the Bill should, on grounds of expediency, be withdrawn. This argument is frequently stated in the following manner:—Either the measure is one of slight importance, in which case it is not worth passing in the face of so strong an opposition, or the arguments advanced against it are well-founded, in which case it stands condemned on its own merits. The dilemma is ingenious, but it is not unanswerable.

It may readily be admitted that the Government miscalculated the degree of opposition which this Bill would excite. It may also be admitted that no question of personal dignity should stand in the way of the withdrawal of the Bill, should it appear desirable, on public grounds, that it should be withdrawn. But it appears to me highly desirable, on public grounds, that, whatever alterations may be made in the details, the essential principle of the Bill should be passed into law. Intrinsically the Bill is, in my opinion, a matter of secondary importance. Owing to adventitious causes, it has been magnified into a matter of first-rate importance. It has unfortunately become the battle-ground upon which the issue has to be fought of whether India is for the future to be governed according to the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and in the spirit which in the long run can alone commend itself to Parliament and public opinion in England, or whether a retrograde and anti-native policy is to be adopted. There are probably a large number of natives in India who scarcely know that this Bill has ever been introduced, and who would not be affected in one way or the other were it withdrawn. There are also a very few educated natives who have advocated the withdrawal of the Bill. But I feel assured that the mass of the natives who take an intelligent interest in politics, and whose number is increasing daily, would regard the withdrawal of this Bill as an outward and visible sign that the moderate views of the best Anglo-Indian statesmen, past and present, were for the future to be subordinated to those of the extreme anti-native section of the European community. The natives have always taken an interest in the Bill. As, however, the full significance of the European agitation developed itself, and as it became clearer that that agitation was directed, not only against the particular measure under discussion, but against the general policy which, for many years past, has been adopted in India, the,

have naturally enough attached a far greater importance to the Bill becoming law.

Under these circumstances I think that it would be a grave political error to withdraw the Bill. It is also to be borne in mind that as education advances the time may come when the natives will demand concessions which it will possibly not be in the true interest of the country that the Government should grant. I can conceive no worse political lesson to teach the natives of India than that an agitation such as that which has been recently witnessed on the part of the Europeans should be successful. Some allowance must also be made for the excited state of feeling amongst the Europeans themselves. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal warned the Government on March 9th that the agitation against the Bill would not rapidly subside. I believe this warning to be well-founded. Nevertheless I have too good an opinion of my countrymen in India not to think that before three or four years have elapsed they will be grateful to the Government which, in spite of much obloquy, insisted upon solving the present difficulty, rather than leaving it to be solved, as it inevitably would have to be, a few years hence.

I say that the difficulty will certainly have to be solved in a few years, for I have as yet seen no adequate answer to the argument which was stated by Lord Ripon in the following terms:—

It is surely clear that though there is not at the present moment an irresistible necessity for introducing this measure, as Lord Lytton's system develops, an irresistible necessity will arise. When you have one-sixth of the Civil Service composed of natives, it will be impossible to maintain the present restriction. Therefore what we had to consider was—is it better to wait until this necessity becomes overwhelming and irresistible, or is it better to introduce the system now?

That is a question which undoubtedly admits of two answers. It is always difficult in politics to decide whether it is wiser to anticipate a difficulty, or to await a solution until the difficulty has become a burning question. Englishmen generally prefer the latter course, because they are accustomed to it. The difficulties of Parliamentary Government are so great that few Ministers will ever take up a difficult question until it is forced upon their attention. The consequence is that a reform is often so long delayed as to prevent its producing a full measure of beneficial results when it is ultimately effected. As India is necessarily debarred from the benefits of Parliamentary institutions, there can be no reason why it should not reap whatever advantages are incidental to a despotic form of government, and one of those advantages is that it is sometimes possible and desirable to anticipate a difficulty and solve it before it has attained considerable dimensions. I have, therefore, always thought, in Lord Ripon's words, that it would be 'wiser to introduce the measure now

gradually, cautiously, and tentatively, than to wait till the change is forced upon us by necessity, and the powers which are now to be given only to a few men have to be given suddenly to a very much larger number of native civil servants.' *A fortiori*, I am of that opinion now that the question has once been raised. If the difficulty be now solved, the bad feeling to which recent discussions have given rise will, it may reasonably be hoped, gradually subside. If it be not solved, the whole thing will have to be gone through again, and, instead of looking back upon a difficulty which has been overcome, both Government and the public will look with anxiety to a burning question in the future. Hence the dilemma to which I have alluded above may be rebutted thus:—If the Bill be withdrawn, natives must be either excluded from the Covenanted Civil Service, or, at all events, the number of natives who, under existing rules, will enter the service must be largely diminished; or if this be not done, the Bill must, as a matter of administrative necessity, be passed in a few years. The adoption of the first course would require the assent of Parliament, and it is improbable that this assent would be obtained. The adoption of the second course would merely postpone the settlement of the question, and would certainly enhance the difficulty of dealing with it when a solution could no longer be deferred. On every ground, therefore, it appears to me undesirable to withdraw the Bill.

I am aware that the argument based on the necessity of passing the Bill sooner or later will carry little weight in India.

The truth is (as Lord Ripon said), that the opposition to this Bill is, in reality, not so much an opposition to this particular measure as an opposition to the declared policy of Parliament about the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service. That policy has been a deliberate policy; it commenced many years ago, and has been enforced steadily from time to time. It is not a policy of my invention, or of the invention of the present Government at home or here; it is the policy of Parliament.

There can be little doubt that the view thus expressed by Lord Ripon is correct. Abundant evidence might be adduced to show that Englishmen in India would not have been so much excited about this particular Bill had it not been the last of a series of measures which many of them have for some time watched with unconcealed annoyance. There is good reason to believe that the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service and to the Bench of the High Court were both very unpopular measures with a large body of Europeans.

I think that the rules framed by Lord Lytton² in 1879, under

² These rules were framed by Lord Lytton's Government, but the system originally proposed by Lord Lytton for the admission of natives to appointments formerly held by the Covenanted Civil Service differed very widely from that eventually introduced under instructions from Lord Cranbrook.

which natives are admitted to appointments formerly reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, are open to many of the criticisms which have been advanced against them. But whatever be the merits or demerits of these particular rules, it is certain that they were framed in pursuance of an Act of Parliament; that they could not be abrogated without the consent of Parliament; and that, although possibly no objections might be entertained to some suitable modifications being made in the method of appointment, it is improbable that Parliament would consent to any changes virtually involving a repeal of the Act of 1870, which, as is stated in the preamble to its 6th section, was intended to provide 'additional facilities for the employment of natives of India, of proved merit and ability, in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India.'

I do not propose to discuss fully Lord Lytton's rules of 1879, but I should wish to say something as regards the general question of the employment of natives. A considerable section of the European community in India is strongly opposed to any extension of the policy of governing India through native agency, and considers that the Government has already gone too far in the direction of employing such agency. On the other hand, many people in England frequently urge the Government, on grounds of policy and economy, to extend largely the sphere of employment for natives. I am confident that many of those who, in England, press for the more extended employment of natives, are not aware of what has already been done in this direction.

The following table has been constructed with the object of showing all branches which were directly engaged in the government or administration of the country at the commencement of the year 1882, but not such as were concerned with its moral and material development, or rendering service to the community on payment. Thus, Police, Forests, Political, Jails, and Registration have been included. On the other hand, Public Works, Mints, Telegraphs, Education, Survey, Post Office, and some other miscellaneous offices, had been excluded.

Nationality	Covenanted	Uncovenanted	Total
Europeans	861	1,197	2,058
Natives	12	2,012	2,024
Total	873	3,209	4,082

It will be seen that the number of Europeans and natives employed was about equal. The Covenanted Service consisted almost entirely of Europeans. The Uncovenanted Service consisted of about two-thirds natives. Under existing rules the Covenanted Service will, in course of time, consist of at most five-sixths Europeans and

at least one-sixth natives, whilst the number of natives³ in the Uncovenanted Service will considerably increase.

Such, therefore, are the facts of the case. I hope that, for the present at all events, no considerable concessions will be made either to those who would alter the rules in the direction of excluding natives, or to those who would alter them in the sense of their more extended employment. I am not speaking here of alterations in detail. As I have already said, I think the rules under which the so-called 'Statutory Civilians' are appointed are open to criticism, and I should be glad to see them amended. What I mean is that I hope no radical change of system will be made for a considerable time. I am not at all prepared to say that the rules under which natives are now admitted into the Government service, whether Covenanted or Uncovenanted, are too liberal, but I think that they are quite liberal enough for the present moment. What is now required is that, so far as their essential principles are concerned, they should be left alone, and their operation watched before any further changes are contemplated. I do not think it would, for some years to come at all events, be wise to reduce the European staff in India to a greater extent than it will be reduced under the operation of the existing rules, and I am strongly of opinion that it would be false economy to reduce the pay of European members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The pay of Europeans in India is no doubt high, judged by the standard of the salaries given for analogous services in Europe. But the question is simply one of demand and supply. If a competent official can be obtained to do a certain work in India for say Rs. 500 a month, there is no reason whatever why he should be paid one rupee a month more. But if a competent official cannot be obtained for Rs. 500 a month, then the Government must either fall back upon the ranks of those who are incompetent or pay a higher sum. Now it is simply impossible at present, and for many generations, at all events, it will be impossible, to govern India without a European agency. If Europeans are necessary, it is of the highest importance that they should be competent men—that is to say, that they should have good constitutions, that they should be honest, and at least of good average ability. These qualities cannot be obtained unless the Government chooses to pay for them. An Indian career possesses less attraction than is often supposed. The work of administration in India is so difficult that it requires the cream of our schools and colleges to carry it on efficiently. Yet without under-

A 'native of India' is defined by 33 Vic. c. 3, sec. 6 as 'any person born and domiciled within the dominions of Her Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India, and not established there for temporary purposes only.' Under the rules framed by Lord Lytton's Government in 1879 natives of India alone are generally to be appointed to the Uncovenanted Service. But, in the case of the following departments, viz., Opium, Salt, Customs, Surveys, Mint, Public Works, and Police, the rule is not made absolute.

rating the talents of those who now enter the Covenanted Civil Service, it may be doubted whether that service presents sufficient advantages to attract the best men of the rising generation. It is notorious, moreover, that, in spite of high pay and very interesting work, it is difficult to get competent men in middle life to accept those high appointments which are generally given to men outside the ranks of the Indian services. Further, the economy to be effected by substituting native for European agency is often much overrated. It is impossible to substitute *Uncovenanted* native for *Covenanted* European agency, and, unless this be done, the saving is at most only one-third of the salary enjoyed by the European. I do not, therefore, believe in the possibility at present of effecting any large economies by employing natives in the place of Europeans. Indeed I am confident that the only direction in which any considerable economies in India are possible is in cutting down military expenditure. I do not mean to say that the strength of the army should be reduced. On the contrary, I think it would be in the highest degree undesirable to reduce the strength of the army, whether European or native, by a single man. But I have no doubt that the cumbersome administrative machinery of the Indian army might be so recast as to effect a considerable saving, whilst at the same time its efficiency might be improved.

I will now allude to one or two minor questions which have contributed to the present agitation. The first of these is the reduction of the pay of the Judges of the High Court of Calcutta.

A Committee, which sat in 1880 at the India Office, recommended, *inter alia*, that the pay of the High Court Judges of Calcutta should be reduced from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 43,200 a year, the latter being the amount of salary received, after deducting contribution to pension, by the Civilian Judges of the High Courts of Bombay and Madras. Lord Cranbrook approved of this proposal, and consulted the Government of India upon it. The reply, which was sent after Lord Ripon had succeeded Lord Lytton as Viceroy, was in a sense adverse to the change. On the matter being twice referred to Lord Hartington, he adhered to his predecessor's opinion. The question really at issue is whether competent Judges can be obtained for Rs. 43,200 a year. If this question can be answered in the affirmative, I see no reason why they should receive Rs. 50,000 a year. Two successive Secretaries of State have been of opinion that a salary of Rs. 43,200 a year affords an adequate guarantee of competence. Some other high authorities are of a contrary opinion. I do not possess sufficient knowledge of the subject to justify my entertaining any strong opinion about it.

Another circumstance which caused much discontent amongst the European community in India was the appointment of Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter, the senior Puisne Judge, to officiate as Chief Justice

of the High Court of Calcutta during the temporary absence of Sir Richard Garth. When this matter was under the consideration of the Government of India I was opposed to Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter being passed over merely on the ground that he was a native. I have seen no reason to alter my opinion since. Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter performed his duties in the presence of many hostile critics, and we may feel assured that, had those duties not been properly performed, any shortcomings would have been brought to light. No one, however, so far as I know, has ventured to impugn the conduct of Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter whilst he acted as Chief Justice. He has fully justified the confidence which the Government placed in him.

The term 'Native of India' is defined in the Act of 1870 in such a manner as to include Eurasians, and in some cases pure Europeans. Certain appointments are guaranteed annually by the Government to the students from the Engineering College at Roorkee and elsewhere.

In August 1876 the Secretary of State (Lord Salisbury) wrote to the Government of India in the following terms:—

Without going so far as to say that the higher classes of these Colleges (*i.e.* the Indian Engineering Colleges) should be closed to persons of European parentage, I have no difficulty in adopting the conclusion that the education of such students should as far as possible be made self-supporting, if this is not already the case, and that the guarantee of appointments in the public service should in the future be wholly reserved to such students as are natives of India.

There can be no doubt that the operation of the rules in these Colleges, which I need not describe in detail, was such as to place natives of India, in the ordinary sense of the term, at a considerable disadvantage. In May 1880, therefore, Lord Cranbrook again drew attention to the subject:—

The operation (he said) of the Thomason College has been to add to the strength of the Europeans in the Department rather than to increase the proportion of native members. It is plain that this tendency should be at once arrested, and I must accordingly request that, in so far as may be consistent with pledges already given, no engineering appointment be henceforth guaranteed to any but natives at either the Thomason or any other Indian College; and also that no European, other than Royal Engineer officers, be granted such appointments without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State.

In July 1882 the Government of India asked Lord Hartington whether they had understood rightly the instructions of his predecessor, and whether it was intended, for the purposes of the present argument, to use the term 'Native of India' in the ordinary, and not in the statutory, sense. The reply was in the affirmative. An order giving effect to these instructions was issued in November 1882. The matter is intrinsically of no great importance, for in 1884 the number of guaranteed appointments available in all India will only

be eight, and in 1885 it will only be six.⁴ Nevertheless I think the grievance of the Europeans and Eurasians on this subject is one which deserves careful consideration, and I hope that means will be found for satisfying their demands, whilst, at the same time, it may be found possible to remove the disadvantages under which the pure Asiatic undoubtedly laboured prior to 1882.

I now turn to the discussion of a question which is intrinsically of greater importance than any of those to which I have so far alluded. I mean the extension which has recently been given to the policy of Local Self-Government.

It would be easy to show that Local Self-Government, in one form or another, has existed in India from a remote period, and, further, that it has always been the policy of the best Anglo-Indian statesmen to encourage the natives of India to take part in the management of their own affairs. Lord Lawrence said (Resolution of August 31, 1864):—

The people of this country are perfectly capable of administering their own local affairs. The municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. . . . Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people, by means of funds raised by themselves, and to confine ourselves to doing those things which must be done by the Government, and to influencing and directing, in a general way, all the movements of the social machine. This policy has been shown to be in accordance with that of Lord W. Bentinck's and Lord Auckland's Governments. Lord Carnarvon's Government attempted to give practical effect to it, &c.

The credit of taking a great step forward in the direction of giving practical effect to the policy of Local Self-Government belongs to Lord Mayo and his colleagues. I need not describe the main features of Lord Mayo's policy. They must be well-known to all who take an interest in Indian affairs. I wish, however, to make one remark about that policy. It has been stated that all Lord Mayo had in view was to effect certain reforms in the financial administration of the country. That view appears to me to be incorrect. In the Resolution of December 14, 1870 (para. 23) the following passage, which was written by Lord Mayo himself, occurs:—

But, beyond all this, there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity, and local public works. The operation of this Resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of Self-Government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs.

When the quinquennial contracts concluded between the Imperial and Provincial Governments in 1876-77 expired, it became my duty

⁴ Of these, three are for the Roorkee College, and the other three for the rest of India.

to submit to the Government proposals as to the terms upon which they should be renewed. On August 24, 1881, after dealing with certain financial details, upon which I need not now dwell, I wrote as follows :—

There is, however, another very important question which is intimately connected with the general scheme for the decentralisation of finance, namely, the development of Local Self-Government. Allusion was prominently made to this point in the 23rd paragraph of the Resolution of December 14, 1870. A very great step in advance was made when, in 1870, India was no longer considered as a single unit for the purposes of financial administration, but was to a certain extent split up into different Provinces. These Provincial units, however, are still very large. What I think is now required is to take a further step in the direction originally indicated by Lord Mayo. We have already decentralised our financial administration to a certain extent. We should now endeavour to do something towards deprovincialising it, if I may employ such a term. We should seek to entrust certain branches of revenue and expenditure to local bodies, such as Boards and Committees, who will deal with a much smaller unit than that of the Province. The question is one of some difficulty; neither have we at present sufficient information to deal with it thoroughly. All I would propose to do at present would be to embody in our Resolution some remarks on the general principles involved, and invite opinions on the question.

The Government adopted my suggestions. The result was the issue of the Resolution of September 30, 1881. That Resolution is couched in the most orthodox official language. It does not contain a phrase or allusion which could be characterised by Lord Salisbury as a 'catchword of cosmopolitan rhetoric.'

Lord Mayo's policy was not, in the first instance, popular. It was, on the contrary, viewed with dislike and suspicion. It was considered, even by many of the natives themselves, as too advanced for the requirements of the country. It was only a small minority who recognised the wisdom of Lord Mayo's statesmanlike action. There was not one word in the Resolution of September 30, 1881, more calculated to excite political agitation than Lord Mayo's Resolution of 1870, yet the manner in which the two Resolutions were received presented a marked contrast. The utterances of the Native Press, and the numerous addresses which were presented to the Viceroy in the course of his autumn tour, abundantly proved that the apathy of 1870 had, to a great extent, disappeared; that the substantial benefits of Lord Mayo's policy were appreciated, and that the moment had arrived for a further extension of that policy. Neither was approval of the Resolution confined to the Native Press. So far as I know, not a single English newspaper, except the *Calcutta Englishman*, criticised it unfavourably. The *Times of India*, the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Calcutta Statesman*, and the *Pioneer*—that is to say, the four best English papers in India—all supported the general lines of the policy indicated in the Resolution.

There was only one way to explain the difference between the public feeling of 1870 and that which was evoked in 1881. Sir John and General Strachey in their recent excellent work—which should be in the hands of every one who wishes to know the facts of Indian finance as distinguished from the fiction which so often passes in their place—said that ‘the England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the England of to-day, than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon.’⁵ Thus the progress of 40 years in India was compared to that of about 180 years in England. I do not think the comparison is strained. The decade which had elapsed since the issue of Lord Mayo’s Resolution of 1870 had produced a change in the political atmosphere of India such as those whose Indian experience is of an earlier date can perhaps hardly appreciate.

About the same time as the Resolution of September 30, 1881, was issued, detailed information was called for with respect to the existing Municipal system in India. The result showed that Municipal Committees were in existence in most of the principal and in a few of the smaller towns, and that in every province there was legal power to allow the appointment of Members of these Committees by election. It appeared, however, that there were great differences between the practice prevailing in different provinces in regard to elections. In some the elective system had been largely introduced.* In the North-Western Provinces it was in operation in 73 out of 81 Municipalities, and in the Central Provinces in 58 out of 62. In others it had been applied to a very limited extent. In Bengal, apart from Calcutta, there were only three elective Municipalities. In Bombay election had been introduced nowhere except in the City of Bombay itself, where it had worked very successfully. It was difficult to discover any reason for these variations of practice except the varying inclinations of different Governors and Lieutenant-Governors.

After the whole of the information obtained had been fully considered, the Resolution of May 18, 1882, was issued. In framing that Resolution two main questions had to be considered, viz., (1) what extension should be given to the principle of election in the selection of the Members of Municipalities and Local Boards; and (2) in what manner Government control over those bodies should be exercised.

With regard to election in Municipalities, it was determined to give substantial effect to the legislation of 1873. But no unbending general rule was laid down that the elective system should be introduced everywhere irrespective of local circumstances.

* *The Finances and Public Works of India*, p. 7.

The Governor-General in Council (it was said) does not require the adoption of the system of election in all cases, though that is the system which he hopes will ultimately prevail throughout the country, and which he wishes to establish now as widely as local circumstances will permit. Election in some form or other should be generally introduced in towns of any considerable size, but may be extended more cautiously and gradually to the smaller municipalities.

In rural districts the Government wished to proceed much more gradually and cautiously than in towns.

Turning to the question of Government control, it is to be observed that hitherto it has been the practice that the chief executive officer of each district should be the Chairman of the Municipalities and Local Boards within his jurisdiction, and should exercise a complete control over their proceedings. Sir Donald McLeod in a memorandum written in 1861 said:—

To give the people a real interest in the arrangements contemplated it is *absolutely essential* that they should be given a large discretion in the matter of expenditure. To work any practical use out of the people, they should not continue ever to be treated as children or imbeciles. . . . No Government official ought to be associated with them in their deliberations, or allowed to interfere in any way with their nomination . . . In short, the municipal body should be, as regards essentials, really independent, so far as the interference of our officials goes. If, however, we begin, as we have been wont to do, from the top instead of from the bottom—*i.e.* nominate a council of men of rank and consideration, and then descend to details as best we may—the whole thing will become a sham and a delusion; and still more so, if we associate our own officers with them in their proceedings, whether deliberative or executive.

I do not mean to say that the Indian Civil Service generally entertains the views held by Sir Donald McLeod. Far from it. That Service constitutes a bureaucracy of which any country may well be proud. But the tribute of admiration which may justly be paid to the excellent work done by the Indian Civil Service should not blind us to the faults which are inherent in all bureaucracies. The most conspicuous of those faults is a jealousy of allowing non-officials to take any part in the administration of the country. But if Sir Donald McLeod's views are not shared by the majority of the Indian Civil Service, they certainly are shared by some of the most eminent men of that Service. Thus Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, said that he was 'convinced that the ultimate aim of the Government of India is the right one, and that we must endeavour gradually to effect a complete separation between the functions of the official body and those of the local and town boards. The principle to be kept in view was check, not dictation.

In deciding what course to take in respect to the method in which control should be exercised over local bodies, the Government did not act only upon general considerations, however plain, nor upon

abstract arguments, however cogent, nor yet upon the authority of men so eminent as Sir Donald McLeod and Sir Charles Aitchison. The discussions which ensued upon the publication of the Resolution of September 30, 1881, gave rise to the conviction that one main cause of the comparative failure of the efforts hitherto made to develop Local Self-Government was to be found in the fact that, unless a certain real freedom of action, to which the presence of the district officer is, generally speaking, an effectual bar, were secured to local bodies, the best men would not come forward to serve on them, and that they would become mere shams, as they have often been under the system hitherto in force. It was clear that, if we really meant the natives of India to take any substantial part in the administration of their own local affairs, it was essential to afford them a fair opportunity for learning administrative work, and that we must be content to see them make mistakes in order that they might be taught by experience the mischievous consequences of unsound principles or of slothful neglect of duty.

Actuated by these considerations, the Government declared that it wished 'to see non-official persons acting, wherever practicable, as Chairmen of Local Boards.' But no hard and fast rule was laid down. 'There may, however,' the Resolution went on to say, 'be places where it would be impossible to get any suitable non-official Chairman, and there may be districts where the chief executive officer must for the present retain these duties in his own hand.' There never was the least intention of leaving local bodies without any official control. The intention was that Government control, instead of being exercised, as heretofore, from within the Boards and Committees, should, in the more advanced towns and districts, be exercised from without. The pressure of the district officer was in some cases to be less constant than formerly, but full power of interference was reserved in case of real necessity. In a letter addressed to the Bombay Government on October 4, 1882, it was explained that it was the intention of the Government to retain

all necessary powers for dealing with any Board that failed in its duty—powers extending from simple remonstrance up to an absolute, though temporary, supersession of the defaulting body, and of course including such intermediate measures for the prevention of serious and persistent neglect of duty as might be determined upon in consultation with Local Governments.

An act for giving effect to the principles embodied in the Resolution of May 18, 1882, has been passed for the Central Provinces. The legislation necessary in order to carry out the policy of the Resolution in the other provinces of India is in progress.⁶ A wide latitude will

⁶ The Criminal Jurisdiction Bill and the Local Self-Government policy are two subjects which have no real connection with each other. Nevertheless, the opposition to the extension of Local Self-Government may practically be said to date from the

be left to Local Governments in respect to the manner of giving effect to the principles of the Resolution of May 18, 1882, in the several provinces of India.

Such are the main facts connected with the policy of Local Self-Government. That policy has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Nevertheless between the Government and some, at all events, of its opponents a solid difference of opinion exists which no explanations will tend to minimise.

In the first place, all those who hold that whatever is best administered is best are, naturally enough, opposed to the policy. The indictment which Lord Lytton brought against the Government in the House of Lords on April 9, 1883, was based on the soundness of this maxim. With all deference to so high an authority, I venture to think that the experience of many countries might be cited to show the fallacy of this principle of government; and in no country is it more fallacious than in India. If we had wished to look wholly to the administrative, to the neglect of the political, aspect of government in India, we should never have let loose the journalist and the schoolmaster in the country. Lord Halifax's educational despatch of 1854 especially should never have been written. Having for the last twenty-five years at least turned on steam at high pressure, it would not now be wise to sit on the safety-valve. It will surely be wiser to be content with a relatively slow rate of progress and to carry the natives with us rather than to force on the work of local administration without their co-operation. The former certainly appears to me to be by far the most wisely conservative policy of the two. Local Boards and Committees may, in the words of the Resolution of May 18, 1882, be very properly and wisely used as 'instruments of political and popular education.'

Then, again, others will agree with Mr. Seton Karr, who holds that, if the policy set forth in the Resolution of May 18, 1882, succeeds, it will not only be 'at the cost of much that lends attractiveness to the life of a district officer'—surely an inconclusive argument, even supposing it to be correct—but that 'it will seriously affect the credit and stability of our dominion and our hold on the

introduction into the Legislative Council of the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill on February 2, 1883. The Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill was finally passed on January 12, 1883. I make this observation because it has not unfrequently been represented in India that the Central Provinces Bill, though unobjectionable, does not represent the original policy of the Government, but rather that policy as modified by the recent agitation. A reference to the dates which I have given above is sufficient to prove that this statement is unfounded.

This expression has excited much adverse criticism. It was not used for the first time in the Resolution of May 18, 1882. Sir John and General Strachey speak of municipal institutions as 'the first practical step in political education.' (*The Finances and Public Works of India*, p. 8.)

attachment and loyalty of the people.'⁸ My own opinion is that the policy will materially increase our hold on the attachment and loyalty of the people, and I may add that I do not believe that at any former time have the natives of India been more attached to British rule or more loyal to the Crown than they are at present. The newspaper abuse, of which we have recently heard a good deal, and which is much regretted by the best classes of natives, is directed, not against the Government, but against those Europeans who have vilified the natives, and whose conduct is, at least, quite as reprehensible as that of their extreme opponents.

But the really strong opposition to the policy of Local Self-Government,—and I may add to the policy of Lord Ripon's administration generally,—does not emanate from Conservatives of the type of Lord Lytton or Mr. Seton Karr. The outcry against this Bill must, indeed, be regarded as the explosion at last of long pent-up discontent. The Criminal Jurisdiction Bill was the spark which fired the mine. Local Self-Government and some other acts of Lord Ripon's administration precipitated the explosion, as also did the fact that the Liberal party is in power in England. Anglo-Indian society is, generally speaking, Conservative. But the explosion must in any case have taken place before long. It has been preparing for many years, and is due to the resentment felt by a portion of the Anglo-Indian community at the philo-native tendencies of a succession of Viceroy, Secretaries of State, and Parliaments. Of these tendencies the constant pressure kept up to extend the sphere of employment for natives is perhaps that which has created the greatest amount of resentment. To quote one passage only in support of this view, the *Indigo Planters' Gazette* of May 8, 1883, says:—

A steady tendency, well-marked and widespread, has set in, not altogether with the advent of the present Government, but clearly traceable for years back, more or less well defined, to legislate for natives, &c.

Two policies are possible in India. The one is the policy of those who hate the freedom of the press, who dread the progress of education,⁹ and who watch with jealousy and alarm everything which tends, in however limited a degree, to give the natives of India a larger share in the management of their own affairs. *Odeynt dum metuant* is the watchword of those who favour this policy.

⁸ *The National Review*, April, 1883, p. 223.

⁹ I do not know why Sir Fitzjames Stephen (*The Times*, March 1, 1883) included the 'language lately held as to . . . education' amongst the symptoms which showed 'a determination to try to govern India upon principles inconsistent with the foundations on which British power rests.' All that Lord Ripon's Government has done is to appoint a Commission to inquire into the matter. It is high time that such an inquiry was instituted; for, apart from other considerations, I cannot think it is politically wise to force on high education, whilst at the same time so little is done to temper the ignorance and credulity of the masses.

The fine lines which Claudian applied to the Roman Empire more fitly represent the alternative policy:—

Hæc est in gremio victos quæ sola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit
Matris, non dominæ, ritu; civesque vocavit
Quos domuit.

This is the policy of those who have established a free press, who have promoted education, who have admitted natives more and more largely to the public service in various forms, and who have favoured the extension of Local Self-Government.

It would be an injustice to the Anglo-Indian community to say that the first of these two policies finds general favour amongst Englishmen in India. Such is not at all the case. Many officials, and no inconsiderable body of unofficials, whose views are represented in such papers as the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Times of India*, and the *Statesman*, are in favour of dealing liberally with the natives.

When there is opposition it frequently takes the form of agreement in the abstract, but disagreement as regards the particular point under discussion, on the ground that the reform is premature, that the Government is moving too fast, &c. I do not know that any responsible authority connected with the Government of India wishes to move too fast, and especially as regards Local Self-Government, I do not see how, supposing any move was to be made at all, it would have been possible to have moved more slowly and cautiously than under the plan actually adopted. But, in fact, it will often be found that those who adopt this line of argument are averse to any move at all. Lord Lawrence never said anything more true than when he wrote to Sir Erskine Perry in the following terms:—

If anything is done, or attempted to be done, to help the natives, a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England, and finds sympathy and support there. . . . Every one is, in the abstract, for justice, moderation, and such-like excellent qualities, but when one comes to apply such principles, so as to affect anybody's interests, then a change comes over them.¹⁰

But, apart from those whose moderate opposition is based on the undesirability of moving too fast in India, it cannot be doubted that a considerable section of the Anglo-Indian community, especially in Bengal, is opposed to the adoption of anything approaching to a liberal policy towards natives. The views of this party have found expression in speeches such as those delivered at the Townhall of Calcutta last February and in the writings of the *Englishman* and other newspapers in Bengal. I give one example in order to show the sort of opinions enunciated by this party. A writer, who

¹⁰ *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. p. 550.

has adopted the somewhat inappropriate pseudonym of 'Britannicus,'¹¹ says,—

The only people who have any right to India are the British. . . . Privileges the so-called Indians have which we do not begrudge them, privileges which the generosity of the British has granted them, and for which they ought to be grateful, instead of clamouring for more and abusing the British if they do not get what they clamour for. . . . I have heard much more disloyalty spoken by educated than by uneducated natives. This induced me to think that there was some truth in Montesquieu's idea that education, in a despotic Government, is not only needless, but injurious, though I thought it ungenerous when I first read it.

One of the stock arguments of this party is that the policy of recent Governments, and of the present Government in particular, may be summed up in the cry of 'India for the Indians.' In considering this argument everything depends upon what is meant by 'India for the Indians.' If, as is often stated,¹² it implies the execution of a series of reforms with the deliberate intention of eventually retiring from India, then all I have to say is that I have never heard of any responsible authority who entertained any such intention. All we have to consider now is whether we shall or shall not adopt the miserable policy of refusing to do anything to elevate the condition of the natives of India for fear lest at some remote period we shall have trained them to govern themselves without our assistance.

But there is another sense in which the cry of 'India for the Indians' has some practical significance, and is in entire harmony with the creed of the best Anglo-Indian statesmen past and present. I mean the sense which implies the recognition of only one standard to which the solution of all Indian questions should be referred, and that standard is that every Indian question should be decided with reference solely to the true interests of the natives of India. In adopting this standard it is not at all to be inferred that we should always do what the natives of India wish. Far from it. The adoption of Free-trade is a case in point. There are probably very few natives in India, and there are not many Anglo-Indians, who believe in the advantages of Free-trade so far as India is concerned.¹³ They fail to grasp the conclusive, but occasionally subtle, arguments which prove the fallacy of Protection. We were, however, quite justified in

¹¹ Many passages more violent than that which I have given above might be quoted from the newspapers, but I select from one of the numerous letters of 'Britannicus,' because those letters have been thought sufficiently important to be republished. The sentiments expressed by 'Britannicus' have been frequently approved by other writers, and may, I think, without injustice be taken to some extent as representing generally the opinions of a section of the European community, and not those of a single individual.

¹² For instance, the *Indigo Planters' Gazette* of May 1, 1883, says that the Local Self-Government policy is intended 'to prepare the way for that time when, England's mission in the East being accomplished, she will retire from its "coral strand," &c.

¹³ A good deal of abuse which is often unjust, and is certainly ungenerous, is not unfrequently levelled at the class of educated natives whom we have ourselves

imposing Free-trade on India, because there could not be a shadow of doubt that the adoption of that measure was in the true interests of the natives of India.

There are probably few people who would not admit in the abstract that these principles are sound enough. But, as Lord Lawrence said, the difficulties begin when any question arises of putting principles into practice. In practice, no inconsiderable body of Englishmen would act upon the principle of 'India for the Anglo-Indians.' The real issue which is now at stake is whether this is for the future to be the guiding principle of the British Government in India, or whether, as heretofore, the true interests of the natives of India are to be our first consideration. The decision lies, in the first instance, with the Government of India and Her Majesty's Government, and, ultimately, with Parliament and public opinion in England. For my own part I think that any compromise with the extreme anti-native spirit which has recently developed itself amongst a section of the English community in India is neither possible nor desirable, and that any attempt to reverse the moderate and liberal policy of the past would be a grave political error.

Unquestionably the conduct of that policy will, year by year, become more difficult. No one who watches the signs of the times in India with even moderate care can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change. The spread of education, the increasing influence of a free press, the substituting of legal for discretionary administration, the progress of railways and telegraphs, the easier communication with Europe, and the more ready influx of European ideas, are beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people. New ideas are springing up. New aspirations are being called forth. The power of public opinion is growing daily. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of Government, and especially of a despotic Government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind. To move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still. The problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into a right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupid repression, a source of serious political danger. It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man that after fifty years of a free press and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits, and prejudices breaking down, changes

created. I should like to say, therefore, that natives of India do not, as many people appear to think, always use their education in order to make the worse appear the better cause. *The Liberal*, a newspaper published at Calcutta, and which represents the views of the Brahmo Somaj, a highly educated class, has persistently advocated Free-trade principles.

should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country, which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration, if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control.

• EVELYN BARING.

CLOUDS OVER ARCADY.

WHILE turning out a box of cuttings from newspapers a few days ago I came upon two letters on the Land Question, one by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre; the other, in reply, by Sir James Caird, which appeared in the *Times* during the month of November, 1881. I had forgotten all about them, as the larger part of my fellow-creatures have done long ago, and because I had forgotten them I read them again. Why had I originally cut them out and laid them in lavender? On re-perusal, it became clear enough why. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre had asserted unhesitatingly of the agricultural labourers that 'the best labourers have been drawn away to the towns, have found employment on the railways or have emigrated, and those who remain behind are the less intelligent and the least skilful.' Sir James Caird had answered, 'I cannot agree with Mr. Shaw-Lefevre that, *though their numbers have been diminished* by the attractions of more lucrative employment, they have become less skilful or effective.'

It is a great comfort to find two such authorities on the land question agreeing upon *anything*; for we live in an age when it is quite enough for most of us to hear that our next-door neighbour has expressed himself decidedly upon any subject—from pitch-and-toss to manslaughter—to feel ourselves impelled to contradict him at all hazards. 'Madam,' said a devout polemic to a garrulous Salvationist, 'St. Paul is against you; he suffers not a woman to preach!' 'Ah! but I differ from Paul there,' was the prompt rejoinder. Just so. We live now not to agree, but to differ. 'Confound facts, I don't believe 'em,' enables us all to start fair on the shoreless sea of intellectual Nihilism.

In the letters referred to above, however, we find the eminent writers agreeing in one thing—namely, that the *numbers* of the agricultural labourers in this country have diminished. The question at which they are at issue is whether, as a class, the labourers have *deteriorated*. I am surprised that Sir James Caird should have ventured to make a question of what Mr. Shaw-Lefevre assumes unhesitatingly to be an admitted fact. No! I am not surprised—I am surprised at nothing in controversy. Talk about the invention of printing or of the steam-engine. What are these discoveries when

compared with the simplification of dialectics which this generation has arrived at, whereby a disputant can always cut the ground from under those who stand upon statistics, by blowing their statistics into the air with the mighty explosive of a flat contradiction?

We who live apart from the enlightened, we who moon away in our corners, munching our boiled beef and carrots, have a sort of suspicion that if the volume of yonder brook were to be seriously diminished, we should find it harder to fill our pitcher with the sparkling water that was once dipped up so easily. Somehow the mud would be nearer us; somehow there would be more mud than there used to be; somehow the stream would be more clouded than of yore. But then 'an illustration is not an argument,' and so, when we have resorted to it, we are apt to run away from it—we shyly retire to our interior, and, like the parrot, we hold our peace and think the more.

Here, however, is one admission made by both sides. The agricultural labourers in this country have actually diminished in numbers within the memory of men, let us say, not yet in their dotage; and this numerical falling off has come to pass while the population of the country at large has increased enormously, and while the area of land under tillage has also increased largely. Nor is this all. The falling off in the number of the agricultural labourers has gone on, spite of the remarkable upward movement in their wages, which have increased in a far higher ratio than those of any other class.

Before we begin to discuss the question which the two gentlemen have not settled—the question of the effect of this decrease in the volume of agricultural labour upon the quality of the supply—it seems advisable that we should first attempt to account for so curious a phenomenon, and investigate its causes. Though I say *causes* advisedly, yet I never can use the plural without a certain sheepish hesitation, and I am fain to tell the reader why.

In Arcady we have an institution called *'lebens'*, when the labourers knock off work for awhile, sit under a hedge in company, and make pretence of enjoying a social meal. Like Hindoos, they dislike being looked at when eating—as most of us do for that matter—but when they have done they are open to a talk. It came to pass that I found myself one day in the midst of a company who were chewing the cud—or, if you prefer it, smoking their pipes—after the usual consumption of victuals, and I stopped to talk. Among the company was Surly Ben; and Ben's *confrères* looked slyly at him when the parson joined them, for Ben has a name to keep up for blunt rudeness to all who accost him. He soon got his chance. In the course of our rambling talk, one man had asked why a neighbouring vicar had barely sixteen shillings week from his cure, while the tithes were collected all the same. 'That's a large question,' I began, and was going to explain, when Surly Ben broke in fiercely, 'There ye are

agin wi' your large questions. I've heerd that lots o' times when I want to gnaw the reason whoi. Yow keep a talkin' o' causes when there aint on'y one cause for one thing. You might as well talk o' a hog having three fathers.'

Since that day, whenever I have found it necessary to speak of causes, I have never been able to forget the hog. And yet Surly Ben was wrong; and for the decrease in the number of our agricultural labourers more than one cause must be assigned.

Sir James Caird assigns but one cause, and herein he shows himself a supporter of Surly Ben's dialectic method. He accounts for the condition of the agricultural labour market on the simple hypothesis that 'the attractions of more lucrative employment' will suffice to explain it. If I could believe that the one and only consideration influencing the movements of any class was the consideration of how many shillings a week was to be lost or gained by taking any step in life, I should be tempted to despair of that class, and in my own mind tabulate it as 'dangerous.' Just in proportion as men get to look upon all things in heaven and earth as reducible simply to a money value, in that proportion do they become degraded, morally, intellectually, even physically—they are past praying for. It is bad enough to have to confess that among our labourers there has sprung up a mean and sordid way of talking which they have adopted from their leaders; but I suspect that there is more brag in it than conviction, and I am sure that in Arcady the men are not yet wholly given over to the lust of coin *pur et simple*. Nevertheless it is undeniable that 'the attractions of mere lucrative employment' have to be taken into account. The agricultural labourer has been *drawn away* from his village home by the attraction of higher wages. This was much more the case ten or fifteen years ago than it is now. Then the inflation of our coal and iron trade, and the 'leaps and bounds' of our exports, of which we heard so much, produced a demand for labour at prices which could not possibly be kept up; and, with the change in the conditions of the labour market, wages in the great centres of manufacturing industry have seriously fallen. Meanwhile the wages of the agriculturist have risen materially. Mr. Gladstone never made a truer remark than when he declared—I forget when or where—that the wages of clerks, copyists, and all who live by the pen must inevitably fall lower and lower as education becomes general in the community. Every year the competition for every stool in a counting-house, and every job of copying that has to be done, and every index that has to be made, becomes more and more keen. Does any exhausted writer for the press want to have a good subject for an article, let me recommend him to try his hand at 'The Experiences of a Law Stationer; or, the Romance of Twopence a Folio.'

The mere difference in the weekly earnings of the townsman and the villager has certainly been greatly exaggerated, and the attraction

of more lucrative employment has greatly decreased, and has a tendency to decrease still more.

Is there nothing else besides mere money that has drawn, and is drawing, the agriculturist to the towns? When Horace's steward found himself bored to death in the Sabine farm, and begged and prayed to be sent to town once more, the poet never said a word about increase of pay. There was no question of wages.

*Bang, whang, whang, goes the drum, tootle te tootle the fife,
Oh, a day in the city square, there is no such pleasure in life!*

That was the steward's view of the case—

Something to see, by Bacchus, something to hear at least;
There the whole day long one's life is a perfect feast;
While up at a villa one lives, I maintain, no more than a beast.

So it was; so it is! The swains of Arcady have a hankering to see the big world and to move among the masses. The noise and conflict, the glare and flare, the gas and the shop windows, the circus, and the crowds, the savoury tit-bits, so toothsome and succulent, that are to be had for a groat, whose like comes only rarely from the parson's lady in the village when sickness and old age put forth their special appeal; the cheap trains and the loud talk, the romping and the bundling, the novelty, the license, the nearness of vice, in which he who is so inclined may indulge without compunction or fear of rebuke or any sense of shame; these are the things that attract far more than the mere consideration of another shilling a week. They attract, but are they likely to improve him, the rollicking blade of the country, who has got a notion that it is a fine thing 'to see life?'—

Fornix et uncta popina
Incutiunt urbis desiderium.

But much more powerful than the attraction of lucre, or dissipation and amusement, is the hope of a future which the towns hold out to the deserving. 'Tain't as if my son John lays by, as you may say; he's just as hard work to make two ends meet as Sam has here at home. But you see as Sam 'll never be no better, and John 'll never be no wuss!' That was Widow Rossin's way of putting it. John is in the police force in London, Sam is an agricultural labourer. The one has a future, the other has none. Therefore there is no difficulty in supplying the police force with the very best young men Arcady can breed. It is not the pay but the prospect, the promotion by merit, the recognition of faithful service, the appreciation of moral character, the pension for old age; these are the boons which the countryman knows nothing of. For the most skilful and trustworthy, equally as for the most drunken sot who is a byword to his neighbours, there is absolutely no career. No career nor differentiation. The sturdy giant who could do the work of three,

whose tidy wife takes a pride in keeping the home 'respectable,' who spells out the newspaper in the evening with his children crawling and romping about him, gets just as much and no more per week than the shambling and scrofulous skirk whom you may find any night soaking at the pothouse till his little boy goes to fetch him away, when his ragged wife, tired of whimpering, sends for her fuddled man and gets cursed for her pains. Character goes for nothing in Arcady. Nobody cares two straws about a man's antecedents. It is as little reproach to Dick Styles that he has been three times in gaol as it was in Dick's eyes that Polly Beck had had five children in a miscellaneous kind of a way when he married her. Dick is an habitual drunkard; his first wife died and left him with two children, the eldest three years old. Dick had so bad a character that no one would be his housekeeper; the neighbours 'did for' the poor children. In ten days Dick's patience was exhausted. Off he walked to the union workhouse, got admission on some pretext to the women's ward, and gave out that he wanted a wife and wouldn't go till he had got one. An eager crowd of females offered themselves. He picked out the prettiest. 'What's your name?' 'Polly Beck.' 'How many children?' 'Three!' 'Who's the father?' 'Don't know! I had two by Jack the butcher, they died, and he took up with a Norman—many blessings on her! T'other three ain't so very big.' In less than an hour Dick, Polly, and the three little ones marched out together happily. At the registrar's office, within a month, Polly became Mrs. Styles, and turned out not such a bad wife. For Dick was *only* a drunkard, and she was an audacious, high-spirited little woman, who, with all her faults, had a knack of making the best of a bad bargain. When she was confined with her fourth child by Mr. Styles, she and the child would certainly have died of cold if we had not provided blankets and the barest necessities in that bitter winter.

Of course my readers will say I'm romancing. People never believe you when you tell them the simple truth. 'No! no! Jack, you can't take in your old granny that way,' said the old woman to the sailor boy. 'Mermaids and sea-serpeants, and sich, I *have* heerd tell on; but *flying fish*—No! no! no! Jack, that's *too much*!'

The point in this case, however, is that Dick took his day's wages with the most saint-like man in the parish—if such a man there was. If he chose to spend them in beer that would make a London drayman thin in four-and-twenty hours, that was his look-out.

A man's a man for a' that.

I never heard of an employer asking after the moral character of an agricultural labourer. I've more than once heard it given as a reason why a man should be set on a job that he had just come out of gaol, and 'he'd be on the rates soon if you were too hard on him.'

If the towns draw young men away from the country by the old lures which always have had a fascination for the rustic; the great promises held out by far-distant lands invite others by the hopes they present of brilliant prospects for the adventurous. But it is noticeable that emigration is very much less in fashion than it used to be. Indeed, it is not always prudent to suggest the advisability of going abroad. In Arcady people are often very indignant indeed at being advised to emigrate. 'What for do ye want me to be a exile? I ain't got in no *daibles*,'¹ was said to me not so very long ago by a wrathful father of a family who has a somewhat hard time of it with a prolific wife, a large appetite, and an insatiable thirst for something else than knowledge. 'I ain't a going to work like a slave out there. They none on 'em comes back. They writes home a time or two, and then we never hear no more about 'em. Fares as if they mos' of 'em goes up country, and they tell me as when they've got 'em they has to work till they drops, and then *they kangaroos eats 'em*. I ain't a-goin' to be a exile.' Where he got that melodious word from, the Muses know, not I. Explain it, how we may, it is undeniable that disinclination to emigrate is growing stronger in East Anglia. An Arcadian who has once got a house over his head and children about him is hard to move.

But are there no forces to *drive men away* from the country? That seems to me a much more serious question than the other. That our country villages are beyond compare less attractive than they used to be is one thing; but why should they be repulsive? That they have fewer attractions than the towns to the rising generation needs no proving. There is to my mind nothing more pathetic in our village life than the entire absence of healthy gaiety. In Arcady one never hears people laugh. They snigger and grin sometimes, and then turn away as if ashamed of themselves; but they never laugh. Now and then the sound of bawling and horse-play greets one as one passes the public-house, but even that is rare. Now and then there is a rough wit combat in the harvest-field, which for the most part ends in high words; but there is no laughter. The swains of modern Arcady are very, very, very grim, they are no longer laughing animals. Games among adults are as rare as stage-coaches. I do not know of a skittle-alley in Norfolk. Here and there an energetic young parson starts a cricket club, and as long as he continues to play and do all the work the thing goes on in a languid and intermittent way. If he gives it up it falls to pieces, and the young fellows do not seem to care. You may see half-a-dozen hulking young men literally sprawling in the ditch smoking

¹ I am unable to explain this word or its derivation. One frequently hears it. Sometimes it seems to mean *scrapes*, sometimes conviction by the magistrate. I have had *diableries* suggested as its source, but I never heard of a genuine Norfolk expression derived from the French.

their pipes, and sunning themselves on their stomachs in the summer evenings, doing the only thing they have any power of doing—nothing. Do you wonder if these young fellows get tired of it, and vaguely find it dull?

But look at the—what must I call them?—the places where these young fellows are born and take their meals in and sleep in—Houses?—Faugh! Houses? Why you may see whole rows of hovels in no one of which would any farmer in the parish put his nag for a single night without indignant protest—rows of hovels where there are only two rooms, one above and one below. I could point to three of these disgraceful tenements immediately contiguous to one another, in each of which, by a strange coincidence, there were lately a father, mother, and seven children all sleeping in a single room. In one case the mother produced an eighth child in the night, her only helper being her daughter, a girl of fourteen, who did her best while the father ran to fetch the midwife! You may tell me that things are worse in the towns. What if they are? Two wrongs do not make one right. I do not stop to dwell upon the fact that the wretched beings who crowd the horrible garrets in London or Liverpool are the lowest and worst of their class, and these poor villagers are often among the best. But this I do say emphatically, that there may be some excuse for this hideous crowding of human beings in the towns, there is no excuse for it in the country, where land is sold by the acre not by the square inch.

It is a great injustice to the landed gentry as a class to lay all the blame of this disgraceful state of things at their door. There may be, and there is, a great want of cottages for the labourers upon the large estates and in *some* of the close parishes, but the worst hovels are invariably owned by small proprietors; jobbers who have saved a few hundreds of pounds; village shopkeepers, whose only notion of investment is buying a few acres and running up a row of cottages by the roadside; little people in the neighbouring towns who have scraped together enough to retire upon, and who like to talk of their *tenants*. These are the owners of the worst houses, and they are precisely the people who cannot afford to improve them, and who are compelled to exact the utmost farthing of rent from the occupier. The squirearchy may have something to answer for in leaving the labourer on their estates without a house at all, but they excuse themselves for not building because they would be ashamed to run up the infamous cabins which they see elsewhere, and while times are hard they must wait for the turn—which never comes—when they will do what they can. Meanwhile the rising generation grovel in the old *cluchans*—for they are no better—and at the edge of the breezy heath, where the bees hum and the meadow-sweet's fragrance fills the air, and up above in the blue the lark hides himself in his rapture of song,

The poor are hovell'd and hustled together, each sex like swine.

As the young people grow up to manhood and womanhood, do you wonder that they find themselves *driven out* rather than *drawn away*? You who preach progress and education, and who believe in the efficacy of the one and in the promise of the other, would you seriously wish them to be content?

Closely connected with the squalor of the labourers' dwellings is another matter which must not be passed by. I refer to the distances which men have to walk to and from their work. In our Norfolk parishes, as elsewhere, the church originally was the centre of the town; it stood within easy access of all the inhabitants, the houses nestled round it, the farms were rarely a mile off. As a rule the tillers of the land were all within hail. But times have changed, and now it is a common sight to see a church in Norfolk standing gaunt and lonely, with not a house within a mile of it.²

The labourers in such places live at the very edge of the parish on little strips of land that have been stolen from the common fields generations back, and so been lost to the manor. In a hundred instances the title to these insignificant estates would be found very defective, but the *holding title* serves the present possessor's purpose, and as long as he can cling to his ownership he need not fear disturbance. I know one parish where seven-tenths of the inhabitants live in houses built on strips of waste which have been appropriated in former times. In one instance a row of five cottages, belonging now to a small publican, has been erected, and the land stolen almost in the memory of living men. The consequence of this displacement of domicile and of the absence of home accommodation attached to the several farms, is that the number of miles walked by a labourer in the course of a year is sometimes startling.

'You don't seem to have any place for your cowman to live in,' I said inquiringly the other day to a good old farmer of the old sort, who has long passed his threescore years and ten, and whose household consists of himself, an aged sister, and a maiden aunt. 'No!' he replied, gaily. 'Some folks would think it a lonesome sort of a place; but we're used to it, you see. No; my cowkeeper he comes from B——, a little better than three miles off, but my horsekeeper,' he added, with sprightly cheerfulness, 'he don't live so far not by a great deal, he don't live—well!—I should think, not so very much more than two miles and a half!'

And this, observe, every day of their lives. The one walked six miles and the other five, or respectively 2,290 and 1,825 miles in the course of a twelvemonth. In another case, much worse than this, where a father and son worked at the same farm together, I

² There was actually one instance of a church not four miles from Norwich which had its lead stripped off in broad daylight some twenty years ago by a gang of thieves, who came with a cart and carried off their plunder, and, I believe, were never caught.

calculated that in less than five years the aggregate number of miles covered by the two in merely walking to and from their work would reach round the world. Think of the waste of énergy, of muscular tissue, of nerve force, of actual time taken out of what the employer bargains for or the employed has to give. Think of the weary shambling through the mud and rain and blinding sleet and snow, of the wet clothes and the soaked dinner in the basket, and the dreary, pounding back at night in the dark, to find the baby sick and the doctor having to be fetched, and the roof overhead letting in the steady drip, drip, drip, when the poor sleeper lays himself down at last. Aye, one naturally thinks of these things, but who thinks of the cost of shoe-leather? Say two thousand miles only in the year—who pays for that? Would our experience of such a life as this, though we were as used to it as the eels were to being skinned, help to make many of us love the romance of the thing, or would it drive most of us away when we had a chance to ‘fresh woods and pastures new’?

O dura meorum ilia!

I may be asked—as I often have been asked—‘If these things are so, how is it that any labourers stay in the villages at all? Who *do* stay?’

The reply to that has to do with the point in dispute between Sir James Caird and Mr. Shaw Lefevre. Sir James denies that the agricultural labourers have deteriorated. He speaks as an authority on such matters, and he speaks, I presume, on much wider induction than I can pretend to have made. But if in the last thirty years the agricultural labourers in East Anglia have *not* deteriorated, then the commonly received belief in the connection between cause and effect must be a delusion.

From the parish in which I write thirty-one sons of the soil have been enrolled as London policemen in thirty years. What does that mean? It means that these young men, who were the very pick of the parish—men not only of splendid physique but of approved character; men above the average in intelligence and education, have been taken from us never to return. Why should they return? They will be fathers of families elsewhere, and their sturdy sons will push their way, but not in the country village at the plough’s tail. During these same thirty years the men who have emigrated across the seas have in all cases been the men of enterprise, intelligence, and sobriety. America does not want and will not have paupers and ragamuffins. We retain the sediment; the vicious, the immoral, the men whose character is not above suspicion, the sickly, the depraved, the dissipated and profligate, the roughs who would have been poachers in the days when poaching paid. The old men who are getting a little past work in Arcady are as different a race from the young men who now pass for able-bodied labourers—as

different as a German is from a Hottentot. They are perfectly careless—that is, they literally *care for nothing*; they have no object to live for—the only sentiment you can arouse in them is anger against some real or imagined wrong. Then they seek passionately for a victim, and their hatred once raised they never forgive. The rising generation of Arcadians are in a far more dangerous and inflammable condition than the world outside has any suspicion of. ‘Daniel, what do you like best in all the world?’ I said to a youth of nineteen, who has taken to rowdyism only because his leisure time hung heavily on his hands. He stared at me vacantly, sniggered, hesitated, then he answered frankly, ‘I dunno what yer main. I ain’t no call to like things, hev I?’ ‘Well, but I suppose there are some *people* you like, aren’t there? You must like *somebody*, don’t you?’ He spate upon the ground as Arcadians are wont to do in a difficulty. ‘I dunno as no one ha’ done anythin’ for me as I should loik ‘em for? There’s lots on ‘em as don’t loik me particler, and there’s lots on ‘em as I shouldn’t moind where they went to. I ain’t a-goin’ to loik them as don’t loik me!’ It was a dreadful answer, and, as I walked away, I asked myself, Have these young fellows got to disbelieve altogether in Love?

Some of the strongest and adventurous among our Arcadians seek employment, and find it during the autumn and winter months, at the great maltheuses of Messrs. Tenor, Treble, & Co., in Beertown. They have a bad reputation for coarseness and rowdyism, and they live in a sort of barrack, where they keep to themselves, and are shunned by the more respectable of the permanent *employés*. They are all unmarried, and when the malting season is over they are taken away in masses by special train and sent back to the far East. These men are a rough lot, but they are not by any means our worst summer labourers. When they return in the spring they return with more knowledge of the world than they took with them; they are more good-humoured, more *reasonable*, less sullen than the stay-at-homes; and, above all, they are not afraid of work, though they are roamers. There is nothing more conspicuous or more to be deplored in the change that has come over our Arcady than in the way in which men and women denounce hard work as almost the greatest of evils. The reluctance to face toil and sustained exertion is, I am persuaded, one of the most powerful deterrents to those who otherwise would be glad enough to go to ‘furrin parts.’ ‘What’s the use o’ my goin’ to ‘Meriky if I got to work as I done here? Whoi, they make you work all day long, folks tell me, same as my father used to work. I mean to say as no man hadn’t ought to work like that! Wittles? Oh ah! That ain’t all! Yow mind them wittles as you brought me in the basket, time as I was so bad? “Bless the Lord!” ses I, “I’ll hev a belly full!” Now you’ll hardly credit it, but I laid and cried that night cos I *culdn’t*, no, I raily *culdn’t* swaller it all—I had to wait

till next morning—sure as you're a-sittin' there. Well, and that's what I'm a-thinkin'. What's the use of your hev'in' a heap of wittles and you that tired as you ain't no stomach for 'em?'

I am fain here to make a digression, for I do not think any one could appreciate the force of Abram Gaunt's remarks who did not know the astonishing powers of digestion possessed by some Arcadians, the incredible bulk of food that they will make away with at a sitting, and the pride they sometimes take in the consumption of mere mass. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Aylsham lived a certain Jerry Eke, whose appetite was said to be superhuman, and whose prowess at harvest suppers was the boast and wonder and envy of the villagers round. It came to pass that at a farmers' market dinner the talk turfed upon Mr. Eke's performances, when some one present protested that what had been narrated was impossible. 'Impossible!' said another. 'I'll bet you five pounds Jerry Eke will eat a calf at a sitting.' The wager was taken, and the preliminaries were arranged. The calf—let us hope only a baby calf—was killed; the bones were cut out, the flesh was chopped into minute particles, and apportioned into seventeen enormous *pasties*, whose outer crust was a thin film of batter made lovely and tempting to every sense, but carefully kept from any ingredients that could cloy the palate. Jerry was called in, he having agreed to the wager with evident delight, and was told he might fall to. He did so, and steadily gorged. He had made no difficulty of the first nine pasties, but when a tenth was brought in he seemed to flag. To the horror of his backers, he sighed and looked perplexed. It was but for a moment; he desired only to expostulate. 'I say, Mas'r, I ain't got nothing to say agin them *poys*, I loik 'em amazin'; but I'm a-thinkin' et's abaywt time as I should *begin upon that ther calf!*'

Abram Gaunt would have been glad enough to 'begin upon that ther calf,' but not even the bribe of a bullock would have reconciled him to the prospect of having to work ten hours a day for it.

With the increasing dislike to labour and the increasing want of any pride or indeed any interest in their work, there is among our Arcadians a growing envy of every one who may be supposed to belong to the leisure classes, or to be in the enjoyment of private property. The agitation for disendowment of the Church, when it is addressed to the labourers, never pretends to be concerned with religious convictions. The agitators have discovered that as between the Meeting-house and the Church the two may fight it out till doomsday; but the labourer will take less interest in the issue than he would in a dog fight. The chapels, unhappily, are at least as empty as the churches. The Meetings may succeed in laughing or sneering the young men away from the one, but they are powerless to draw him to the other. 'I hope you go to chapel, John,' said I to a shaggy sot one day 'What for should I go to chapel?' he asked with some

fierceness. 'Why? Because you never come to church; and I'd ten times rather see you go to chapel than go nowhere, man.' 'Ah! Would you? but I wouldn't, and that's jest where it is. Go to chapel? Whoi, they ain't no better than other folk as stays away. I'd as lief go to church as there—aye, and liefer—that I would!'

I have never once heard an Arcadian of any grade—high or low—however blatant his tirades against the Church might be, however unmeasured his language, however ferocious the cruelty of hate with which he seemed to hurl himself body and soul against the parsons—I say I have never once heard such an one even suggest what might be done with the tithes if they were confiscated or with the glebe lands if they were taken away from their present owners. The cry is simply the cry of the leveller and the Nihilist. It is 'Down with them! down with them, even to the ground!' The farmers, as a class, see more and more clearly every year that spoliation could not help them. 'How can you explain it, sir?' said one of them to me the other day, 'that the people who talk so much against the tithes are *the people who don't pay them*?' 'If they should take the tithes away,' said another, 'they'd better by half hand 'em over to the landlords at once and have done with it. If there were no clergy we should not be a penny the better, and I reckon we should want 'em back again before they'd been gone very long.'

I do not for a moment believe that the feeling against the clergy which the demagogues have done so much to stir up in some quarters has anything at all to do with convictions remotely resembling religious scruples. It is simply and entirely the expression of intense dislike at the existence of any social inequalities. It is the mere revolt against any upper class by members of the lower. The farmer who holds a thousand acres, and so is reckoned a gentleman, is not a whit more popular than the parson. Nor would the gentry escape the outspoken hatred of the labourer, but that they are so few in number and now so seldom reside upon their estates. But the swains of Arcady have no love for the landlords. 'Thet du hull-ly pet me aywt, thet du!' said a scowling hedger to a friend of mine a year or two ago. He was following with his fiery eye the carriage of Lady S——, who with a friend had just driven by. 'What puts you out, David?' said the other. 'What? Whoi, hayw thet should tyake tew men and tew harses to cyart they two women abaywt.' The brutal coarseness of the fellow was all the more shocking because the lady who had just passed had been, and is, and always will be, emphatically a generous friend of the poor, and was proverbial for her delicate tact and gracious courtesy. .

This is by no means the only instance that has come under my notice of an ominous hatred of 'carriage folks' which is smouldering among the labourers. 'What call ha' he got for tew harses? He ain't no better nor we. His father were on'y a labouring man same

as my husband.'—'My good woman, wouldn't you be proud enough if your husband, by his own industry, and character, and cleverness, could ride in *his* carriage, and take you along with him?' She turned on me savagely. 'You know well enough as *he'll* never du that, or you wuldn't ast me. Ridin' in a dickey cart's enow for him and me. We don't hold wi' ridin' abaywt in carr'ges!' In another case reported to me the schoolmaster of a large parish, a highly respectable man, gave dire offence and was hooted at by the labourers because he set up a pony gig. 'Ah! There he go a ridin' abaywt like a getleman. Goo along wi' you!'

It may be said that all this sullen discontent, this surrender of themselves to hatred and passion, always was characteristic of the peasantry whenever they found leaders who appealed to the bad in them, and wanted to use them for their own purposes. Of course, it must always be the case that the countryman is moved rather by passion than reason, and that if you are to get at him at all you must 'give it him hot and strong.' In Arcady not one man in a thousand can argue on the simplest question for ten minutes, but not one in a hundred thousand can follow another's argument for ten seconds. The poor fellows are the dupes of the shallowest rhetoric, but Logic they can no more understand than they can understand the Differential Calculus.

'Ah! You shud ha' heerd him a-goin' on last night; him as the teetotal gentlemen from London sent daywn as our depytation. Lor', thet were surprisin'!' The speaker was a dear old ranting preacher, a great friend of mine. 'Well, Tack, what did he say?' 'Say? Bless the Lord! he had 'em abaywt Timothy! "You tell me," ses he, "as Paul wrote that ther letter to Timothy, as Timothy was to take to wine bibbing. Nayw, let any man," ses he, "prove to me as Timothy minded what Paul said, and I'll ha' no more pledges. Ah!" ses he, "I gnaw what Timothy did. He read that there letter and he says, same as I shud—What, me take to drinking? I aint a-going to ducit, not for a thaywsand Pauls I ain't. Timothy war a man, he war—he took that there letter and he hull'd it away from him!"'

This is the kind of stuff that takes the rustic by storm. 'It's war we're in, not politics,' and the agitator understands the prudence of carrying on that war in the enemy's country and the wisdom of 'blackguarding the other side.' Reason and argument?—He leaves such processes to those who believe in them; his appeals are to passion and prejudice. 'Give me the making of a nation's songs, and I care but little who makes their laws,' was a saying of one who did his work in his day. But the mob orator says, 'Give me the stomach and gall of the labourers to work upon, and let who will try to stir their brains and their heart!'

Till lately, though the Arcadian might be never so moved by anger or resentment, sentiment always afforded some little corrective to passion; there was a soft place in him somewhere, if you

could only find it. Alas! sentiment in the labourer of our time has gone sound asleep, and you cannot wake it. If I believed it was dead—utterly slain—I should indeed despair. Meanwhile, the blackest cloud that darkens Arcadia's sky is the growing heartlessness.

'We're a-goin' to get our tithes back, we are!' said a poor knock-kneed cripple, with a venomous chuckle; 'and when we've got 'em we don't want no Chu'ch parsons 'mong us.' 'Hush, ye fule!' cried a poor woman who had just lost her baby. 'Hush!' she cried, choking down a sob; 'who'll bury us all then?' 'Who wants to be buried?' was the cruel retort. 'When yow ha' got another baby to bury, yow jest put him in the gardin; yow wönt ha' so fur to go to look at his grev then!' The poor mother's heart was too sad to answer, and she moved off, silently weeping.

The townsman is quite hard enough, quite callous enough, quite ready enough with his sneers; he, too, has his strong antipathies and his strong prejudices, but he has his *tastes* too; he has resources, he has begun to employ his leisure time intelligently; he is incomparably more *rational* than the agricultural labourer; he is incomparably more orderly, more disciplined, higher in the scale; and if he be led astray, he is so by sophistry rather than by declamation. Slander and impudent scurrility in the towns must be veiled under at least some pretence of specious argument.

'But has education done nothing for you; is it doing nothing?' I am often asked. Education has done a great deal and is doing a great deal; but it is not teaching our peasantry to be content with their surroundings, or to love the bliss of Arcady. The improvement in the look of the children in my memory is wonderful, especially in the girls, who stay a year or two longer at school than the boys do, and, as I have remarked elsewhere, their speech and the great increase in their vocabulary are indications that the schoolmaster has not been idle or his labour vain; but when you have said that, you have said all. The elementary education afforded in our village schools is, at the best, a useful method of keeping children amused for so many hours a day, and getting them in the way of *working out* puzzles. By far the most profitable—financially profitable—subject which a school can take up for the annual examination on the results of which the very existence of most of our schools depends, is the subject of Grammar. By far the least popular—because of least *paying*—subject is History. I am not the man to speak with disrespect of grammar. I have myself been guilty of the wickedness of publishing an elementary book on Greek Accidence, and, of course, I hold it to be beyond compare the best book on the subject extant. But to teach grammar as an abstract science, to torture little ploughboys with subject and object, predicate and epithet,

Till over the adverbs they fall asleep
And parse away in a dream;

to possess them with the horrid conviction that grammar is not a means to an end, but the end itself—that seems to me about as wise as if a man should boil his spade and eat it, because under certain circumstances that spade may be used to dig up a potato.

I once caught some melancholy children at a certain elementary school engaged in a grammar lesson, and, shocked at the morne and sombre aspect of affairs, I desperately interpolated an altogether extraneous question.

‘Little girl—*that’s* all right—but what do you know of Admiral Nelson?’

‘Please, sir, we only do nouns and adjectives,’ was the prompt reply. ‘We have not got into verbs!’

I thought of Humpty Dumpty’s profound remark—‘They’ve a temper, some of them—particularly verbs, they’re the proudest—adjectives you can do anything with, but not verbs!’

Education is a patient creature, but you may overload even a camel, and we are giving our new beast of burden that we are so very proud of, a trifle too much to carry; while, as for pace, we are in danger of trotting him off his legs. I can only speak for myself, that if I had been worried in my infancy with everlasting explanations of *how* things were done, and never allowed unintelligently and unscientifically to learn that things *were*, I am satisfied that long before I had reached my teens I should have gone stark, staring, raving mad.

The bright-eyed little mite who objected to Admiral Nelson as a verb actually lived within a stone’s throw of a house which belonged to Nelson’s father, and in which some believe that the Norfolk hero was born; but My Lords encourage adverbs and discourage admirals. The past and all its glories, its splendid lessons, its solemn warnings, those grand old tales that make the veriest sluggard’s heart’s blood tingle as he reads—Let them go! this is a scientific age. *Vive la grammairre!* ‘If I were to draw up a history of my parish in words of not more than three syllables and to weave in a number of interesting facts about the general history of England, and tell them little stories to make their little flesh creep, would My Lords let it pass as a reading book?’ I asked of an authority. ‘N—n—no! I don’t think they would,’ was the cautious answer. ‘Because you see, &c., &c., &c.’—I was too crushed to give due attention to the rest.

I am no pessimist; ‘my faith is large in time and that which brings it to some perfect end;’ but I cannot shut my eyes to facts, and the immediate future of our agricultural population seems to me to be gloomy. There are clouds over Arcady. The rustics are not happy; they are sullen, discontented, averse to labour; they are on the alert for any grievance, they are ready for any form of rowdyism; they have no love, but quite the reverse, for those who are only anxious to

serve them; they have lost all belief in kindness or disinterested motives; they disdain to submit to such restraints as religion has a tendency to impose: There has been, and there is, a constant drain of the best men from the villages to the towns. Physically and morally, a steady deterioration in the quality of our Arcadian swains has been and is going on. All this is undeniable. It is deplorable, it is menacing. Is it irremediable?

In our efforts to minimise the vice or the sorrow of the masses—to ameliorate their condition or to raise their tone—three methods may be resorted to. (i.) We may demand of the Legislature that it should add more pages to the statute-book and make people happy and virtuous by Act of Parliament. (ii.) We may issue a telling prospectus to the monied classes and invite them to embark in a safe and tempting investment, assuring them that our schemes for promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number will yield a handsome dividend. Or (iii.) we may throw ourselves upon the generous sympathies of those who are not yet ashamed of the word philanthropy, nor even afraid of being held up to ridicule as Quixotic simpletons.

i. The deterioration in our agricultural labourers is mainly a moral deterioration, due in great measure to certain evils inseparable from the social, economic, and political changes which have gone on during the present century. Our Legislature has anxiously watched the enormous growth of the towns, and its laudable efforts to improve the condition of the townsmen have done much for them, but it has left the peasantry almost entirely out of account. Obscene language and blackguardism of the vilest description, for which the town rough would be run into a police-cell before he was five minutes older, may be indulged in by a jaunty Arcadian with absolute impunity; he may say or do almost what he pleases and where he pleases, unless you can swear that his conduct is likely to lead to a breach of the peace. Hovels which the raggedest tramp would shun, preferring to sleep in an out-of-the-way cow-house lest fever or small-pox should bring his joyous career to an abrupt close—hovels which the local board of any borough in the kingdom would condemn in a week as unfit for human habitations, are, in a thousand instances, the only places that our country people can lay their heads in; they are all the more horrible because such people quietly acquiesce in their lot and make no complaints. In the removal of this scandal the Legislature might help us, but from Acts of Parliament let us not expect too much. Let the law say plainly and say sternly, 'There are certain offences against decency and order, certain abominations whose existence imperils the well-being of the community which must be endured no longer; they must be put down!' Let authority put forth the strong arm and ruthlessly sweep away such infamous shanties as no human beings ought to be born in, ought to live in, ought to die in. That being done, let the State be cautious how it attempts more. When laws punish offences

and smite the offender they are acting within their province; when amateur legislators succeed in carrying out their hobbies and laws are made to force upon us this or that panacea of some crazy dreamer, what can we expect but ignominious failures? The State may fairly be called upon to say 'Some things are *not* to be, and some things are *not* to be done!' But when helpless idiots scream out hysterically 'Something *must* be done!' the wise ruler of a great nation must have the courage to answer, 'Then you'd better find out what that something is—and do it!'

ii. 'My dear sir, I am the medical officer of this district, and you have only to report to me that any cottages in your parish are overcrowded and it will become my duty to represent the matter at headquarters!' So spake the worthy doctor to a Suffolk vicar last year who was gnashing his teeth in impotent rage. 'Thank you for nothing!' he answered. 'It will not hurt *you* if I bring a hornet's nest about *my* ears, but it will do no more good than if I complained to the President of the United States. Moreover, if it were conceivable that your precious head-quarters would or could shut up every house in this place that is unfit for human habitation, the land would go out of cultivation!'

My young friend is a good young man, and I'd rather see him gnash his teeth than contentedly console himself with lawn tennis when the devil and man have gone into partnership outside his gate; but he was wrong in thinking that if you forbade people to live in third-rate pigstyes you'd throw the land out of cultivation. Somehow, sooner or later—and perhaps later—the land would be better tilled than it is, and by very much better tillers.

Would the capitalist help us out of our difficulties? To some extent I think he would. The small people who buy cottage-property expect to get seven per cent. for their money, *and they get it*. When any substantial repairs are absolutely necessary—when, for instance, a roof falls in, or a row of tenements is getting dangerous—when a house is vacated and nobody has the courage to take it till the winter is well over, then the wretched landlord is at his wits' end, and if he be deep in the lawyer's books the property comes to the hammer. It is, of course, sold at a loss, and the new purchaser getting it cheap lays out a little money, and the old state of things begins again. The last man gets a good return, and the value of the estate is increased, but he, like his predecessor, looks to make all he can out of it. After him the deluge; but in the meantime there is his harvest to gather. This cottage-property is always coming into the market, and always procurable. If the law insisted on a minimum of cubic feet for agricultural dwellings as it does for town dwellings, there would be a terrible scare among the small proprietors, and the capitalist would have his chance. Could he hope to get a magnificent return for his money? No! He might construct decent habitations

for a little over a hundred pounds apiece, and give them each a plot of garden ground, and easily find tenants at 6% a year. But when all outgoings were paid, taking one year with another, he might clear three per cent. on his outlay, but he must not expect more. On the other hand, he could always realise with very little difficulty, and if the property were prudently managed, its marketable value would not greatly diminish. Nevertheless, in our country villages it is just as well that at the outset we should understand that house property is never likely to pay the speculator, or to yield returns to satisfy the monied classes.

iii. But if from the State or the financiers—Mr. Byends and Mr. Worldlywiseman—not much is to be expected, is there no hope anywhere, and must things be allowed to drift away, God knows whither?

It was not the State or the capitalists that filled the land with churches and chapels, that took the lead in educating the people, that gave us our hospitals and refuges and homes for the sick and the fallen, the stricken and the sad. No, it was not the State, whose functions almost cease with the repression of crime and the enforcing of order and the protection of the community; it was not the capitalist, prudently reminding us that business is business, and with an eye turned to the balance-sheet; it was Christian Charity, her lips a-tremble with an irrepressible compassion, in her eye the dew of perplexing tears, her step, it may be a little uncertain as she went on her way, faltering sometimes and sometimes missing the right road—it was Christian Charity, plucking by the sleeve this man and that, and thrilling the hearts of them with her foolish cry—‘Oh, think of the sorrow and suffering and blindness, and all the wrong, and for pity’s sake, come with me and help!’ It was Christian Charity that made the world better and happier, ever since the first dawn of progress—she is doing it now, she must do it again.

What is it that wants doing? Much more, then, may yet be touched on; but first and foremost stands the pressing need of housing our peasantry. As a preliminary to anything else that may be feasible this should be looked to. Peasant-proprietorship may be dismissed as a Utopian dream, but dwellings where comfort and cleanliness, and decency and self-respect, might at least be possible, are within the region of the attainable, and until they are attained I see no escape from the degradation which has set in, no hope for the future.

How is the work to be done? In the way that everything has been done which has to any great extent advanced the moral, intellectual, or physical welfare and progress of the masses in town or country—by the generous efforts and noble sacrifices of those who have money to spend and do not grudge to spend it on others than themselves. Never mind if cunning scoundrels make their account

of your soft-heartedness. Never mind if some benefit largely who may be to blame for the very evils that call for remedy. Never mind if the philosophers tell you that you are tilting against the laws of political economy. Never mind if you meet with scant gratitude. Here is an infamous blot upon our boasted civilisation, which, for very shame, if for no better reason, we are called to wipe out. Other things may wait, this cannot wait much longer.

‘Why, the man is going in for a new benevolent society!’ Is he? Why don’t you say he’s going to start a new bazaar?

To tell the truth, I have very little faith in big societies—the mastodons and mammoths of philanthropy. You may easily make your Nasmyth hammer a size too large, and I for one am no advocate for the employment of a vast machinery when personal effort is needed and personal sacrifices have to be made and personal interest must be enlisted, and when the nature of the work to be carried on is such that no rules can be safely laid down, and each case would have to be dealt with on its merits. This, at any rate, I see plainly, that the little rookeries in our open parishes are a blighting curse, and that as long as they are borne with the agricultural labourer *must* be kept down, he must sink from bad to worse. And further, I see no other way of dealing with the evil than by buying up the squalid hovels as they come into the market, and in their place offering to their much-enduring occupants that which they have never had—a home.

A crusade like this, to win back, not a Holy Sepulchre, but dwelling places for living men, is not one that is to be carried on after the fashion so long in vogue—guinea subscriptions and collecting cards, annual meetings of members with a noble chairman ‘urging the claims of our society,’ touting and trumpeting, and all the petty fiddle-faddle that is growing so stale. Cannot we do without them in this instance? Why should not a dozen people say simply, ‘We are ready with a thousand pounds, or two, or three, when you can show us, or any one of us, that by the expenditure of so much money we can confer a real and permanent benefit upon a neighbourhood; acting upon such suggestions as, presumably, you are in a favourable position to offer. The responsibility and the trouble must be yours, the funds are ours and shall be ready at demand. As to the details, we will look into them when the fitting moment shall arrive?’ Why should not twenty people elsewhere say the same, or something like it? There is no need of a gigantic organisation, still less of uniformity in the mode of carrying out the object attempted. ‘Despise not the day of small things.’ Let that be your motto, and *solvitur ambulando* the principle which you adopt at starting. Mistakes will be made, disappointments will be experienced, hostile criticism will be ready with its venom; the gentlemen who have failed in literature, they with the itching fingers and the hard-nibbed

pens, will be busy with their clumsy ridicule and their captious sneers, but it will not be long before, in many a country village where the despairing parson—that moral policeman whose rôle is not yet quite played out—is devouring his heart, and knows that he can no more stem the downward current that is setting all one way than he could breast Niagara—there will be seen the smiling homes and happy faces that have not been known there for many a long day, and more will have been done to raise the poor people out of their slough of despond than all the teachers and preachers in Christendom could effect in a millennium, who should tamely acquiesce in the present condition of affairs and lay the flattering unction to their souls that it is no business of theirs.

The clouds have gathered in Arcady's horizon—they are piled there cumulous and dark—shall they clear?

ARGUSTUS JESSOPP.

THE POLITICS OF LITERATURE.

A DIALOGUE.

Brooks. Middleway, I am afraid we are boring you.

Middleway. Not in the least, my dear fellow. Disputes like yours are most refreshing to me: they seem to provide such a complete answer to all complaints of the excessive preoccupation of the age. Everything is to be hoped for a community in which men find time and taste for such serious frivolities as this discussion of yours.

Carlton. Frivolity or not, you must allow that it is an interesting subject of speculation.

M. Interesting? It possesses every quality which lends charm to controversy. You start upon it without either data or definitions, thereby saving a tedious preliminary wrangle about the meaning of terms; and the dispute itself can leave no bad blood behind it, because it is impossible, in the nature of things, for either of you to obtain the slightest advantage over the other.

B. There I don't at all agree with you.

C. Nor I.

M. I dare say not. But you would have a better chance of persuading me that one of you is getting the better of the other if you could satisfy me that you have ever come to blows at all.

C. How do you mean?

M. Well, I may be mistaken; but your controversy certainly reminds me of the proverbial battle between the dog and the fish. You, Carlton, keep barking out statistics, while Brooks is lashing his tail nobly in a stream of generalities.

C. I don't see it. Brooks maintains that Liberalism is the natural politics of a man of letters; and as the best way of overthrowing the assertion, I enumerate a long list——

B. A long list, you call it?

C. Yes; I say a long list of distinguished literary men whose way of thinking is profoundly Conservative.

M. Yes; and then Brooks sets up the overthrown assertion on its legs again, and *da capo*. For of course some half-a-dozen distinguished literary men can no more prove the natural tendency of literature

towards Conservatism than Brooks's intuitive conclusions prove its affinity with his own political creed.

B. What is your own opinion on the point?

M. On which point? I have already told you that you seem to me to be debating two. You, Carlton would like me to agree with you, that the most eminent men of letters of the day—a body numbering, let us say, about a dozen all told—happen at the moment to lean to Conservative opinions. Brooks, on the other hand, wants me to say that the literary occupation, and the habit of mind which it presupposes, or begets and strengthens, tend to make Liberals of those who follow the one and share the other. I see nothing to prevent my agreeing with both of you; but to do so, though gratifying to my feelings, would be of no great assistance to the settlement of your dispute.

C. Very well then. I will waive my own contention, and join issue with Brooks on his own terms. I deny that the natural tendency of literature is towards Liberalism, and I affirm that the contrary is the truth. Now what do you say?

M. I say, first, that I should like to know what you mean by literature. How do you define a literary man?

C. Well, it will be sufficient for my purpose to define him as a man whose sole, or at any rate chief, occupation is that of writing.

M. Observe the inexactitude of the Conservative mind. Why that would serve for the definition of a secretary, of a clerk, of a shorthand reporter, of a transcriber in a Government office. A little more precision, please. Writing what?

C. What? Oh, anything which involves independent thought and original composition. Novels, poems, essays, biographies.

M. Political 'leaders'? Do you include journalists?

C. Oh no.

B. Certainly not.

M. Wonderful unanimity! But not very complimentary, perhaps, to the rejected of both parties. You don't think, then, that the journalist has any 'natural' politics?

B. Why of course not, my dear Middleway. Or, if he has, he cures himself of them, as he does of other unprofessional habits. You might as well talk of the 'natural' views of a barrister on a question of law. The business of the journalist is advocacy.

M. I like your frankness. His political tendencies, you mean, are those of his clients, and his clients are the proprietors of newspapers.

B. I don't quite say that.

M. No; you are too polite to say it. But you are too intelligent not to mean it. Let us pass the journalists. Is a historian a man of letters?

B. In one sense, of course, he is—in the highest sense, perhaps: but for the purposes of this discussion I think he ought to be excluded.

M. In the name of wonder, why ?

B. Because he is a student of political phenomena first and a literary man afterwards. The view which he takes of contemporary politics will be determined by the political philosophy which he has constructed from his researches into, and his reflections upon, the politics of the past.

M. But what of that ?

B. Well, in that case, his political prepossessions, whatever they are, will have a political, and not a literary, origin. If he is a Liberal or a Conservative in contemporary politics, it will be simply because he is a Liberal or a Conservative historian.

A. Always supposing, you mean, that the process has not been reversed, and that he is not merely a politician who has taken to styling his political pamphlets—

M. The 'history of his own times' ? Yes ; Brooks, I am sure, will be magnanimous enough to exclude that variety of Liberal historian also.

B. I am willing to exclude all varieties. If the historian *began* as a party politician, the case of course is simple. But even if he only *ends* as a party politician, his opinions, I say, will have had a political, and not a literary, origin. He will be a Liberal or a Conservative simply because inquiry and thought, as applied to bygone events, have convinced him that Liberalism or Conservatism furnishes, on the whole, the safer standpoint from which to judge the events and movements of the time. And a political creed of that sort has no connection whatever with the literary 'ethos' as such.

M. Oh, then your conception of literature excludes the ideas of thought and inquiry ?

B. That is good enough, as 'chaff,' but of course you know very well what I mean. I will put it this way. The politics of a historian have no more to do with his being a man of letters than have the politics of a professional politician who may happen to be a man of letters also. You would not say, for instance, that Burke's Whiggery, or his Old Whiggery either, was a result of the literary habit.

M. Indeed I should. Your illustration is most unfortunate. Burke I consider a typical example of the politician whose politics are formed in the study. But never mind. Let us pass the historian too. We have now dismissed one set of literary men as having no natural bias in politics, and another set as having no bias derived from the literary profession. Let us go a little further. Scientific men, I suppose, you would certainly exclude ?

B. H'm, yes ; though it would be to my interest to include them.

C. Eh ?

B. What ? You dispute that ?

C. Dispute it ! You surely haven't the effrontery to maintain that Science is Liberal ?

B. Why, how could she possibly ally herself with the party of theological bigotry?

C. That is not confined to either party. •

B. Perhaps not; but I think I remember a certain famous discussion in which your side had the best of it, both in votes and prejudices.

C. You are hugely mistaken if you imagine that Science ever troubled her head about *that* dispute. Science, in these times, is eminently respectable, and Mr. Bradlaugh's cause was eminently the reverse. Scientific men don't want to run a-muck against religion, Tom Paine fashion, nowadays. They are quite content to keep to their laboratories and lecture-rooms, and leave you alone, if you will only let them alone. But that is exactly what you Liberals won't consent to do. You are perpetually worrying them, and they detest you in consequence.

B. What! merely because we object to give them the absolute rights which they claim over the lower animals, and indeed—if we may couple mental anguish with physical torture—over the whole sentient world? If they detest those who would simply——

M. Forgive me, my dear Brooks, for recalling you to the point. The question is not whether men of science ought to be disgusted with contemporary literature, but whether they are. And on that point I confess I think Carlton is in the right. The estrangement between you appears to me complete.

B. Oh, impossible! You have been both of you misled by a few sallies of petulant savants, or a few ineptitudes of the scientific prig. As the common friends of progress, science and literature *must* be in accord.

M. Oh, of course. Two friends of a word are bound to love each other—specially when it is a word which each interprets differently. It reminds one of those sudden and mistaken salutations of social life. 'I think you know Mr. So-and-So.' 'To be sure. Delighted to have met you.' You shake hands warmly, and half an hour afterwards you find that the friend of your new-made acquaintance is not your own friend, but a highly objectionable namesake of his.

B. Nonsense! That is not at all the case here. Our Conservative critics may make their minds perfectly easy on that score. Literature and science thoroughly understand each other, and whatever transitory and superficial difference may divide them, you may take my word for it that they are the best of friends.

M. Theoretically, perhaps; but practically? Liberalism in the abstract is devoted to the cause of science; but unfortunately there seems to be always something which the concrete Liberal prefers to her interests. Now it is a rabbit; now a baby sickening for the small-pox in a crowded district; now the Doll Tearsheet of a garrison

town. What value do you suppose a man of science can attach to the friendship of men who are continually sacrificing the fruits of his labours and the blessings of his discoveries to crotchets of their own?

B. The divergence of paths is only temporary. The man of science has gone astray, as the mere student will. Absorbed in his own ideals, he has lost touch of considerations to which the man of action and affairs is naturally alive. We shall recall him in time to a juster appreciation of those rights of others which he is now disposed to ignore.

C. And you think that that is the only note of discord between Liberalism and science. You think that if what Middleway calls the 'rabbit' difficulty could be settled, together with the other two which he mentioned, there would be nothing to hinder science and Liberalism from falling into each other's arms.

B. I don't think it—I am sure of it.

C. Sacred simplicity! What do you say, Middleway?

M. Nothing. I am waiting to hear what Brooks says.

B. And I need not wait to hear what Carlton says, because I already guess what he means. He has picked up from some pseudo-philosophic anti-Radical the argument that modern science, being simply the evangelist of evolution, must necessarily take the colour of her politics from a biological theory which is 'not democratic, but aristocratic through and through.' I think that is the way our instructors are accustomed to put it; and confess now, Carlton, wasn't that the thunder you were going to pass off as your own?

C. I was not conscious of the intention of 'passing off' anything as my own; but I had always supposed that good arguments were common property, and I certainly did propose to make use of the one you have cited. What have you to say to it?

B. Simply that it is an ingenuity of the study; that it is, on the face of it, an excogitation of the man of books, and not a reflection which has suggested itself to the man of action from his observation of practical affairs.

C. That is merely your way of putting it; but, supposing you are right, I can't see the force of your reply.

B. Can't you? I should have thought it was obvious; but I will put it in the concrete form. Some ingenious Conservative essayist or other, casting about for new arguments against the principles of Liberalism, suddenly bethinks himself of the fact which I suppose has been a commonplace for years to anybody who has ever thought about the matter—that, according to accepted scientific doctrine, the development of life on the globe has not been managed by Nature on democratic principles, but on principles very much their reverse. Elated with this brilliant *aperçu*, he immediately proceeds to argue that what is true of life in general must be true of the

human race in particular; and that scientific men must therefore be vehemently opposed to the Liberal theory of the progress and prospects of humanity. Isn't that the history of the argument?

C. No doubt it is.

B. Well, what is it worth, then? Why, in the first place, nothing can be more absurd than to call it an argument against any one political creed. It is an argument against civilisation itself. There was a time when the human species *did* develop itself by the same law of evolution as governs the lower forms of life to-day; but the then state of our race is described—by Conservatives I had imagined no less than by Liberals; but correct me if I am wrong—as barbarism. The 'aristocratic' doctrines of Nature no doubt prevailed then among us to their full extent; but the first effective protest against them was not Liberalism, but society. The social union of man was, in fact, the birth of the principle of democratic co-operation, and the death of the aristocracy of individual strength. Man parted company with the politics of Nature from that hour, and your ingenious Conservative essayist should raise his voice, not against us poor Liberals, but against the human race itself. He should look a little further back than the first Reform Bill, and attempt to conjure up the golden age of the flint. He should idealise a more genuine pre-Adamite than even Sir Charles Wetherell, and while his mind lingers fondly upon Tory 'dragons of the prime, tearing each other in the slime,' he should deplore the fatal error which was committed when man first took to walled cities and invented morality and laws.

M. Bravo Brooks! That's really a colourable imitation of eloquence. At least I have heard after-dinner speakers cheered for a less coherent and even for a less grammatical string of sentences.

B. You're very good.

M. Not at all. I feel that it is only fair to do justice to the form of your remarks, as I shall again have to comment on the irrelevance of their matter. Nothing I know is so disagreeable as sticking to the point when you are conscious of having some excellent thing to say which has nothing to do with it. But, disagreeable as it is, there is no other way of advancing the progress of a controversy, and I must really point out to you that you have not answered Carlton's argument at all.

B. Indeed? I thought I had proved that——

M. You have quite sufficiently proved that no man, whether savant or Conservative essayist, or what not, can reasonably make Liberalism responsible for principles of which the very existence of society is itself the expression. But Carlton is not concerned to dispute that. His argument, as I understand it, may be stated thus: The principles upon which Nature works when exempt from the artificial interference of man are essentially aristocratic principles.

The doctrine of the survival of the fittest is an essentially aristocratic doctrine. The law of evolution is a law of privilege. 'The weakest goes to the wall,' supplies a good rhyme to, but an ill paraphrase of, 'equality for all.' The one, in fact, is the exact antipodes of the other; and since science is engaged in the continual contemplation of the aristocratic doctrine, while Liberalism is specially devoted to the illustration and development of the democratic theory, the question is whether this does not tend to encourage—rationally or irrationally, matters not—an antagonism of tendencies between the two in their way of regarding political phenomena.

C. That's exactly the form in which I wish my argument to be stated. Thank you, Middleway.

M. Withhold your thanks a little while. I am afraid you will find I don't deserve them. But first, what do you say, Brooks, to the argument as I have just stated it?

B. Well, as I gather from your last hint that you are about to fall foul of my adversary, I withdraw my opposition. I will admit provisionally that there is, in the way you put it, a natural antagonism of political tendency between Liberalism and science. And now let us see you 'go for' Carlton.

C. I don't quite know how you can count upon that pleasure. Your surrender is my victory.

B. Is it? We shall see. I can guess the very manner of your discomfiture. If Liberal theories offend the prepossessions of science, what sort of response does Conservatism make to them? That is the question you are going to ask, I suppose, Middleway?

M. Yes; unless Carlton anticipates it with the answer, which he doesn't seem disposed to do. He has very rightly insisted that the man of science is likely to be prejudiced against democratic ideas by continual study of a principle so aristocratic as that on which Nature is accustomed to work. But now I want to hear from him why he thinks, or assumes, that the man of science is likely to be drawn towards his own party on that account?

C. Well, he would be drawn towards us, I think, in virtue of the very opposition of our principles to democratic ideas.

M. He would be attracted to you as to the representatives of the aristocratic principle you mean?

C. Yes; if you like to put it so.

M. And you consider, then, that Nature and the Conservative party interpret and apply this principle in the same way. That we have called it in each case by the common name 'aristocratic' seems enough for you. How much has language to answer for when it can betray a man of intelligence into such an absurdity as that!

C. Do you mean to say, then, that there is no analogy between the 'supremacy of the best' as it appears in nature and as it has been illustrated in political institutions?

M. Do you mean to say that what a Conservative would call 'the best' is what Nature would call 'the fittest'?

C. Why not?

B. Why not? You had better ask the House of Lords. You had better consider the patronage system in the matter of appointments. Why, the monarchical principle itself—but, however, I need not shock your courtliness by going into that. I will merely ask you whether you think an hereditary peerage represents the principle of the 'supremacy of the fittest'?

M. I have seen it argued that it does—the ingenious disputant appealing in support of his argument to the titles conferred occasionally upon the successful soldier or civil administrator, and periodically upon a certain number of able lawyers.

B. To which you replied?

M. To which I replied that the analogy was most exact and happy—for a single generation; but that, unfortunately for its further application, Nature was in the habit of conferring life peerages alone.

B. Good. What did he say to that?

M. I did not give him time to say anything. I went on to add that I would admit the force of his argument when he could show me a short-necked giraffe supported in ease and comfort by Nature in consideration of the distinguished cervical development of its ancestors. Nature, I said, appears to me to have a thorough appreciation of personal fitness, but of the hereditary variety, so familiar to politicians, she seems to have no comprehension at all. Obviously she cannot grasp the idea of an inherited aptitude for browsing the leaves of trees which your neck is too short to reach.

C. This seems to me very poor jesting.

M. I don't wonder you find it so; but you have always the resource of treating it as serious argument and attempting to answer it. Come, my dear Carlton, you cannot possibly claim the sympathy of science for Conservatism on the ground that your party represents the principle of the supremacy of the fittest. The paradox is too audacious. Conservatism and accidental privilege have been too long associated in popular language to allow you any hope of severing them.

B. Quite so; and that just brings us to the point at which, as I contend, the sympathy of Liberalism and science begins. It is Liberalism after all, and Liberalism alone, which has unshackled and given scope to the energies of the human race—thereby rendering possible the vast material progress which the race has made, and even contributing in a great measure to the splendid victories which science herself has won. She would be guilty of the worst ingratitude if she were really capable of looking coldly on her benefactor.

C. Ah! that's all very well; but understanding gratitude as a

sense of favours to come, I should like to know from which of the two parties science is most likely to receive them.

B. From ours! Not a doubt of it. There *cannot* be any permanent antagonism between the man who labours for the human race and the man who believes in the human race; nor can there ever be more than a transitory alliance between him whose life is devoted to the interests of the many, and him who has to uphold the privileges of the few. Liberalism and science have, at any rate, a common *ideal*—the advancement of mankind—an ideal which Conservatism either does not believe in or does not care for. The Liberal politician may thwart the man of science in such matters as vivisection and the repression of disease, and the two may quarrel angrily enough about it; but each knows at the bottom of his heart that his temporary opponent is equally with himself a labourer in the cause of man. They differ as to the relative importance of moral and physical factors in the sum of man's well-being, that is all. But in any difference between science and Conservatism this can never be so.

C. What a magnificent specimen of Liberal arrogance! Your party has of course a monopoly of interest in human welfare.

B. I have never said so; and it would be as absurd as to say that Haroun Al-Raschid took no interest in the welfare of his people. What I meant was that the Conservative—I mean the really thoughtful and logical Conservative as distinguished from the political speculators on, or perhaps I ought to say 'in,' the adventure of 'Tory Democracy'—does not believe in the self-directing, self-sufficing quality of the mass of mankind, or believes in it only as a possibility of some so remote future as to warrant him in treating it for immediate practical purposes as non-existent. And I say that, while the Conservative rejects this belief, both the Liberal and the man of science are fundamentally agreed in holding it.

M. What a charm there is in the discursiveness of an argument! Now, who would imagine that all this animated dispute about the tendencies of science is really episodic to the main issue? But it is, though.

C. Surely not.

M. Indeed it is. You undertook to discuss the politics of literature, or in other words the political tendencies of the literary habit, and you have branched off into a debate upon the politics of scientific men, whom Brooks at the outset declined, for the purposes of the discussion, to include in the literary class at all.

C. Well, we have disposed of most varieties of the men who employ pen, ink, and paper for the expression of their thoughts. Journalists, historians, *savants*, have been successively brought up for examination as to their politics.

M. Yes; and since the studies of mental and moral philosophy

are now treated as branches of physical science, there remains only the novelists, poets, essayists, &c., whom you first enumerated. We are reduced, in fact—if the word ‘reduced’ is not impertinent—to the *belles lettres*, which I suspect are, in popular language, pretty nearly equivalent to the word ‘literature.’

B. No doubt they are; and people are probably thinking exclusively of the poet, the novelist, the essayist, the critic, and so forth, when they talk of the politics of literary men.

C. Well, and what do you think *their* natural politics are?

B. Ah, there, at least, I can confidently meet you. For what are the qualities which in the department of literature are supreme? Are they not imagination, sympathy, sensibility?

M. You leave out sense, I see. But surely the critic should have that, even if the poet and the novelist can dispense with it.

C. Yes, and how about taste and culture, which you have also omitted?

B. Thank you, for multiplying my allies. Add taste and culture by all means. I am not afraid of them. They are on the side of our greater ideals, if they look coldly on some of our minor political claims.

M. Which being interpreted, means that Mr. Matthew Arnold is an enthusiast for social equality, if he has no sympathy with the deceased wife’s sister.

B. Exactly so.

M. Recollect, however, what an eclectic Mr. Arnold is.

C. Ay, and remember how much larger a share in the life of a political party is filled by these ‘minor claims’ as you call them, compared with the ‘greater ideals,’ or, in other words, the vague abstractions which men may accept like the theological dogma which has no influence on their lives. In what aspect, after all, must the modern Liberal politician present himself to the man of taste and culture? Surely not in the radiant if delusive semblance worn by the pioneers of the French Revolution to the English poets of the eighteenth century? Surely not as the builder of a new heaven and new earth, but rather as the mechanically-chosen exponent of the narrowest ideals of the English bourgeoisie.

B. But suppose that these ideals—

C. One moment; I am not saying that this view of English Liberalism is reasonable, but I do say that that is the aspect which it must naturally present to the eye of taste and culture:

B. I see you admire that variety of refinement which, if you will pardon the criticism, the most closely borders on vulgarity. You are the devotee of a form of ‘taste’ which is to the real article what the ‘genteel person’ is to the gentleman. Well, let us drop taste and culture. Imagination and sympathy surely do not tend to encourage that gross and swinish temperament which contentedly acquiesces in

a world of remediable misery for a bribe of meat and drink. Imagination and sympathy in their higher developments must surely tend to make men——

C. Revolutionaries? yes; Liberals, no. I can quite understand your poetic Nihilist. What I cannot see is the romance of the Caucasus.

M. I am entirely with you there, Carlton. A poet who likes to join hands with the Marxes and Krapotkins of the era may indulge his imagination to any extent. A Socialist democracy contains possibilities; its coming might be catastrophic or beneficent; but it would, at any rate, give promise of something less prosaic than the present. Now the promise of orthodox Liberalism is precisely the reverse, and however unsatisfying the present may seem to imaginative and poetic minds, I cannot conceive it save as turning with disgust from a future in which Democracy, with its vices sedulously fostered and its virtues repressed as inconvenient, is to be 'worked,' 'managed,' 'caucused,' by pushing members of the commercial capitalist class.

C. Quite so; and since imagination and feeling, since taste and culture, can find nothing to satisfy them, but rather everything to disgust them in the future foreshadowed to them by the so-called man of progress, they are naturally drawn towards that body who represent for them the beauty, the sanctity, the poetry of the past.

M. You mean, no doubt, the Society of Antiquaries.

B. Ha! ha!

C. Nonsense; I mean the Conservative party.

M. Oh, impossible! What on earth have the Conservative party to do with the past? It is true they have a sort of bowing acquaintance with it through the House of Peers, most of whom, however, are ignorant of their own pedigrees, and some of the greatest of whom are turning their historic heirlooms, as fast as may be, into current coin of the realm; but the party, as a party, is avowedly, even ostentatiously, *parvenu*. Lord Beaconsfield, they are always telling us, was their political father; they have, consequently, no political grandfather, and they are proud of it. That may be a capital way of commending themselves to the democracy; I don't say it is not; but you must take it with its consequences, and one of these is that modern Conservatism has no more appeal to romance, is not one whit less prosaic to the tips of its fingers, than modern Liberalism.

B. I thoroughly agree with you. That is, of course, I mean I agree with you that nothing can be more prosaic than modern Conservatism.

C. Well, what I should like to know is, what you really do think on the point under discussion? For hitherto you seem to me to have done nothing but amuse yourself by knocking our heads together, which is not difficult when two men are wrestling.

M. I should think, then, that an attitude of such strict, if scarcely benevolent, neutrality might explain itself. Your dispute, my good friends, is, to the best of my judgment, idle. The literary man, as such, can have no tendency either to Liberalism or Conservatism as represented by the two political parties. Neither party has anything to attract him, or rather, each has so much to repel him, that he must become an eclectic whether he will or no.

B. But never mind the parties. Surely his bias must be—every man's is—towards the *creed* of one party or towards that of the other.

M. Well, of course it must be; but that has no more to do with the practice of his calling than with the colour of his hair. It goes down to that great fundamental distinction of temperament which makes every man among us an optimist or a pessimist.

C. And which are you?

M. My dear Carlton, what an indiscreet question! To avow oneself an optimist is practically to undertake to fight all comers at all times of the day or night; to declare for pessimism is to get oneself turned out of the arena altogether and disqualified as 'unpractical.' The one creed threatens me with too much work, and the other would allow me too little. So please to understand that I am so far an optimist as to entitle no one to order me home to my study; while, if I ever talk the language of pessimism, it is, as I have done to-day, in the strictest confidence of privacy.

H. D. TRAILL.

AFTER-IMAGES.

THE following observations, which have been thrown together at intervals during the last few months, arose from the accident of a slight indisposition. Happening to be lying opposite a window with a south aspect, I amused myself by studying the effects of the after-images of the window upon the retina. To my surprise I found that the peculiar changes of colour which the images undergo after the eyes are closed followed fixed laws. My curiosity was excited, and I pursued my investigations more closely. On my recovery I searched through the works of Tyndall, Helmholtz, Dr. Thomas Young, and other writers on the theory of light and colour, in the hope of finding some record of the phenomena which had so interested me. I found none. Each of the writers I consulted glanced at the fact of the persistence of light and colour on the retina, but recorded no observations with regard to the laws by which the images so formed were regulated. My first idea, therefore, was to write a brief description of the phenomena I had observed, merely with the object of amusing unscientific readers. Being led, in pursuit of this idea, into further observations, I discovered so many curious facts which appeared to me to have a direct bearing on the physiology and psychology of human vision, that I was induced to give them more careful consideration and to investigate the subject more deeply. The results, together with certain theories which I have ventured to propound, I now record; feeling of course that it is possible, in these days of close research, that I may have been anticipated by some writer whose works it has not been my good fortune to encounter. But as independent and careful observations of natural phenomena—more especially in connection with the faculty of vision—should always be interesting, I venture to hope that the following notes may prove as attractive to others as the experiments they describe have been to me. I should add that brief references to after-images with closed eyes may be found in Helmholtz's great work on *Physiological Optics*, in Dr. Foster's *Text-Book of Physiology*, and in a few other works; but the fact that neither of them contains any detailed experiments such as I am about to describe induces me to hope that my observations may at least claim the merit of novelty.

Those who have any acquaintance with the physiology of human vision will know that the images retained on the retina, after looking steadily at strong lights, or at strongly illuminated surfaces, such as white paper in sunlight, are variously termed 'Accidental Images,' 'After-Images,' and 'Ocular Spectra.'

The first term is a complete misnomer. There is nothing that can be called accidental in connection with these images. They follow fixed laws as steadfastly as the colours of the spectrum; varying only with varying conditions, but being strictly identical under identical conditions, as I hope to show.

I think it will be desirable to take my observations to some extent in the order in which they were made, even although this plan may entail repetitions arising from after corrections. By adopting this course there will be a twofold advantage. The reader will perceive more clearly how I have arrived at my present conclusions, and it will enable others who may be inclined to pursue similar investigations to avoid my errors and to record any variations that may seem antagonistic to my theory.

On the first occasion on which I began to observe these images I was opposite a window divided into four panes by one vertical and one horizontal bar; the fastening of the window forming an object upon which to fix the eye so as to keep the window steadily upon the retina. The sun was shining through very thin white clouds. It was not within the range of vision where I sat, but its rays fell with considerable brightness upon the wall at the side of the room, the aspect being nearly south, and the time 11 A.M. I mention these details because the effects I am about to describe are, as before stated, dependent on certain conditions. I should mention also that on this first occasion the light was somewhat unusually intense for the time of year—the month of January—a fact of very considerable importance.

I looked attentively at the fastening of the window for about twenty seconds—that is, while I counted twenty very slowly. I then turned from the light and closed my eyes, covering them with my hands. I almost immediately found that the image of the window was retained on the retina, the light parts—that is, the glass panes—being of a brilliant yellow-green, and the cross bars of a deep purple tint, fringed with red.

Of course it is a thoroughly well-known fact that after gazing at any particular colour for a few seconds, and then turning the eyes to some white or grey surface, such as the ceiling, we invariably get the complementary colour, to which effect I shall have to refer later on. I was therefore surprised to find, after looking at the window, that the after-image of the sky was a yellow-green, as that colour on the above principle indicated the presence of crimson in the sky, which colour was certainly not apparent.

I continued gazing at the yellow-green image (I use the word 'gazing' for the sake of convenience, although my eyes were closed), and found that after the lapse of a few seconds the colour changed to a dull orange. This again changed to pink; the pink coming gradually over the orange in waves. The pink then deepened to a rich crimson, then to dull purple, then into neutral tint, until I thought it had faded altogether; but on this point I afterwards found I was in error.

On looking at the window again after a sufficient interval, and obtaining the image afresh, I produced some curious variations in the effect. I found that if I turned towards the light and removed my hands—of course without opening my eyes—the image immediately became negative, that is, the window became a dark neutral tint approaching to black, and the bars a brilliant red, standing out very vividly on the dark ground. The parts of the wall surrounding the window which had been in shadow were also red like the bars. In fact I had, speaking generally, a black window, on a red ground. On passing my hand over my eyes again the image immediately became positive, returning to the gradation of tint it would by this time have reached if the hand had not been removed at all. I will refer presently to what I conceive to be the cause of this.

I now fixed my eyes on the fastening of the window for about fifteen seconds, with my head in an upright position. I then inclined my head to the right and looked for another fifteen seconds, then I inclined it to the left and looked for a similar interval. On closing my eyes and covering them I became conscious of three images of the window superimposed on each other at different angles, the bars crossing each other and appearing to radiate from a centre like the spokes of a wheel. As I had anticipated, the images were of different tints, as the first and second had begun to change before the third was fixed on the retina. The difference in colour was of course only to be seen distinctly where the square angles of the images projected beyond the boundaries of the central mass. Where they were superimposed, the colours did not mingle, but the stronger one—that is, the latest impression—was predominant. In each case the bars of the window were of a dark purple; but for some occult reason, arising possibly from the more distinct vision in the centre of the retina, they lost their dark tint to some extent in the middle and assumed a blue shade. I tried now to get four different impressions of the window projected on each other at different angles; but in this case the resources of the retina—or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, one's power of perception—failed. The images, though evidently there, became too confused for definition, and the bars seemed to disappear entirely.

In another way, however, we may produce almost any number of images of the window—that is, by looking at different points on either

side of it for a sufficient interval. We may thus get a row of windows on the retina lasting for several seconds or even minutes.

At an early stage of these observations I began to suspect the true principle of these images, which I have since confirmed by repeated experiments. It is that the colour of the image is produced *not by the tint of the object we look at, but by the amount of light thrown on the retina*, either by the greater or lesser intensity of light in the object itself, or by the amount of time during which one looks at it. I have tested this theory in many ways, and always found it correct. Of course this only refers to after-images produced with the eyes closed and covered, and has nothing whatever to do with the ordinary images produced by looking at a coloured object and then looking elsewhere with the eyes open.

A few days after I made my first observations, I looked at the window on a certain morning when heavy cumulus-clouds were passing across the sky, their summits strongly illuminated by the sun and with deep grey shadows below. After gazing for a sufficient interval, I closed and covered my eyes, and obtained the following effect in the after-image. The white portions of the sky were reproduced in yellow-green, the shadowed parts in dull pink, and the clear blue sky in dull grey. I now approached the window and looked at the whole landscape. Two tall chimneys belonging to some water-works were in the distance, well defined against the lower light of the sky. I found that by looking steadily at the top of one of them for some seconds, and then producing the after-image in the usual way, I obtained a distinct impression of the clouds, with the chimneys projected dark against the sky. As before, the light parts of the clouds were yellow-green, the dark parts pink, and the blue sky grey. The singular part of this experiment was the perfect reproduction of the whole of the sky within the range of vision in three different tints, and even the projection of parts of the landscape against it.

The next observations I made were in a public hall, at about eleven in the morning. There was a window opposite me, divided into small panes. The glass was painted with a thin coat of white to prevent its being seen through. The sun was shining with tolerable brilliancy and falling on the window. It struck me that the painted glass, with the sun upon it, would be a good object with which to try the effect of after-images, as I had before observed that evenly dispersed light formed the best images. I should mention that on account of the proximity of other windows the divisions between the panes were not so dark as in the window first described. In fact they did not come actually against the sky, but in a line with some distant houses, which, however, were not visible on account of the semi-opacity of the painted glass. I looked at the window for twenty seconds, and found that it was produced on the retina in the yellow-green tint, but not so

vividly as when I had looked at the sunlit clouds through clear glass. The yellow-green changed also very quickly to the crimson tint, and then the divisions assumed the complementary colour, green, and remained unchanged for some time. This was followed by an effect I had not before noticed. After the image had passed into the usual dull violet stage it changed to deep blue, with the divisions a bright straw colour. I had not seen this blue at all in previous experiments, and at first thought it must result from the painted glass; but I have since found, from repeated experiments, that in my first observations I discontinued observing the image too soon. In all subsequent observations I have found that blue is the last colour of the series, and that it remains until the colour disappears entirely.

I now undertook some further observations in my own room, and continued them at favourable intervals more systematically than I had done before. The following is a summary of the results. The best time for producing vivid images from a window is about eleven in the morning, choosing a day when the air is filled with white sunny mist, or the sky covered with evenly dispersed thin white clouds. The aspect should be south, and there should be but one window, from which the observer should be distant about six yards. The sun should not be in the field of view, otherwise the light is too dazzling. We will suppose that under these circumstances the eyes are fixed steadily on the fastening of the window.

After looking for ten seconds, and then closing the eyes and covering them tightly with the hands, so as to exclude all light, the after-image is blue.

After gazing for fifteen seconds the image is green.

After gazing for twenty seconds the image is yellow-green.

After gazing for twenty-five or thirty seconds the image is very vivid yellow-green or pure yellow.

Beyond the thirty seconds *no further change takes place*, except perhaps increased intensity in the yellow up to fifty seconds. I have continued looking at the window for a hundred seconds, but no further change occurred. The colours *never* vary their order. The only variation is in the time required to produce them. If the light is faint, it may take twenty seconds to produce even the blue, thirty for the green, forty for the yellow; but they will come in this order. If the light is not sufficiently intense, the yellow-green may not be produced at all. If it is unusually intense, it may come in a few seconds. In the case of extreme brilliancy, such as the sun or the electric light, there are no intermediate tints. A vivid spot, of a whitish green, is produced instantaneously.

And now with regard to the disappearance of the image.

It seems to be a fixed law that no matter at which of the three tints the image has arrived when we close our eyes, *in disappearing it invariably goes through the same gradations of tint.*

It changes first to a dull orange, then to pink, then to deeper pink or crimson, then to neutral tint or violet, then to blue, at which colour it remains until it fades entirely. Let it be understood, that whether we have reached the blue, the green, or the yellow tint, the above is the invariable order of the tints in disappearing.

The only variation is in the time. The longer we have been gazing to form the image, the longer is the interval before it begins to change. If, therefore, we have looked sufficiently long to produce the yellow-green, a longer time will elapse before it changes to pink than will be the case if we have only reached the blue stage. In any case, however, it is only a matter of a few seconds.

Providing, therefore, the conditions were always the same, we should possess a very excellent natural photometer in the eyes, for the intensity of the light might be judged by the colour produced in the image after gazing for a given number of seconds. • •

In the afternoon of the day on which I made these last experiments I wished to test this theory. The sun was somewhat low down, but it would not have occurred to me that there was any material difference in the intensity of the light compared with what it had been in the morning. I found, however, after gazing for ten seconds, that the light produced only a *very faint* blue tint, which changed at once into dull orange and crimson, thus proving to me that there was a very considerable diminution of light compared with the morning, when ten seconds had produced a vivid blue, which did not change for some time.

I will now refer to the fact already mentioned, that the image becomes negative on turning the face to the light and removing the hands, of course keeping the eyes shut. I should first mention that if we do this in the earlier stages of the after-image it does not become negative. If it is done, for instance, immediately after the image is formed, we get the image only in a modified form, not negative. If, however, we wait until the image has passed through the stages of disappearance as far as the crimson tint, and then remove the hand (always without opening the eyes), we get at once a very dark window on a bright red ground. Now the reason of this seems to me obvious. We know that any bright object surrounded by light of much greater intensity becomes dark by comparison. Dr. Huggins has measured the intensity of light in the umbra of a sun-spot, which we know appears in an ordinary telescope to be perfectly black. He found that it was lighter than the electric light, but looked black by contrast with the indescribable brilliancy of the photosphere. On the same principle, therefore, the image on the retina, which appears bright when no light is admitted through the eyelids, becomes black by contrast when the light is admitted, and the light so admitted—modified and rendered pink by its passage through the eyelids—does not affect the part of the retina where the image is retained.

In other words, the light that falls on the retina through the eyelids is the photosphere, and the after-image the umbra—dark by comparison only.

And here perhaps it would not be out of place to say a few words with regard to the reason why the retina does not receive the new flood of light in that particular part of its surface where the image falls. It is necessary in the first place to refer to the theory propounded by Dr. Thomas Young in the early part of this century. Dr. Young was of opinion that the eye contains three separate sets of nerve-fibres, which are severally excited by the three colours now accepted by many physicists as the three primaries—namely, red, green, and violet. This theory of Dr. Young is adopted by Helmholtz and Tyndall. The former, indeed, adopts it with avidity, as an easy solution of a problem that had long perplexed him. He explains it thus :—

He (Dr. Young) further assumes that the first (nerve-fibres) are excited most strongly by waves of ether of greatest length; the second, which are sensitive to green light, by waves of middle length; while those which convey impressions of violet are acted upon only by the shortest vibrations of ether. Accordingly, at the red end of the spectrum the excitation of those fibres which are sensitive to that colour predominates, hence the appearance of this part as red. Further on there is added an impression upon the fibres sensitive to green light, and thus results the mixed sensation of yellow. In the middle of the spectrum the nerves sensitive to green become much more excited than the other two kinds, and accordingly green is the predominant impression. As soon as this becomes mixed with violet, the result is the colour known as blue; while at the most highly refracted end of the spectrum the impression produced on the fibres which are sensitive to violet light overcomes every other.

It is difficult to quote this passage referring to Dr. Young, or even to mention his name, without paying a passing tribute to his memory. It is probable that he is scarcely known to any but scientific readers, and yet Helmholtz refers to him as possessing one of the most profound minds that ever existed, and Tyndall places him intellectually above the heads of any discoverers since Sir Isaac Newton. One remarkable fact connected with his career is, that a single paper on vision, which he sent to the Royal Society, obtained him admission to the ranks of that august body. His theories had the misfortune, however, to encounter the severest shafts of ridicule from no less a person than the late Lord Brougham, who possessed the ear of the *Edinburgh Review*. So severe indeed was the attack that for twenty years Young ceased to publish any discoveries except in immediate connection with his own profession, that of medicine. It is impossible to estimate what the scientific world may have lost by his silence. His theories remained buried in the archives of the Royal Society for this long interval. They were re-discovered independently by Fresnel, and have since, as we have seen, been adopted by Helmholtz, with whom Young's name is now indissolubly linked.

The passage I have quoted in explanation of Young's theory is sufficient for our purpose at present. It is of course assumed that the reader is aware that the mixture of red and green rays (not pigments) produces yellow, that the mixture of green and violet rays produces blue, and that we thus, with the primaries, get the principal tints of the spectrum. We now come to the 'fatigue theory,' so popular with almost all writers on the subject. It is assumed that when the eye has been looking steadily at a patch of a particular colour—let us say red—for a considerable time, that portion of the retina upon which the red falls becomes fatigued with the red rays, the consequence of which is, that on looking away from the red into a darkened room, or at a plain grey or white surface, the eye refuses any longer to receive the red rays on the particular spot which has become fatigued, and we therefore see the complementary colour, green. On the same principle, as we well know, if we look at a light object on a dark ground and then look away, we see a dark object on a light ground, and *vice versa*.

This theory of fatigue is almost universally accepted by writers on light and colour. It is adopted without question by Helmholtz, a very great authority indeed; but it appears to be open to objections, some of which I will presently state. If, however, we accept it, we at once see why the particular part of the retina on which the image of the window is impressed refuses to receive the new accession of light through the eyelids. That portion of its surface has been blinded or 'fatigued' by the strong light, and is unable to receive any further impression.

I may here mention a fact which appears to me one of the most remarkable of the many remarkable facts connected with the after-images. The succession of colours in the formation of the image is, as we have seen, in the following order—blue, green, and yellow. In the disappearance the order is orange, crimson, violet, blue. This last blue is of a much deeper tint than the first, and may therefore be described as indigo. It will thus be seen that the colours in forming and disappearing follow the order of the colours of the solar spectrum, commencing with the blue and going on to what we ordinarily denominate the heat end of the spectrum, then passing over to the violet or the so-called chemical end, and so back to the blue. I say the so-called heat end and chemical end, because recent researches seem to have demonstrated that there is no actual distinction of this kind in the spectrum, but that it is only a matter of degree. Be this as it may, the fact that the after-image follows this order is so very singular that it is worth recording. A possible explanation of this succession of tints may be found in the fact that in dim light the violet and green rays are known to undergo greater excitation relatively than the yellow and red rays; and that in strong light the excitation of the latter becomes so much greater

that it passes by and surmounts, as it were, the violet and green rays and their combinations. The reverse takes place as the light diminishes.

I will now turn to a class of experiments which possess strong points of interest. I refer to after-images produced by sunlight on white paper and also on papers of different colours. The white paper produces the same colours in the same order as white clouds or sunny mist, the only difference being in the fact that if the sunlight on the paper is very strong the colours are produced more rapidly and are purer and brighter in tone. It is, for some unknown cause, difficult to produce the green tint; the blue appears after the usual interval, but the next tint is more of a yellow-green, and the positive yellow comes sooner. In disappearing, too, the tint does not change at once to dull orange and red, but first goes through a yellow stage, the yellow brightening, as it were, out of the yellow-green before the image begins to fade. The crimson tint in the disappearing process is also purer, and very pure violet follows the crimson before the image returns to the blue, which is always the final tint.

Many curious combinations may be produced with a square of white paper in sunlight. One of the most remarkable is the following:—I concluded from previous experiments that if I looked at the paper for ten seconds at a distance of a yard, then looked for another ten seconds at a distance of two yards, and again for the same interval at three yards, I should get three distinct images of the paper, superimposed one on the other, of different sizes and of different tints—the difference in the size resulting, of course, from the different distances, and the different colours from the interval which elapsed between the observations. The result was as I had anticipated: the three squares appeared of different sizes and different tints, generally pink, yellow, and blue, forming a very beautiful object; but the tints were not always to be relied on, in consequence of the variability of the light.

I procured some papers of different tints, thinking they would probably influence the tint of the after-image; but this was not the case to any appreciable extent. The succession of colours in the image is the same whether we look at pink, blue, green, or yellow in sunlight. The only difference is in the fact that darker tints take a longer time to produce the image, in consequence of their not reflecting so much light. In the case of very intense deep tints, such as orange, which does not reflect light sufficiently to produce a strong image, we do get the complementary colours to some extent. Grey, too, seems to be an exception. No matter whether it is an illuminated surface or grey cloud, it always produces a pink after-image.¹

Another remarkable fact connected with the images is their

¹ The solar spectrum does produce the complementary colours in the after-image, giving green for the red end, purple for the centre, and orange for the violet end.

extreme susceptibility to the very slightest variation in the reflecting power of an illuminated surface. Quite a distinct tint is produced in the image by so slight a variation that it is hardly perceptible to the open eye. For example, if the sash of a window is thrown partly up and the light has to pass through double glass, the colour in the image is quite distinct from the tint where the light passes through single glass only. Again, if there is the slightest inequality in the surface of a piece of paper, so that the light is not reflected equally from all parts of it, the inequalities will be distinguished by a different tint. On one occasion a piece of white paper, with which I was experimenting, assumed a slightly concave form which threw the upper part into scarcely perceptible half shadow. The result of this in the image was that the upper part was pink, softening gradually off into the bright yellow-green of the lower part.

While on the subject of extreme sensitiveness to light and shade in the after-image, I may mention that many curious and interesting experiments may be made, apart from the changes of colour, by placing various objects in strong sunlight. I took a number of *Harper's Magazine* one day, and, placing it in the sunlight, looked at it for about twenty-five seconds. I found the words 'Harper's Monthly Magazine' were very distinctly seen in the after-image, and on turning to the light, with the eyes closed, the letters came out a bright red on a dark ground. Then by opening and shutting the eyes quickly the image seemed to be renewed several times, appearing brighter at the moment of shutting the eyes. It of course underwent changes of colour, but the red letters on the black ground were the most vivid. Looking at a plain surface in a darker part of the room with the eyes open, the letters were of course white on a dark ground, that is, the opposite of the cover itself. I also placed a strip of newspaper in the sun at a sufficient distance for it to present an almost uniform surface of grey. To my surprise the lines and spaces came out quite distinctly, the capitals being easily discernible. I believe, however, that the power of observing and retaining the image on the retina is one that increases with practice, and is certainly stronger in some people than in others.

In order to ascertain whether the changes of colours are the same in others, I tested them with my son, aged nineteen, and my daughter, aged fourteen. I waited for them to describe what they saw, so as to afford no clue. In one or two instances the effect was so absolutely identical with what I myself saw that it became quite startling. The succession of tints was always the same, the only difference being in the intervals, and these only differed by a few seconds. I should mention, also, that in the case of my daughter the persistence of the image was not so marked as in my own case—she occasionally lost it for a second or two.

The amount of light necessary to produce a distinct after-image

is very considerable. The sun, as I have said before, gives an instantaneous after-image, lasting for several minutes. White clouds illuminated by the sun, seen through a window at a little distance, give it very quickly. Sunlight on white paper produces it also very rapidly. With plain blue sky it is difficult to get an image at all, even when the sun is very bright. The poet speaks of the moon as the 'effulgent lamp of night;' but the retina proves her to be an impostor with regard to intensity of light. When at her brightest, only the faintest possible after-image is produced—so faint, indeed, that it can hardly be called one. Gaslight, when very near, produces a strong image, beginning with green and going through the usual gradations, though not with anything like the same intensity of tint as with daylight.

I now come to another remarkable fact in connection with the images. If I look at a brightly illuminated object, or at the sky through a window, with one eye only, I find that the after-image is intermittent, coming and going with considerable regularity at intervals of from seven to ten seconds. I have tested this many times, and always with the same result. Being much struck with the fact, I tried the effect of looking for ten seconds with one eye, and then—without any interval—for another ten seconds with both eyes. I now found that the image did not disappear as before, but was *intermittent in colour*, changing from red to yellow and from yellow to red with the same regularity as before. I should mention that the image is much longer forming with one eye only, and is fainter in tint.

This intermission of the image must, I think, be closely connected with another curious effect which I discovered only a few days ago. If we shut one eye and fix the other steadily on a bright part of the sky—an illuminated cloud is best—in the course of half a minute or a minute a dark cloud, like London smoke, comes over the particular spot upon which we have fixed our gaze. This continues for three or four seconds only, and then disappears, returning again after another interval of a minute or two. I have tested this with two or three other persons, with the same result. It would almost seem, therefore, that one eye is incapable of sustaining a continuous impression, either of some kinds of illuminated outer objects or of the after-image. The possible reason why this effect has not been noticed by people with one eye may be that they are unaccustomed to fix the eye immovably on one object for a considerable time, having no particular motive for doing so. Hence the effect has remained unobserved.

In connection with the negative image, formed, as I have described, by facing the light and removing the hands from the eyes, there is one point I omitted to mention. At the moment of removing the hands, when the light suddenly enters the eyes through the eyelids, the image does not become all at once dark, but a very curious filigree of light plays over it for a moment and almost immediately disappears.

This light has the appearance of thin veins running all over the surface of the black, and may be likened to the network of veins in the vascular membrane, which may be produced by Purkinje's experiment with the candle.

I have referred to the theory of fatigue in connection with the images, and have said that it appears to be open to objections. Some of these may be briefly noticed. As before stated, if we look at any particular colour—let us say red—for a few seconds, and then look away at any plain surface in half shade, we see the complementary colour, green. The reason of this is said to be that the retina becomes fatigued with the red rays, and refuses to receive them any longer. Consequently it sees only a combination of the other colours, which, together with red, would make up white light. Although this theory is in part satisfactory, it does not appear to be wholly so. We know that if a continuous strain is put upon any muscles or sinews, those particular muscles or sinews get so absolutely fatigued that we are obliged to relinquish further effort. This, however, does not appear to be the case with the nerves which convey sensation to the brain. Their power of conveying the sensation may, with sustained effort, lessen, but it does not wholly cease. We may look at a red surface for hours, but it still continues red, although the original vividness of the colour may have diminished. If we inhale any particular perfume, we continue to be conscious of it as long as the object from which it is exhaled is near us. If we listen to a continuous sound, the roar of a waterfall, or the clangour of bells, the ear may become accustomed to the sound, but it does not cease to hear. As an instance of fatigue, Helmholtz adduces the fact that on passing from bright sunshine into a dark room, the retina has been so fatigued by the bright light without that it cannot perceive the objects in the room until it has somewhat recovered. But this theory is inconsistent with the fact that a man may walk in the brightest sunshine the whole day—over an Alpine pass, for example—and yet have quite as keen a perception of the successive scenes of grandeur around as he had when he started in the morning. How, then, can the retina be fatigued by sunlight? If it were, it surely follows that by the end of the day it would lose its powers of perception altogether. Again, it seems most difficult to believe that the eye-nerves can become fatigued by looking at black; and yet, if we look at a black object on a light ground, and then look away, we see a white object on a black ground. This, the physicists say, is fatigue, and they almost all follow in the same groove.

It seems much more reasonable to refer these peculiar effects—the appearance of the complementary colours, and of light for dark—to some law of compensation rather than to fatigue. The eye is constituted, let us suppose, to receive a certain balance of colour and of light and shade, and it rebels against any attempt to force it into

a particular groove. If it be so forced—as, for instance, in looking continuously at red—as soon as it is released it calls up its counterbalancing forces to restore the equilibrium which has been so rudely upset. It is the springing back of the branch which has been forced down by an unusual strain—the reflux of the tide, not the exhaustion of the current. If it were actual fatigue, it would hardly be prepared to receive the same impressions again and again after so very brief an interval.

The whole subject, however, is still enshrouded in mystery. The clearest intellects have for ages been brought to bear upon the inexhaustible subject of light and colour, yet we seem scarcely nearer to a solution of their physiological and psychological mysteries than we were when Newton penned his book on Optics two hundred years ago. Indeed, the poet's words recur to us with peculiar force in connection with this subject:—

Forerun thy peers, thy time, and let
Thy feet millenniums hence be set,
In midst of knowledge dreamed not yet.

Thou hast not gained a real height,
Nor art thou nearer to the light,
Because the scale is infinite.

I am tempted to quote a passage from Helmholtz in connection with the psychology of perception. It will come appropriately before venturing to suggest a cause for the persistence of after-images. He says in his lecture on the physiological causes of Harmony in Music:—

As you are aware, no perceptions obtained by the senses are merely sensations impressed on our nervous systems. A peculiar intellectual activity is required to pass from a nervous sensation to the conception of an external object which the sensation has aroused. The sensations of our nerves of sense are mere symbols indicating certain external objects, and it is usually only after considerable practice that we acquire the power of drawing correct conclusions from our sensations respecting corresponding objects. Now, it is a universal law of the perceptions obtained through the senses, that we pay only so much attention to the sensations actually experienced as is sufficient for us to recognise external objects. In this respect we are very one-sided and inconsiderate partisans of practical utility—far more so, indeed, than we suspect. All sensations which have no direct reference to external objects, we are accustomed, as a matter of course, to entirely ignore, and we do not become aware of them until we make a scientific investigation of the action of the senses, or have our attention directed by illness to the phenomena of our own bodies. Thus, we often find patients, when suffering under slight inflammation of the eye, become for the time aware of those beads and fibres known as *mouches volantes* swimming about within the vitreous humour of the eye, and then they often hypochondriacally imagine all sorts of coming evils, because they fancy that these appearances are new, whereas they have generally existed all their lives. Who can easily discover that there is an absolutely blind spot, the so-called *punctum cæcum*, within the retina of every healthy eye? How many people know that the only objects they see single are those at which they are looking, and that all other objects behind and before these appear double? I could adduce a long

list of similar examples which have not been brought to light till the action of the senses were scientifically investigated, and which remain obstinately concealed till attention has been drawn to them by appropriate means—often an extremely difficult task to accomplish.

This passage from the great German physicist bears in a remarkable manner upon after-images, for they are continually before our eyes, and yet not one person in a hundred bestows a second thought upon them, or reflects for a moment on their exceptional peculiarities. They are passed by as so many other natural phenomena are passed by—even the most gorgeous effects of sunset—because they are too common. No doubt, as I have before said, the power of retaining the images on the retina is to some extent acquired; but every one possesses the power more or less. Indeed, the term ‘looking at’ the image is not so much of a solecism as might be at first imagined, considering that the eyes are closed. If while retaining the image the observer analyses his sensations closely, he will be conscious of a kind of effort, apparently in the optic nerve, to retain the image. It is an indescribable something which is best explained by saying that it is an effort of the brain to see the image on the retina without the aid of external light.

And now as to the causes of the after-images. Of course the ultimate cause of perception by means of any of the senses is a matter altogether beyond our comprehension, but it is quite within the province of the psychologist to endeavour to trace the physical causes of perception, not only from external objects to the nerve-fibres, but through the nerve-fibres to the brain, and even to the changes of molecular arrangement in the brain itself which are supposed to cause perception. But every step in the intricate pathway leading from external objects to the brain is beset with difficulties—a veritable maze, in which one false step leads to inextricable confusion, if not to discomfiture.

And how truly marvellous is this passage of rays from visible creation to the seat of consciousness! The waves of light falling on an object at the rate of millions in a second are reflected from its surface, and pass at once through the exquisitely clear cornea which stands in front of the eye, like the glass covering to some precious jewel. Next through the aqueous humour, clear as the water from which it takes its name; next through the delicate contractile iris by means of the pupil—the iris which gives colour to the eye, and whose brown or blue or grey has been the theme of the poet in all ages, and called forth similes connected with every object of beauty in the world—from the blue of the summer sky to the depths of shade which lurk in the even surface of jet. Next through that marvel of marvels, the crystal lens, which, like the lens of a camera, hangs suspended in perfect transparency behind the only aperture of the eyeball, and which, by means of the ciliary process, actually

expands and contracts to adapt itself to the distance of the objects before our gaze. Next through the equally clear vitreous humour, which, like the water in the glass globe, fills the whole interior of the eye, preserving its rounded form. Next through the thin transparent layer of the fibres of the optic nerve; through the layers of ganglia; through the granular corpuscles in front of the cones; and lastly, falling upon the wonderful layer of rods and cones which are now known to be the primary recipients of the sensation of light, the rays, now a sensation only, travel on, through the finest fibres of the optic nerves, to that peculiar junction of the two nerves lying behind the nasal bone, where the nerves unite, but only to divide again, each carrying with it the half of the other until the semblance of the outer object is conveyed to the home of sensation in the depths of the brain itself.

In spite of endless theories respecting the actual causes of sight, they are still a matter of conjecture. Dr. Young's theory is, after all, mere hypothesis; we have no actual proof of its truth. So also it must be with respect to any conjectures concerning the causes of after-images. Ganot indeed refers the succession of tints they display to the changes the retina undergoes in returning to its normal condition after excitation. But what are those changes of condition? As a basis for speculation we must, I think, fall back upon the old theory of vibration, which is thus laid down by Newton:—

Considering the lastingness of the motions excited in the bottom of the eye by light, are they not of a vibrating nature? Do not the most refrangible rays excite the shortest vibrations, the least refrangible the largest? May not harmony and discord in colour arise from the proportions of vibrations propagated through the fibres of the optic nerve into the brain, as harmony and discords of sounds arise from the proportions of vibrations of air?

Later knowledge has not only advanced this theory, but has carried it to a point hidden even from the eagle eye of the great philosopher. We now know that in the cochlea of the ear there exists a series of microscopic plates set side by side, some thousands in number. These are connected with the nerve-fibres of the ear, and are each supposed to vibrate to a different tone, thus conveying to the brain the most delicate modulations and harmonies.² We now know also that the back of the retina consists of an inconceivable number of rods and cones closely packed together, which undergo excitation by the multitudinous gradations of light and colour which they constantly encounter, and which, like the plates of the ear, convey them to the brain. But in one important respect the sense of sight differs from all the other senses—that is, in the persistence of the impression of light after the light is cut off. With the other senses the impression ceases simultaneously with the exciting cause.

² Helmholtz's *Lectures*. Stricker's *Histology*.

When the roar of a cannon ceases, the sensation of sound ceases; when a rose whose perfume we inhale is removed, the sensation of smell ceases; when an object that touches any portion of the body is taken away, the sensation of touch ceases; but with the sight, the impression of light not only remains after the eye is closed, but it undergoes remarkable changes. I conceive, therefore, a different kind of vibration is required in this case, not the vibration which is likened by an old writer, quoted by Dr. Young, to the vibration caused by the passage of air through a trumpet. We require a vibration continued after the exciting cause is removed—such as the vibration of the strings of a piano. It seems to me, therefore, that we might look for the sources of a vibration of this kind in the rods and cones which exist in such countless numbers in the depths of the retina, and which, in Dr. Carpenter's words, 'communicate their impression to the optic nerve by means of their own delicate fibrous prolongations.'

This idea is, I venture to think, more admissible from the fact that in the *fovea centralis*, the point of distinct vision, the layers of the retina, with the exception of the external granules and cones, are absent. The depression which exists at this point approaches quite close to the cones, which are here packed together in much greater numbers than elsewhere, as many as seven or eight being supposed to belong to one nerve-fibre. If we suppose that absolute vibrations are conveyed by the cones to the fibres of the optic nerve, and if we may further suppose, in accordance with a recent theory, that the nerve itself contracts, and therefore tightens, under the action of light, it is not difficult to imagine a vibration of precisely the kind we require—one that continues, in fact, until the tightening is relaxed by darkness.

But even if we suppose that the sensation of light is conveyed to the brain by these vibrations, and that they take an appreciable time to subside, it may be objected that they do not sufficiently account for the changes of colour which the after-image undergoes. May it not therefore be possible that these changes are occasioned by the presence of the colouring matter which exists among the rods under the name of 'visual purple'? It is shown by Dr. Carpenter that a solution of this colouring matter undergoes changes when exposed to the light, that it rapidly bleaches, changing from carmine to red and yellow. 'It absorbs the rays of the spectrum from yellow-green to violet, while it allows a little violet, much of the yellow, and all the orange and green, to traverse it.' According to the same authority, the retina itself undergoes a constant process of bleaching in strong light, the colouring matter being constantly renewed. It would seem, therefore, a not improbable theory, that as the vibrations which produce the sensation of light gradually subside on closing the eyes, so the changes of colour may arise from the successive stages which the colouring matter undergoes in process of renewal.

It may, however, be urged against this theory that the visual purple exists only among the rods and not among the cones, and that the rods are absent in the *fovea centralis*; but, as Dr. Foster suggests,³ it is quite possible that some substance, sensitive to light like the visual purple, but colourless, and therefore escaping observation, may exist among the cones, and by photochemical changes be the means of exciting the optic nerves. The presence, also, of coloured fatty spheroids in the inner segments of the cones of birds and reptiles might lead us to suppose from analogy that similar substances, yet undiscovered, and subject to photochemical changes, may exist in the cones of the human retina. These fatty globules are described by Max Schultze⁴ as highly refractile, and as absorbing portions of the rays, corresponding to their colour, which traverse them. It seems unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that these coloured substances or their analogues should exist in the very seat of perception without having a direct bearing upon the sensation of colour.

To produce the various effects I have endeavoured to describe, of course two things are indispensable—that the conditions be strictly observed, and that there should be no defect of vision. It is as well, perhaps, to add that a fair amount of intelligence must be brought to bear upon the experiments. There are people who are unable, either from defective vision or deficient powers of observation, to see the complementary colour in the well-known advertisement of Pears's Soap. It would be as useless for these to attempt observations of after-images as it would be for them to deny the existence of the phenomena. The facts are beyond all doubt. I can only hope that this very incomplete record of them may induce others, with greater scientific attainments and more time at their disposal, to initiate further explorations in a field of investigation which has proved of the greatest possible interest to me, and which I cannot help thinking might, in the hands of keen physiological observers, lead to important results.

SYDNEY HODGES.

³ *Text-Book of Physiology*.

⁴ Stricker's *Histology*, p. 261.

SHORT SERVICE: ONE CAUSE OF ITS FAILURE.

MAY one of the last of the few who survive of that noble army concerning which the great Duke used to say that 'with it he could go anywhere and do anything' be allowed to hazard a few remarks on a subject of the deepest interest, not to soldiers only, but to the country at large? I allude to the question again and again brought forward as to the relative merits of what are called short and long service, and the wisdom or unwisdom of the lines taken up of attack and defence by the advocates on both sides.

Looking at the matter from an abstract point of view, there cannot, I conceive, be two opinions as to the superiority, for war purposes, of a long-service man over a novice. But here the question at once arises—What is meant by either a long-service or a short-service soldier? If by a long-service soldier we mean one who has followed the drum all over the world for eighteen or twenty years, and if he is to be spoken of as a short-service soldier who has worn the Queen's uniform for less than one year, or even two, I do not think there is much ground to choose between them. They are equally unfit to enter upon a campaign; the one because he is worn out, the other because he is immature. Take, however, some term intermediate between these two extremes—say, for example, five years on one side, and ten on the other—then the five years' man, assuming both to have enlisted at eighteen, will, I fancy, prove in all respects as efficient as the ten years' man. So long, therefore, as every recruit is enlisted for eight years' service, or even for seven with the colours, it seems to me—who remember how numerous in the Duke's army seven years' men were—that the opponent of recent changes in army organisation is quite in the wrong if he rests his objections to them on the mere fact that men are no longer enlisted for life.¹ No doubt were England,

¹ It is a great mistake to suppose that short service is a novelty in the British army. Mr. Windham's Act, in 1806, established three terms of service for recruits: one which, extending over seven years, gave no claim to a pension, except for wounds; another which, comprising fourteen years, left it discretionary with the authorities to assign or refuse a pension; and a third, extending to twenty-one years, on completing which the soldier was by law entitled to a pension for life. After the close of the French war the two former terms went out of use.

as Germany is, a compact empire, having no outlying provinces to guard, and a conscription to fall back upon, it would be both easy and judicious to reduce the term of the soldier's active service to three years. But England is not in this happy condition, and thence arise all the difficulties we encounter in trying to adapt our military strength to the requirements of our position.

Let me avow myself at once an advocate for short service, as that term has by late regulations been defined, even in an army raised as ours is by voluntary enlistment, and weak in point of numbers. Only thus can we hope to have a trained reserve at hand, when forced into war, whether on a large or small scale. But my conviction on that head does not blind me to the fact that the machine as now constructed will never work aright till we have the candour to admit that a great mistake was committed three-and-twenty years ago, and the courage to redress the wrong. To me, at least, it is clear as the sun at noonday that you cannot, except at a ruinous expense both in men and money, garrison India with fifty or sixty thousand men, forming a large portion of an army organised as ours now is, and that every step which you take, with a view to make things smooth, will only carry you deeper into the mire. What, for example, is this proposed advance from seven to twelve years with the colours but a step towards the resuscitation of life-service, with its inevitable accompaniment, an enormous non-effective estimate? For your twelve years' man of 1883 will soon take the place of our twelve years' man of 1845, to whom the great Duke, not without reluctance, conceded the boon, though only on condition that he should be allowed to serve on, if so disposed, till he should have earned a pension.

Though I have ventured to speak of what took place three-and-twenty years ago as a blunder, it would be uncandid to deny that the circumstances under which the authorities were called upon to act offer a good deal to palliate, if they cannot altogether excuse, the mistakes that were then committed. Under the influence of a not unnatural panic, it was believed that the machinery by which for a hundred years the government of British India had been carried on was entirely out of gear. The army—not a portion of it, but the whole army—on the fidelity of which all else depended, was in revolt, and the empire itself hung in the balance. We cannot wonder if they who took this view of the subject should have given thought to little else than how to provide most effectually against the possible recurrence of such a state of things. Hence the repeal of the Company's Charter and the transfer to the Crown of direct authority in all matters, military as well as civil, throughout British India.

That most of these decisive steps met with general approval at the time cannot be denied. Old Indians might doubt, old Indians may continue to doubt, whether the permanent connection between England and India has been rendered more sure by the removal of

the buffer which used to interpose between the latter and the ever-varying schemes of government by party. To this opinion a few, but probably only a few, old-fashioned persons may still adhere; but the case is different when we come to reflect on what have been the consequences, both immediate and remote, of the policy which brought about the amalgamation of the two armies. The direct effect, as none of us can have forgotten, was open discontent among the Company's European troops; the remote results are now in full operation, hampering us in all our endeavours to place the armed force of the country on a satisfactory footing, and constraining many who approve on the whole of recent changes in the abstract to conclude that for this country they are altogether unsuited.

Though, generally speaking, little good can arise from referring back to mistakes which we are anxious to remedy, it seems to me essential to the right understanding of the matter before us that we should keep in view what was the condition of the Company's European army prior to the amalgamation. It numbered, I believe, including three regiments of cavalry recently raised, between 18,000 and 19,000 men. Its officers were taken from what may be called the upper stratum of the middle class in this country; in other words, they were on a social level with the great bulk of the gentlemen by whom the Crown's army is officered, the sons of country gentlemen, of retired Indian officials, of clergymen, and such like. The men, enlisted under a special Act of Parliament, were engaged to serve for twelve years, having, however, the option to serve on in order to earn a better pension. To both officers and men the conditions of service were far in advance of those to which the Queen's troops could look forward. The pay of all ranks was better—the allowances as well while serving, as on retirement, were more liberal, and the daily life of the rank and file was in many respects more satisfactory. No fatigue or menial duties devolved upon them, at all events during peace. These, down to the grooming of horses and cleaning of arms and accoutrements, devolved upon natives. For garrison and fighting purposes exclusively the Company's European soldiers were reserved; and gallantly and faithfully, whenever called upon, they did their duty. To certain drawbacks they were undoubtedly subjected; the climate was against them; and, from the day of their joining till that on which they retired, they were exiles from the land of their birth. Neither officers nor men, however, seem to have regarded these contingencies as serious misfortunes. To the officers a wide field of enterprise was open, of which the more energetic among them made excellent use, and all had their furloughs to look forward to. To the men, if sober and well conducted, many places of emolument and trust were accessible; and, being encouraged to marry, some even made homes for themselves in the land of their adoption; while for those who preferred returning to England there

was the Clive bounty to fall back upon—a noble endowment, which in a rash moment was lost, but which, even after amalgamation, had that measure been wisely arranged, might have still conferred substantial benefits on her Majesty's Indian soldiers.

Such was the Company's European army in the days of its separate existence; and in such estimation was it held by the classes from which our young soldiers chiefly come, that wherever the recruiting sergeants of the Crown and of the Company worked side by side, for one youth who volunteered to serve the Crown, three offered their services to the Company.

At the period of which I am now speaking, the Crown, as is well known, supplemented the Company's European army with a contingent of some 20,000 or 25,000 troops of the line. These consisted exclusively of cavalry and infantry regiments, which remained in the country, before being relieved, always ten or twelve, and often as many as twenty years. In all the privileges afforded to the Company's European soldiers they fully shared. Their pay and allowances, as they came out of the Indian Treasury, so they were dispensed on an Indian scale; and from all except the requirements of garrison duty and fighting, non-commissioned officers and privates were relieved. Service in India was, therefore, very popular in the lower ranks, and by no means distasteful to the less wealthy among the higher. Still, high and low, the Queen's troops were then, as they are now, birds of passage. So they felt themselves to be, and with rare exceptions they never attempted to master the languages, much less to study the character, of the peoples among whom they were thrown. Hence, while the Company's officers, whether on the strength of Native or European regiments, recognising the fact that India was the legitimate sphere of their exertions, either won their way to situations whence they could confer substantial benefits on the country, or, if too dull to escape from the round of regimental duties, discharged these so as to wound as little as possible the susceptibilities of those with whom they came in contact, line officers seldom, throughout the whole of their Indian career, condescended to treat the natives otherwise than as beings of an inferior order. Whether or no habits have changed in this respect with the change of times, I am neither called upon nor competent to say. But if they be not, then the substitution of a European garrison continually changing, for one, a portion of which at least regarded India as its home, is scarcely calculated to render the task of governing England's great dependency more easy than it used to be during the Company's reign.

The repeal of the Company's Charter was the work, so to speak, of a day. There had been a growing disposition for some time previously, both in and out of Parliament, to curtail the privileges secured by it, and the first favourable opportunity was seized of getting rid of it altogether. The point as to how the Queen's

Indian Empire should thenceforth be garrisoned was not so easily settled. Opinions were known to be very much divided on that question, and a Commission was appointed to take evidence and advise between the retention of a local European army largely increased, and its absorption into what, for distinction's sake, I must call the line-army. All the highest Indian authorities—Lord Lawrence, then Sir John Lawrence, Sir James Outram, Colonel Durand, Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Prinsep, and others—were in favour of an extension of the local army; and Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, and Secretary of State for India, declared himself, unless my memory be at fault, favourable to their opinion. But the Commission reported in an adverse direction, and when a change of government took place, as it soon afterwards did, the Committee's report was acted upon. Then followed what was absurdly called the European Mutiny, which was, in fact, no mutiny at all, but only the well-grounded remonstrance of men who had been enlisted into the Company's service against being transferred, without so much as their own wishes consulted, to a service into which they had not enlisted. How this difficulty was overcome, at what a loss to the army in the seasoned men who took their discharge, at what a pecuniary outlay in the shape of bounties to those who remained with their colours, I need not remind my readers.

We must not forget that at the time when the amalgamation took place recruits were enlisted for a term of twelve years certain. No doubt this consideration was not without its weight in satisfying the advocates of the arrangement that the necessity of keeping 60,000 or 70,000 men in India would rather add to than take away from the available strength of the British army. There might be a certain amount of inconvenience, there would certainly be an increase of expense, as often as the seasons of reliefs came round. But the expense would fall not upon England, but upon India; while India, in the event of a quarrel with some great European power, could supply from her garrison no inconsiderable portion of the army which England might find it necessary to put in the field. There was plausibility in this style of argument, which, if it did not satisfy the thoughtful few, carried conviction to the minds of the many. The objections of those who took what was called an Indian view of the subject were overborne, and the deed was done.

So long as the twelve years' term of service with the colours remained in force, the inconveniences attendant on the new order of things attracted little attention. All the extra expenditure fell upon India; and if the periodical drain on our military resources was somewhat aggravated while reliefs were at sea, nobody cared much about that, because there was universal peace throughout Europe. In due time, however, came the campaigns of Sadowa and Sedan, and with them a suspicion that England could not hold her proper place among nations with an army organised as hers had heretofore been. It was

impossible to go on, so army reformers asserted, without a well-trained reserve; and a well-trained reserve, except on the condition of short service with the colours, was unattainable. Had they who arrived at this conclusion given due thought to India and its requirements, there might have been found, even in 1870, readier means than can be found now for remedying the mistake of 1860. Yet, if we are ever to hope for rest from perpetual change, the mistake, as it seems to me, must be remedied still, be the obstacles which stand in the way of the attainment of that end ever so formidable.

In addressing ourselves to this important subject, the first point to be considered is whether the continued maintenance of British power in India demands the permanent residence there of 60,000 or 70,000 British soldiers. Now nobody, I presume, will affirm that 60,000, or 70,000, or even 100,000 British soldiers, if they constituted the sole garrison of British India, would long suffice to guard effectively against both internal discontent and foreign invasion. And very few, I suspect, would hesitate to go further, and say that British empire in India would not be worth maintaining were it contingent on the permanent presence there of 100,000 British soldiers. We must, therefore, it would appear, under any conceivable circumstances, continue to trust largely, if not mainly, to a native army; so organised, so disciplined, and so commanded as to justify the confidence which the peculiar nature of our position compels us to repose in it. Nor does there appear to be any reason why we should shrink from doing so. It was by forces thus composed, the few being Europeans, the many natives, that the Empire was won. It was under like circumstances that for a hundred years the Empire was maintained. And when at last a portion of the native army revolted, it was not without substantial aid from other portions of the same army that the revolt was crushed.

Had all the armed force of India risen against us in 1857, not an Englishman would have survived to tell the tale. But, besides that the Punjaubees fought on our side, the Madras army remained staunch, and the Bombay army took no active part against us. It was the pampered and unwisely recruited Bengal army which alone broke into mutiny, and even of Bengalees not a few were led astray more by evil example than by hostile feeling towards the Government. The scare, therefore, which ensued upon the Mutiny, though very natural at the moment, we now see to have been exaggerated, just as we are beginning to recognise the fact that something less than a revolution in the entire system of Indian administration might have met the admitted difficulties of a very difficult situation.

Of the changes then introduced into other departments of State, much less of those now meditated, I am not here concerned to speak. They may or may not have been adopted without serious opposition from any quarter, but it was certainly not so with regard to the mili-

tary department. The best authorities, as I have already shown, were in favour of an enlarged local army. It was through the pressure of less instructed theorists from without that the Commission reported in an opposite direction. If I be not mistaken, the objections to a local army rested then, as they rest now, on two grounds: first, that perfect reliance cannot be placed on the loyalty of a force cut off from all home associations, and next that the means of raising such a force for India to a proper strength were and continue to be wanting. Let us consider these two objections separately, and see to what they amount.

To the former objection, which calls in question the loyalty of a local European force, the answer is obvious and complete. India has never, since it became a dependency of England, been without a local European force, and the local European force never failed it. There was, to be sure, in the days of Clive some discontent among the British officers of the *native army*, and a good many of the European soldiers in our own day demurred to being summarily converted into soldiers of the line. But the discontent in Clive's day ended in smoke, and to speak of the remonstrance of the Company's European soldiers in 1860 as a mutiny is as unjust as it would be monstrous to argue that because a few individuals, at a season when the bonds of discipline were relaxed, assumed under peculiar circumstances a rather defiant attitude, therefore reliance can never again be placed upon a British army, simply because service in a remote dependency cuts it off from home associations. If there existed the slightest ground in reason for a belief so unworthy, what assurance could we have at this moment of exemption from the dreaded catastrophe? The 50,000 or 60,000 men who now garrison India are just as thoroughly removed from home influences as a local army raised to serve the Queen could be. Why may we trust them if it would be rash to trust their countrymen, enrolled, trained, and officered precisely as are other portions of the British army?

Putting aside this objection as futile in the extreme, I proceed next to consider the question whether or no the means of raising the local army to an adequate strength were wanting some years ago or are wanting now.

I take it for granted that no one contemplated twenty-three years ago, any more than any one contemplates now, the desirability of raising the local European army of India to more than 40,000 of all arms. At the close of the Mutiny, the Company's European army, after full allowance made for casualties, may have numbered from 16,000 to 17,000 men. It was a force in every respect complete—complete in men, complete in officers, complete in training and equipment. To expand it to the desired maximum, nothing more was necessary than to enrol some two or three and twenty thousand soldiers, and to tell them off into fresh regiments of cavalry, batteries of artillery, com-

panies of engineers, and battalions of infantry. The disbandment of the Bengal Native Army had placed at the disposal of Government, colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns more than sufficient to officer these several corps. And for men, had the prospect of enjoying in perpetuity what were then the advantages of Indian service been held out to the army at large, volunteers more than enough to complete the local establishment would have been forthcoming. Or, if it had been considered desirable to proceed gradually in this direction, the line-garrison might have been kept at its full strength till recruits from England began to arrive. Then, in proportion as regiments, batteries, and battalions of locals took shape, regiments, batteries, and battalions of the line could have been withdrawn, and India in the course of two, or at the most three, years might have been left with perfect safety to take care of itself.

A local army was not, however, formed in 1860; and in 1870 our troubles began. They may be said to have culminated a few years later, when, though enlistment for twelve years was retained, service with the colours was made compulsory for three years only. How the authors of this scheme failed to recognise the impossibility of adapting it in its integrity to the military requirements of such an Empire as that of England, how they missed the opportunity which fortune brought within their reach of so modifying it as to give to it at least some chance of success—these are questions which we find ourselves quite unable to answer. For it is self-evident that men enlisted for three years with the colours could hardly be made available for garrison duty in Gibraltar and Malta; and even if retained for six years and ordered to India, they would have no time to become acclimatised before the terms of their engagement rendered it necessary to bring them home again. Yet at this very moment there were in the ranks something like 20,000 men over the establishment, whom the delicate situation of Belgium, menaced on one side by the French, on the other by the Germans, had constrained the British Government to embody.

In 1871, then, our condition was this. No Bill had as yet passed through Parliament affecting in any way the recruit's liability to serve for twelve years with the colours. But the Secretary of State for War had it in contemplation to introduce such a Bill, and by means of it to provide for the army the much-desired Reserve. Well, he had at his disposal 20,000 men wherewith to start, under favourable conditions, his long-pondered device. If he had taken a comprehensive view of the whole case, he would have seen that these men were to him a godsend, to be used either for the attainment of a brilliant, though temporary success, or in the accomplishment of an object less immediately dazzling perhaps, but, in the permanent relief which it would afford to the military resources of the country, far more important. In the former case he might have carried his Bill, and instantly created

a Reserve 20,000 strong; in the latter he could have utilised his supernumerary soldiers by inviting a like number of seasoned men to volunteer into a local army for India. Can anybody doubt, who remembers what charms for the British soldier Indian service then had, whether a proposal of this sort would have been largely grasped at? Moreover the old Company's regiments, batteries, and battalions still to some extent clung to their Indian reminiscences. Such of the old-stagers as survived would have gladly gone back to their original status, and on the younger members of the corps their tales of life in India, with its many privileges, could have hardly failed to produce a marked effect. No doubt the lapse of ten or twelve years must have pretty well disposed of the non-commissioned officers and privates who had accepted the bounty when first offered. But traditions in regiments are very lasting, nor is it too much to assume that the successors of these men, whether horsemen, gunners, or foot-soldiers, would have responded eagerly to the call which invited them to reassume the places from which their old comrades had unwillingly been withdrawn. The opportunity was missed, however, in both cases. The 20,000 supernumeraries were neither transferred to the Reserve nor formed into the cadre of a local army for India. They were simply discharged.

We come next to consider how far it may be possible to remedy in 1883 the mistakes that were committed in 1870 and 1860. And here at the outset I am constrained to admit that the conditions under which the attempt to do so must be made are by no means so favourable as were those of which former Governments failed to take advantage. Indian service has lost many of its charms in the eyes of our soldiery; indeed, the line-garrison on which it has exclusively devolved desires nothing so much as to get away from it as soon as possible.² And to young men at home, the recruiting

² Never having myself served in India, and being therefore unable to speak from personal knowledge, I wrote on this subject to an officer who has just returned from that country in command of a distinguished regiment. The following is his reply:—
 'The two causes of discontent are, in my opinion, short service and deferred pay—usually, but perhaps not quite in every instance, acting together. Men going to India always at first desire to get home again. They miss their friends and associations; the changes and habits of life, owing to climate, are irksome to them; and I fear, above all, they miss the public houses, of which there are none. With a regiment going out, when all are new hands, it takes four or five years before men really get settled down to like the country. With drafts a shorter time, because the old hands put them in the way of it. The consequence is that by short service the opportunity of returning offers itself before they have become settled, and the deferred pay, which most of them consider an exhaustless mine of wealth, acts as a further inducement to seize the opportunity. There is perhaps another reason, or what is more properly a part of the same reason, to be stated. Most men when arriving in India, with a fair certainty before them of remaining there twelve years, look that fact in the face, and try to make the best of it. On the other hand, when there for a short time, they allow their first opinions to reign paramount, and make up their minds not to make the best of it. It is, of course, difficult for one class of society to judge for

sergeant has forgotten how to dilate on the pleasures of soldiering in a country where, besides being well paid and assured of a provision against old age, every private has, so to speak, his native servant to wait upon him. All this is true, and it necessarily follows that, if trained soldiers are to be lured into transference from the line to the local army, the greatest care must be taken to explain, not only that his deferred pay shall be handed over to the volunteer, but that he shall be entitled to every privilege which his predecessor in former years enjoyed. Possibly, even when this is done, our success, so far as concerns men actually serving, may be limited; but are we therefore without a recruiting-ground? By no means. Not a town, scarcely a village, in Great Britain and Ireland but swarms with men whom a few years in the ranks have more or less unfitted for civil life, who either cannot find or do not care to seek steady employment, and bring discredit on the service, more, perhaps, by idly speaking against it, than by any misconduct of their own. Tell these men that a new career is open to them, which offers large pay for little work, and this not for a brief period, but in perpetuity, and see how many among them will refuse to listen to you. For the bulk of these grumblers do not in reality dislike a soldier's life. Their grievance is that it leads to nothing, under existing regulations, except a few years of knocking about the world, with a lump sum of deferred pay—which is soon spent—on passing into the Reserve, and a retaining fee of sixpence a day for a few years more, during which nobody will employ them, because of their liability to be recalled at any moment to the ranks.

Well, it may be said, but are you going to create a local army for India by sweeping away the Reserve, on the creation of which so much time and labour have been spent? Such a course of action would be at direct variance with the policy which has heretofore been pursued. This I cannot admit, and for two reasons. In the first place, I am willing to believe that the grumblers among our Reserve men are in a minority, and that the circumstance of his having served the country for a few years, and being liable, in case of need, to serve it again, does not, as it certainly ought not to, stand between a man of good character and steady employment. We do not, therefore, either expect or desire that men so circumstanced should break up their homes and return after perhaps some years of desuetude to a soldier's life. But we do desire, and confidently expect to secure, the services of all, be they few or many, whom fortune has not thus favoured, and whose association with the youth of our towns and villages operates among them as a deterrent to enlistment. In the

another, but in most stations a soldier's life in India ought to be very pleasant, and one which only rich men enjoy at home. They have very little to do, their every convenience is studied, they are well housed, well fed, and well clothed, and have means to indulge in almost every description of sport and amusement.'

next place, assuming the immediate drain upon the Reserve to be heavy, what follows? Our active army, relieved from garrison duty in India, will more than compensate for this drain—first, by placing at the disposal of the Government such a body of troops as could not at the present time be brought together in England; and next, when reductions take place and men pass through the ranks, by raising again the dormant force of the country to its legitimate strength. It seems to me, then, that, so far as concerns the rank and file, the formation of a local army for India may be effected in 1883, not indeed so easily or so speedily as in 1870, but without any insurmountable obstacle standing in the way; and I deceive myself if the opinions of all who have seriously considered the subject do not coincide with my own.

But an army does not consist exclusively of the rank and file. There must be officers to command, as well as non-commissioned officers and men to obey. How are we to lay our hands on officers of experience, in numbers sufficient to take charge of 40,000 men? This is a grave question, to which it may not, perhaps, be easy to find all at once a satisfactory answer, because very much is implied in the term 'experienced.' Had we to deal only with an increase to the army of the line, however large, no difficulty whatever would stand in our way. But general service is one thing, and local Indian service is quite another, for the successful conduct of which peculiar qualities are required in men vested with authority. Where shall we find, say, twelve or fourteen hundred gentlemen able and willing not only to maintain discipline in corps newly embodied, but who, being themselves convinced of the vital importance of securing the goodwill of the natives, shall teach all under their orders so to conduct themselves as to command the respect, while scrupulously avoiding outraging the feelings, of the different races with whom they come in contact? I admit that what would have been feasible in 1860, and in 1870 by no means impracticable, interposes in 1883 a very serious obstacle to the attainment of the end which I venture to advocate. But if the end be in itself desirable, if, indeed, only by some such process a way of escape can be opened from the confusion into which our whole military system seems to have fallen, then the obstacle must be faced and surmounted at all hazards. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. The surgeon who knows that his patient must die unless some painful and dangerous operation is performed, would lose caste, and, what might to himself be more inconvenient, lose his practice, if he were to shrink from performing it. And so, likewise, a Government must be held in little respect which is not ready to encounter difficulties, and face some dangers, rather than persevere in a policy which the experience of a quarter of a century has condemned.

Our main difficulty, then, in 1883 is to find officers qualified to

take the command of troops, considerable in point of numbers, individually strange to one another, and destined to serve in a great dependency of which the inhabitants differ from Englishmen altogether in language, religion, and habits. This is so, and he must be very short-sighted or very prejudiced who affects to underrate its magnitude; yet it is surely not insurmountable, provided they who deal with it make up their minds neither to mar their own work by over-precipitancy, nor to shrink from going forward with it because the end seems far distant.

The creation of a local European army for India must under existing circumstances be a work of time. It must come into existence piecemeal, so to speak, regiment after regiment, battery after battery, and battalion after battalion. The nursing ground for these fractions must be England, for a period long enough to enable the officers to become thoroughly acquainted with their men, and the men thoroughly acquainted with their officers. And one by one, as soon as discipline has been fully established in each, these fractions must go forth, to relieve and enable to return home like portions of the line garrison now doing duty in India. To my mind this is a condition not less necessary to the success of our enterprise than the wise selection of the officers under whom the preliminary training is to be carried on; because to let loose, all at once, upon India thirty or forty thousand half-disciplined English soldiers would precipitate the crisis which the presence of a European garrison is intended to avert.

Again, by beginning our operations thus, the difficulty of finding officers in every respect qualified to take charge of the new levies will be greatly minimised, perhaps surmounted altogether. Let us consider, by way of illustrating our meaning, what it is proposed to do for Bengal, that being the most important of the presidencies. We propose, then, to replace the troops now stationed there with, say, 6 regiments of local cavalry, 18 batteries of artillery, and 24 battalions of infantry. Instead, however, of rushing at this conclusion all at once, we intend to spread the process of enrolment for the cavalry over three years, of the artillery over three, and of the infantry over six. And even this procedure may be so regulated that regiments, batteries, and battalions shall in their origin stand apart from one another by intervals of months. The effect of these arrangements will be that qualified officers more than sufficient to complete the establishment of the corps first brought together may be expected to come forward at a moment's notice; and that year by year their numbers will increase in a ratio proportionate to the demand made upon them.

It will be guessed that, in speaking of officers, qualified otherwise than as officers usually qualify for general service, my thoughts turn mainly, though not entirely, towards gentlemen trained in

the Indian army, properly so called. Let me not, however, be misunderstood. In the line army there are lieutenant-colonels, majors, and even captains, on whom service in India has not been thrown away, and who might therefore be safely trusted to imbue with their own spirit the troops destined hereafter to uphold, among Asiatics, the prestige of the British name. But the appeal will doubtless be made in the first instance to Indian officers, and especially to field-officers and captains of acknowledged capacity and experience in command. Now I find, by consulting the *India List* for July 1883, that the Bengal Staff Corps comprised at that date 253 lieutenant-colonels, independently of those receiving colonel's allowances, 160 majors, and 188 captains; and that of these, only 89 lieutenant-colonels, 79 majors, and 128 captains were employed with native regiments. How many of the surplusage may be available for our present purpose I cannot pretend to say; but surely, from among all the soldiers whom India has reared, enough, and more than enough, can be found to set in motion a machine which, as I have just shown, will become year by year more manageable.

I cannot, within the compass of a Review article, go further into the details of a scheme with which, if the suggestions here thrown out be deemed worthy of attention, it will be the business of those in authority to deal. But three not unimportant questions seem to demand answers, and these I must endeavour to give.

1. What limits of service is it proposed to set to the local European army when embodied?

2. Under what conditions shall its internal economy be carried on?

3. How is it to be kept, so far as concerns numbers, in a state of permanent efficiency?

I. The Act of Parliament which authorises the embodiment of a local European army for India will, I presume, lay down for it rules of service analogous in every respect to those by which the native Indian Army is bound. It will be made liable in times of peace to do duty in every portion of her Majesty's Indian dominions, and take part in every war, whether offensive or defensive, which is undertaken in the interests of British India. In what sense the expression 'the interests of British India' is to be understood, the Imperial Government must from time to time determine. In 1878 native troops were brought to Europe, and would have formed part of a British army in Turkey had Russia forced England into a war. Why? Because the occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops, and the success of Russian intrigues in Afghanistan, would have menaced the existence of the Anglo-Indian Empire, and it was for the interests of India that such a risk should not be incurred. In like manner when, in 1882, the direct line of communication between England and India was threatened, a native contingent co-operated

with British troops to avert the danger. These, with previous expeditions, such as the wars in Afghanistan, the conquest of Burmah, the invasions of Abyssinia and Persia, have all been recognised as coming under the conditions which justify the employment of native troops outside the frontiers of British India. And just to the same extent and no further will the local European army be required under ordinary circumstances to carry its standards into countries which to India are foreign. No doubt, were some terrible disaster to overtake English arms nearer home, the Indian garrison would be recalled for the protection of strictly English interests. But when matters come to this pass England will have subsided into the condition of Rome in her decadence, and a consummation have been reached the possible approach of which I decline for the present to contemplate.

II. The internal economy of the local European army will in all its main features be in accord with that which prevails in the line army. Both will be subject to the same articles of war, and in both promotion will go on, among officers as well as privates, on the lines laid down by the Queen's Regulations. In the following respects, however, they will stand apart. Exchanges from a line into a local and from a local into a line regiment will not be allowed; and only after he has attained the rank of major-general will an officer reared in the Indian army, whether European or native, be eligible for general service. With respect, again, to the rank and file, twelve years with the colours must be the shortest period for which they are enlisted. But, while in these respects the local army may seem to be less favourably circumstanced than the line-army, in others the position of both officers and men will be found to be greatly superior. From the rules which in the line-army remove officers at stated periods from places of trust and command, and compel them, after attaining specified ages, to retire from the service altogether, the local officers must be exempt, while facilities can be afforded them of recruiting their health and keeping alive home associations by well-regulated furloughs. To them, therefore, soldiering will be a profession in the strictest sense of the term, because it both enables every officer to live, while in harness, with tolerable comfort, and ensures for him a moderate competency in old age. In like manner the non-commissioned officer and private, though entitled to claim his discharge at the end of twelve years, need not be forced into retirement. So long as a medical board shall pronounce him fit to serve, his services may be continued, and himself provided for at last, either by an addition to his pension, or possibly by converting him, as the Romans used to convert their veterans, into a colonist.

III. To ensure that the local European army shall be maintained in a state of permanent efficiency, nothing more seems necessary than a return on a larger scale to the system which prevailed during the existence of the Company's Charter. Instead of a single central depôt,

such as flourished at Warley, three may henceforth be required, one wherein recruits for the cavalry are received and drilled, another for the artillery, and a third for the infantry. And among them all accommodation must be provided for four thousand men at the least, as well as for horses, carriages, guns, and equipments, without which military training cannot be carried on.

Whether or not the resuscitation of a local European army, on the lines here laid down, would occasion a heavier drain than under existing circumstances is made upon the Indian treasury, it is for experts in finance to determine. To me, taking but a superficial view of the subject, the arrangements suggested appear to promise rather a diminution than an increase of expenditure, because in the garrison of India itself a serious reduction will take place, and against the expense of home-depôts must be set the outlay on periodical reliefs, as they are at present conducted. Be this, however, as it may, the real point for the Government to consider is, how far it will be possible to hold India as we now hold it, and adhere at the same time to universal short service and compulsory retirements. My own opinion is, and perhaps I am not singular, that this will not be possible. And, if I be correct, there will remain for us only three alternatives from which to choose. Either India must be abandoned, a measure not to be thought of for a moment; or we must go back to long service, which Lord Cranbrook—no mean authority—has pronounced to be impossible; or the mistake committed three-and-twenty years ago must be remedied, however humiliating to our national pride, however difficult, and possibly fraught with some danger, the reversal of a condemned policy may be.

G. R. GLEIG.

THE POETRY OF THE EARLY MYSTERIES.

THERE has been for some time past an interest abroad in our early Miracle or Mystery Plays which shows that the idea of their existence has become to a certain extent 'popular,' and that to treat of them is in nowise to open up new ground. But this general interest is probably, in the main, either historical or archæological: the greater number of people who hear and talk of miracle plays do so with the idea that they are interesting either as having been the subjects of curious mediæval spectacles and bygone religious customs, or as illustrating some special stages of our drama and language. That they should have, apart from these connections, an interest of their own; that they should possess any intrinsic merit as literary compositions, or be likely to prove agreeable to take up and read as sacred dramatic poetry; that, in short, they belong to the present as well as to the past—all this is not popularly suspected of them.

The present article pretends to no archæological or learned intention. To those who are interested in our ancient sacred drama from antiquarian motives, whether dramatic or linguistic, their original forms are open in full, and may make part of their literary studies. But everybody who cares for poetry does not care, or has not time, for routing it out from somewhat obscure sources, though he may thoroughly enjoy and fully appreciate what is routed out for him; and the purpose of this article is simply to bring before such of the reading public as may not have the opportunity of coming across them in any other way the real poetical beauties of these old plays.

With this object the writer has chosen, arranged, and to a certain extent modernised some short specimens of this early poetry which it is hoped will be enough to rouse the interest of modern readers in it. What is specially aimed at is to show that the very vividness of faith which caused our forefathers to represent dramatically, without a thought of irreverence, the mysteries of religion and the incidents of the Gospel, inspired them with a combined simplicity and vividness of language, and a power of blending human weakness and naturalness with 'things divine,' in the highest degree poetical; also, that there is in many of these plays a pathos that is rarely to be found in directly religious poetry, and which would make it difficult for any one capable

of being stirred to pity by verse to read some passages in them unmoved.

The idea had birth in an attempt to put into modern form the 'Harrowing of Hell' as a poem for publication by itself. The beauties of this composition, which grew on the adapter by closer acquaintance, led to a further search among the 'Mysteries' for similar beauties; and, moreover, the obviousness of an Article of the Creed as a motto to this first solitary play suggested a sequence which proved a satisfactory guide to the search. The result has been a choice of specimens which, while they specially illustrate the poetry of the plays, also exhibit two other striking qualities that they possess—those, namely, of forming complete popular systems of theology; and of being marvellously well calculated to instil into the minds taught by them a spirit of solid and practical devotion. These qualities, as well as the beauty of the poetry itself, can of course be but very imperfectly illustrated by such portions of the plays as may come within the compass of a Review article; but if a suggestive arrangement of the specimens induces any hitherto uninterested reader to look further for himself, he will be well repaid by finding how much more there is in these compositions than mere rude stage-dialogue, to be used as a medium for acting by the representatives of sacred characters before an unlettered audience.

The extracts here to follow are taken, with the exception of the 'Harrowing of Hell' above mentioned, from the *Towneley Mysteries*—the edition published by the Surtees Society in 1836. This set of plays treats of the whole scheme of man's fall and redemption, from the Creation to the Last Judgment, and includes a good deal of repetition and uninteresting matter. The dialect in which they are written is that of Northern English; the date about the middle of the fifteenth century. Nearly all the best poetry in the collection is to be found in the plays which treat of our Lord's personality, the mingling of His Divine and human natures being realised throughout with striking vividness. Consequently, the choice of extracts which illustrate the first part of the Apostles' Creed has been likewise the choice of the most beautiful passages. It must, however, be understood that even in the best plays the writing is extremely unequal, and that in some of the very plays from which examples have been taken there are passages that are coarse and 'realistic' to a degree that might with some reason shock a modern reader.

The poetry shall now speak for itself; but a word must first be said about the plan which the adapter has tried to follow in dealing with the language. It has been that of putting it into sufficiently modern form to do away with all difficulty in reading to those who might be repelled by antiquated forms of English, while keeping close enough to the original to destroy as little as possible the quaint simplicity and unevenness which is part of the very beauty of the old

writing. There has been no attempt to produce perfect rhyme or metre; the only way to render many passages well has been to let pass similarity of vowel or consonant sound, and sometimes even only equality of line or syllable, for rhyme; and occasionally it has been impossible to change either a name or the accent on a name so as to make the verse run smoothly: in which case it has been left to run roughly.

Now, taking the Apostles' Creed in regular order, the first article — 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth' — is embodied in the opening play of the series, the 'Creation.' The whole of this play is so good that it is a great pity to have room for only a small portion of it here. It begins thus, with no introductory description :

GOD speaks.

Ego sum Alpha et O,
I am the first and last also,
One God in Majesty;
Marvellous, of might the most,
'Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost,
One God in Trinity.
I am without beginning,
My godhead hath no ending,
God am I on a throne;
One God in persons three,
That may never parted be,
For I am God alone.

And the first thing we choose to do
Is Heaven and earth to make, right thro',
And Light so fair to see;
For it is good that it be so:
Darkness and Light we part in two,
Their time to serve, and be:
Darkness we call the night,
Brightness we name the Light:
It shall be as I say:
After my will this forth is brought—
Even and morn they both are wrought,
And thus is made one day.

The Creation is brought up to the fifth day, and then the scene takes us among the angels, where we have first the cherubim singing the praises of God for the Creation. The greatest object of their praise is Lucifer:

Lord, thou art much full of might,
That Lucifer has made, so bright;

We love the Lord, with all our thought,
Who such a thing can make of nought.

Here God leaves His throne, and Lucifer seats himself on it.

Then follows a speech of Lucifer's, of which we can give only a portion :

LUCIFER.

And ye shall see full soon anon,
How it beeseems me on the throne
To sit, as King of bliss;
I am so seemly, blood and bone,
My seat shall be there, as was His.
Say, fellows, how beeseems it me
To sit in seat of Trinity?
I am so bright of ev'ry limb,
I trow me seems as good as Him!

An argument between the good and bad angels is then brought to a conclusion, and their fall lamented thus :

LUCIFER.

Now, now—a straw what reck's it me?
Since I am in myself so bright,
Therefore will I take a flight!

Here the devils go forth, crying out, and the first says,

1st DEVIL.

Alas! alas! for very woe,
Lucifer, why fell thou so?
We, that angels were so fair,
And sat so high above the air,
Now are we black as any coal,
And ugly as a tattered foal.
What ailed thee, Lucifer, to fall?
Wert thou not fairest of Angels all?
Brightest and best, and most the love
Of God Himself, that sits above?
Thou hast made nine where there were ten,
Thou art foul fallen from thy kin.
Thou art fallen, that was the tenth,
From an angel to a fiend.
Thou hast us done a vile despight,
And brought thyself to sorrow's night.
Alas! there is nought else to say
But, we are lost for now and aye!

2nd DEVIL.

Alas! that ever came pride in thought,
For it has brought us all to nought.
We were with mirth and joy upborne,
When Lucifer to pride was drawn.
Alas! now curse we wicked pride,—
So may all ye that stand beside.

The scene now takes us back to the Creation, and there are so many beauties in the rest of the play—recounting the making of

Adam and Eve, God's promises to them ('While ye will keep ye out of sin'), and their entrance into Paradise conducted by a 'cherubim'—that it is with much regret that we are forced to give only a few short passages of it:

GOD speaks.

Now make we man to our likeness,
Who shall be keeper of more and less,
Of fowls, and fish in flood.

Man being made, He touches him.

Spirit of life I in thee blow;
Good and ill both shalt thou know;
Rise up! and stand by me.

I give thee wit, I give thee strength;
Of all thou seest, of breadth and length,
Thou shalt be wondrous wise.

ADAM.

(After the angel has left them in Paradise)

Eve, my fellow, how think you this?

EVE.

A place, methinks, of joy and bliss
That God has given to thee and me
Without an end: so blest be He!

LUCIFER.

Who'd e'er suppose such time t' have seen?
—We, that in such mirth have been,
That we should suffer so much woe?

God has made man with His hand.
To have that bliss without an end;—
The nine orders up to fill,
Behind us left: such is His will.
And now are they in Paradise:—
—But thence they shall, if we be wise!

At this point the play breaks off, unfinished, the MS. appearing to have lost four leaves. It seems highly probable that the end would have carried us on to the Temptation and Fall of Man.

The next two articles must be taken together for illustration—
'And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord: Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.'

First we have a play called 'The Annunciation,' of which the whole introductory portion—where God decrees and plans the Redemption—is well worth quoting, but of which we have unfortunately room for but a few lines:

GOD *speaks*.

Righteousness now will we make;
I will that my Son manhood take;
For reason will that there be three—
A man, a maiden, and a tree;
Man for man, tree for tree,
Maid for maid:—thus shall it be.
My son shall in a maiden light
Against the fiend of hell to fight,
Without a spot, as clear as glass,
And she still maiden as she was.

Angel must to Mary go,
For the fiend to Eve was foe;

The other play from which we shall quote concerning our Lord's Incarnation and birth is a notable instance of what has been said above about the inequality of these poems. The whole of its first part consists of a conversation of the most earthly and disedifying nature—forcibly recalling Milton's

Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
Was all that did their sely thoughts so busy keep,

—among some shepherds, containing many local allusions and anachronisms; which unattractive composition bursts quite suddenly, with the angels' burst of song, into the wonderful beauty of mingled familiarity, reverence, and tenderness of the concluding portion here given. All readers of this will probably agree that whoever was the old monk, if monk it was, who penned this fragment, he was a poet and a humourist (taking *humour* in its truest and deepest sense), whether he knew it himself or not, as well as an ardent believer.

This play is called in the *Towneley Mysteries* 'Secunda Pastorum,' being the second of two 'Paginæ Pastorum;' but in an edition of Mr. Collier's it is called by the title which we prefer to give it here—

'THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS.'

(The scene at the beginning lies on a heath or moor.)

The angel sings 'Gloria in Excelsis,' and afterwards says:—

ANGEL.

Rise, herdsman-hind, for now is He born
That shall take from the fiend what Adam had lorne.
That wizard to ruin, to-night is He born,
God's made your friend: now at this morn,
He behests,
At Bethl'em go see
Who lies there so free
Betwixt two beasts!

1st SHEPHERD.

That was a quaint voice as ever I heard !
Tis a marvel to tell of, thus to be scared.

2nd SHEPHERD.

Of God's son of heaven he spake up loud and clear ;
All the wood in a levin methought he made appear.

3rd SHEPHERD.

He spake of a barn
In Bethl'em, I you warn.

1st SHEPHERD.

That betokens yonder star—
Let us seek him there.

2nd SHEPHERD.

Say, what was his song ? Heard ye not how he cracked it ?
Three short notes to a long !

3rd SHEPHERD.

Yea, marry, he hack'd it :
Was no crotchet wrong, nor no thing that lack'd it.

1st SHEPHERD.

To sing ourselves among, right as he knack'd it,
I can !

2nd SHEPHERD.

Let's see how ye croon !
Can ye bark at the moon ?

3rd SHEPHERD.

Hold your tongues, have done !

1st SHEPHERD.

Listen, then !

2nd SHEPHERD.

To Bethl'em he bade us be gone,
-I'm full feared that we tarry too long.

3rd SHEPHERD.

Be merry and not sad, of mirth is our lay ;
Everlasting joy's reward, sure, we may
Take without moan.

1st SHEPHERD.

Hie we here—away !
Tho' we be wet and weary.
To that child and that lady
We must without delay.

2nd SHEPHERD.

We find by prophecy,—stop singing, hind!—
 Of David and Isay, and more than I can mind :
 They prophesied by clergy, that in a virgin
 Should He light and lie, to slacken our sin
 And slake it—
 Our kind from woe ;
 For Isay said so :—
 Cite Virgo
 Concipiet a child that is naked.

3rd SHEPHERD.

Full glad may we be, and that day await
 That lovely one to see, all things Himself who made.
 Lord ! well were it me, for once and for aye,
 Might I kneel on my knee, some words for to say
 To that Child.
 But the angel said
 In a crib was He laid ;
 He was poorly arrayed,
 Both humble and mild.

1st SHEPHERD.

Patriarchs that have been, and prophets bygone,
 They desired to have seen this Child that is born.
 They are gone full clean—that have they lorne :
 We shall see Him, I ween, ere it be morn,
 By token !
 When I see Him and feel,
 Then know I full well
 It is true as steel
 That prophets have spoken.
 To so poor as we, that He should appear !
 First find, and declare by his messenger !

2nd SHEPHERD.

So now let us go, the place is full near.

3rd SHEPHERD.

I am ready and right :
 Go we together
 To Him so bright.
 Lord ! if Thy will it be,
 —We are ignorant all three—
 Grant us some kind of glee
 To comfort thy wight !
 (Here the scene changes to the Stable at Bethlehem.)

1st SHEPHERD.

Hail, comely and clean, hail, little child !
 Hail, maker, as I deem, of a maiden so mild !
 Thou hast cursèd, I ween, that warlock¹ so wild ;
 The false guiler of ten, now goes he beguiled.

¹ Wizard.

Lo!—he merries:
 Lo! he laughs, my sweeting:
 —A joyful meeting!
 Have a bob of cherries?

2nd SHEPHERD.

Hail! sov'ran Saviour, for thou hast us sought;
 Hail freely, seed and flower, that all things has wrought;
 Hail, full of favour, that made all of nought!
 Hail! I kneel and cower. A bird have I brought
 To my dear.
 Hail, little tiny mop!
 Of our creed thou art drop:
 I would drink from thy cup,
 Little day-star!

3rd SHEPHERD.

Hail, darling dear, full of Godhead!
 I pray thee, be near when I have need.
 Hail! sweet is thy cheer; my heart would bleed,
 To see thee sit here in so poor a weed
 With no pennits.
 Hail! put forth thy palm,
 I bring thee but a ball:—
 Have and play thee with them all,
 And go to the tennis!

MARK.

The Father of heaven, God omnipotent,
 That set all in order, His Son has He sent.
 I conceived full even, thro' might, as He meant,
 And new is He born.
 He keep you from woe!
 I shall pray Him so:—
 Tell it forth as ye go,
 And mind ye this morn!

1st SHEPHERD.

Farewell, lady! so fair to behold
 With thy child on thy knee.

2nd SHEPHERD.

Yet lies he full cold!
 Lord! well is me! now we go, thou behold.

3rd SHEPHERD.

Forsooth, it already seems t' have been told
 Full oft!

1st SHEPHERD.

What grace have we found!

2nd SHEPHERD.

Come forth! now are we sound.

3rd SHEPHERD.

To sing are we bound :—
Strike up aloft !

It is most regrettable that we are compelled by want of space to illustrate by only very few extracts the exceeding pathos of great part of the play which tells how Christ

SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIED, DEAD, AND BURIED.

The Crucifixion.

JESUS (*from the Cross.*)

I pray you, people, that pass by,
That lead your life so thoughtlessly,
Heave up your hearts on high !
Behold if ever ye saw body
Suffer and beat thus bloody,
Or yet thus doleful dight ?

All creatures on this earth that roam,
Birds, beasts, all kinds, they have their home
When they are woe-begone ;
But God's own Son, that should be best,
Has not whereon His head to rest
But on His shoulder-bone.

My brother that I came to buy
Hæ hanged me here thus hideously,
And friends are foes become ;
They have thus dight me drearily,
And all bespit me spitefully,
As helpless man all lone.

MARY.

Alas ! the dole I dree, I droop, I quake with dread !
All blemished is thy hue, I see thy body bleed.
Why hang Thou, Son, so high ? My grief begins to flow ;
Never, Son, in this world had we such madd'ning woe !
My offspring that I've fed,
Thro' life along have led !
Full straitly Thou'rt bestead
Among thy foemen fell ;
Such sorrow for to see,
My dearest bairn, in Thee,
Is mourning more to me
Than any tongue may tell.
Alas ! Thy holy head
Has no upholding bed ;
Thy face with blood is red
Was fair as flower in field !
How can I stand indeed
To see my bairn thus bleed,
Beat as blue as lead,
And have no limb to wield ?

JOHN.

Comely lady, good and kind, fain would I comfort thee!
 Me minds, my Master, with his mouth, told to his companye
 That he should thole full mickle pain and die upon a tree,
 And to the life rise up again—the third day should it be.

Therefore, my lady sweet,
 Forbear awhile to greet :
 Our pain He will relieve
 As He did promise give.

MARY.

My sorrow is so sad, no solace may me save,
 Mourning makes me mad, no hope of help I have;
 Nought may make me glad, till I be in my grave.

To death my dear is driven,
 His robe is all to-riven
 That of me was Him given
 And shapd by mine own sides.

Alas ! my comely child, why wilt thou from me go ?

Maidens, make your moan !
 And weep, ye wives, each one,
 With wretched me, all lone.

My child, of all, the first !
 My heart is stiff as stone, that for no grief will burst.

JESUS.

My Mother mild, now change thy cheer,
 Cease of thy sorrow and sighing sere ;

It sits upon my heart full sore.

The sorrow's sharp I suffer here ;
 But dole thou drees, my Mother dear,
 Martyrs me mickle more.

Take there John unto thy child,—

Mankind must needs be bought.—

And thou her kin now be in thought,
 John ; lo, there thy Mother mild !

Such life, forsooth, I led, that scarcely may I more,

This thole I for thy need,

To give thee, man, thy meed.

—Now thirst I wondrous sore !

We come now to the only one of these poems not taken from the *Towneley Mysteries*, and which, being very short, and impossible to do justice to by extracts, is given here, whole, as it stands. It is said to be the oldest piece of dramatic writing in English, its date being that of Edward the Third at any rate, and possibly of Edward the Second. It is here taken from a set of 'Five Miracle Plays, or Scriptural Dramas, privately printed under care of J. P. Collier,' in 1836.

The adapter gratefully acknowledges help in the rendering of two

or three passages in this play, and in questions of taste, from the Professor of English Literature at King's College. Also, it is right to state that in two cases a hint has been taken from a literal rendering of the poem by Mr. Halliwell (published in a pamphlet, side by side with the original, in 1840),² which the present writer did not see until the adaptation was nearly finished.

HE DESCENDED INTO HELL;

THE HARROWING OF HELL:

(otherwise, the *Besieging of Limbo* by our Lord.)

(The scene lies just outside Limbo, in a region of twilight, on the borders of hell. In the background are the gates of Limbo, behind which are the Souls of the Just, from Adam to John the Baptist. Satan guards the gates inside, and a 'Janitor' outside.)

CHRIST enters, triumphant, the Cross on His Shoulder.

PROLOGUE.

(Spoken by the actor who personates Christ, but not in His character.)

All hearken to me now!

A strife I'll tell to you,

Of Jesus and of Satan.

For Jesus was to hell gone down,

From thence to fetch away His own,

And take them home to heaven.

The Devil had had so much sway

That all in hell had had to stay;

And there was none so good prophét,

Since Adam and Eve the apple eat

—So he had reached his latter end—

But he awhile to hell must wend.

Nor thence should any ever come

Ancar to Jesus Christ, God's Son:

For that to Adam and Eve was told,

Whom Jesus Christ so dear did hold;

And so was said to Abraham

That was a soothfast holy man;

And so was said to David, the King,

That was to Christ Himself akin;

And so to John the Baptist

That baptised Jesus Christ;

To Moses, too, the holy wight

That had the law for man aright;

And many another holy man,

More than I now to tell you can,

Who all had had more woe

Than I can tell you true.

Jesus Christ them pitied sore,

And them away to carry swore.

He lit from His high tower

Into Saint Mary's bower;

² After the publication of this pamphlet, Mr. Halliwell found a MS. of the 'Harrowing' of the date of Edward the First. Vide *Reliquia Antiqua*, edited by Messrs. Wright, Phillips, and Halliwell.

He was born for our needs
 In this world in humble weeds ;
 In this world did He die
 To loose our deadly tie.
 When Jesus had shed His blood
 For our need, upon the rood,
 In Godhead then He took the way
 That on the road to hell-gate lay :
 When He came there, thus said He,
 As I now shall tell to thee.

(He speaks now in the character of Christ, going towards Limbo.)

CHRIST.

Ways of hardness have I gone,
 Sorrows suffered, many a one :
 Thirty winters and three year
 Have I dwelt among them here—
 Almost so much by is gone
 Since I with flesh was clothed upon.
 I have suffered at its worst
 Hot and cold, hunger and thirst :
 Man hath done me shame enough
 By word, and deed too, in his wroth.
 Bound and beat I ran with blood,
 They sentenced me to death on rood :
 For Adam's sin, full well I know,
 I have suffered all this woe.
 Adam, thou hast suffered sore,
 I will suffer this no more :
 Adam, dearly hast thou grieved
 For thou hast not me believed !
 I shall bring thee out of hell,
 And all mine own with thee as well.

SATAN *speaks.*

Who's that speaking at the door ?
 I advise him, speak no more.
 For he may make so much ado
 That he shall have to come in too
 For to be our comrade dear,
 And find out how we play in here.

OUR LORD *speaks.*

Thou might'st know that, of thy prey,
 All mine own I'd have away.
 Know'st thou never what I am ?
 Thirty winters o'er have ran
 Thou hast been attempting me
 For to find what I may be.
 Sin thou foundest never one
 In me as in another man,
 And thou well shalt know to-day
 All mine own I'll have away,
 Whom thou believest all thine own :
 Well, then, may'st thou grieve and groan !

SATAN.

Par ma foi, I hold as mine
 All that are with me herein;
 Reason will I give to thee
 Whereagainst thou'st nought to say.
 Whoso buyeth anything,
 It is his, and his offspring.
 Adam hungry came me to,
 Homage him I made to do:
 For an apple gave I him
 I am his, and all his kin.

OUR LORD.

Satan, well thou wot'st 'twas mine,
 The apple that thou gav'st to him.
 The apple and the apple-tree
 Both were makèd all thro' me.
 How mightest thou, in any wise,
 Of others' things make merchandise?
 Since, then, he was bought with mine,
 With reason can he not be thine.

SATAN.

Jesus! well I wot of thee—
 And full sore it rueth me.
 Over all thou'st lordship got,
 Woe is him who'll know thee not!
 Heaven and earth now take to thee,
 But souls in hell leave thou to me.
 Leave me them to have and hold,
 And those thou hast keep in thy fold!

OUR LORD.

Satan, be thou silent now!
 To thee has fall'n deuce-ace for throw.
 Thinkest thou I died for nought?
 Thro' my death mankind was bought.
 They that well have servèd me
 With me shall in heaven be.
 Thou shalt be in more despair
 Than any that thou hast in here.

SATAN.

Never can they worse me do
 Than I have had hitherto;
 I have suffered so much woe,
 That I reck not where I go.
 If thou robbest me of mine
 I shall rob thee then of thine,
 I shall go from man to man,
 And thee shall rob of all I can.

OUR LORD.

I shall sharply stop thy quest
 And my power make manifest.

So fast shall I bind up thee
 Little shalt thou rob of me.
 Thou shalt be in bonds for aye
 Till there cometh Domësdäy.
 Never shalt thou out be let
 Mankind in thy clutch to get,
 For did'st thou freely walk with men
 Thou would'st rob me many of them.
 Smaller fiends, that are not strong,
 They shall wander men among ;
 Those that won't against them stand
 I will let them have in hand.

(Here he reaches the gates of Limbo.)

Hell's gates now I've come unto,
 And I will that they undo !
 Where now's the warder of this grave ?
 Methinketh he's a coward knave !

JANITOR.

Words I've heard so strong in sound,
 No longer dare I keep my ground !
 Keep the gates whoever may,
 I'll let him stand, and run away.

OUR LORD.

Hell's gates I will throw down
 And take out all my own.

(Here He touches the gates of Limbo with the Cross, and they fall.)

Satan, be bound ! Here shalt thou stay
 Till there cometh Domësdäy.

(Here Satan falls powerless. The Souls of the Just are freed, and rise.)

ADAM.

Welcome ! Lord of earth and sky,
 Word of God, His Son most high.
 Welcome, dear Lord, must Thou be,
 For Thou comest us to see.
 Lord, now Thou art come to us,
 Take us from this loathly house ;
 Take us from this loathly land,
 Dear Lord, into Thine own hand.
 Lord, Thou know'st me from my birth,
 Adam, that Thou shap'd'st of earth !
 Thy behest I heeded not—
 Rueful penance have I got.
 Mercy ! Son of God most dear !
 Let us no more linger here.
 All the souls herein that be,
 Sore have yearnèd after Thee—
 Hope now, from Thy coming in,
 Help to have from all our sin.

EVE.

Know me, dear Lord ! I am Eve :
 Adam and I to Thee were lieve.

Thou hadst us led to Paradise,
 But we forgot it, as unwise.
 Thy behest we did forsake,
 Then did we the apple take.
 So long we both have been herein,
 Full dearly have we paid our sin.
 Dear Lord God, now give us leave—
 Adam and me, his dear wife Eve—
 To fare forth from this loathly place
 Unto the bliss of heaven's grace !

OUR LORD.

Adam, I have given my life
 For thee, and for Eve thy wife :
 Thinkest thou I died for nought ?
 Thro' my death mankind was bought.

ABRAHAM.

Dear Lord Christ, see me, I am
 Him Thou called'st Abraham.
 Do now what thou swarest me :
 Bring me up to heaven with thee !

OUR LORD.

Abraham, I know full well
 Every word thou me canst tell :—
 That my Mother dear was born
 And shaped of Thy flesh and bone.

DAVID.

Lord, I'm David the King,
 That was born of Thine offspring.
 Keep Thy promise, as foretold
 By the law of prophet old.
 Now that Thou art come to us,
 Bring us from this dreadful house !

OUR LORD.

David, true : my kin is thine,
 For thy goodness art thou mine :
 More for thy own goodness
 Than for any sibness.

JOHN.

Here, Lord Christ, Thou John dost see,
 In Jordan that baptisèd Thee.
 Now a twelvemonth by has gone
 Since I suffered martyrdom.
 Then Thou sent'st me right away
 Here to hell, that I might say
 That Thou, Christ, the Son of God,
 Soon should come to this abode,
 For to loose from pains of hell
 All thine own herein that dwell.
 Now Thou art come, now must Thou do
 What thou swarest thro' and thro'.

OUR LORD.

John ! ah John ! full well I wot
 What thou sayest, every jot.
 Thou shalt see what I shall do,
 That before I promised you.

MOSES.

Lord, Thou knowest all with skill,
 Sinai's law upon the hill ;
 The prophet Moses, here I stand,
 Who held Thy law in his right hand.
 Jesus, Thou, of God, the Son,
 Swarest, Thou to hell would'st come—
 Would'st haste to heal, with mercy fleet,
 The sins that Adam thought so sweet.

OUR LORD.

Moses ! what I ordered thee
 In the old law, thou did'st for me ;
 And all the rest, mine own that are,
 To heaven forth shall with me fare.
 They that me believed not,
 Only they behind shall stop,
 With Satan here to dwell for aye
 Till there cometh Doméday.

(Here the glory of Christ overpowers the darkness, fills Limbo with light, and hides hell. The Souls of the Just, glorified, are carried away in the light.)

EPILOGUE.

(Spoken also by the actor who personates Christ.)

God, for His mother's love,
 Let us all go above.
 Lord, for thy muckle grace,
 Grant us in heaven a place !
 Let us never now be lost,
 For no sin, O chosen host.
 Ah, bring us out of torment here,
 And all thine own, O Lord most dear ;
 And get us grace our lives to spend
 In Thy employ, in heaven to end !

'The third day He rose again from the dead' is the text of two plays—the 'Resurrection of the Lord' and 'Thomas of India.' The first of these takes in the time from the Entombment and our Lord's appearance to Mary Magdalene, and contains many beauties ; especially in Christ's pathetic exhortations to man to turn to virtue and the love of Him. But a few short specimens of the verse of this play must content us here :—

The angels sing 'Jesus resurgens,' and afterwards Jesus says :—

Earthly man that I have wrought
 Knowing, wake, and sleep thou not !
 With bitter pain I have thee bought,

To make thee free,
 And in this dungeon deep I slept
 For love of thee.
 I was full wrother with Judás
 For that he would not ask me grace,
 Than I was wroth for his trespass
 That he me sold:
 I was ready to show mercy
 Ask none he wold.

(The following passages come after the other two Marys have left
 Magdalene alone near the tomb.)

MARY MAGDALENE.

Alas! what shall become on me?
 My caitiff heart will break in three
 When that I think on that body,
 How it was spilt;
 Thro' feet and hands nailed was He,
 All without guilt.
 How, if I had not loved that Sweet,
 That for me suffered wounds all wet,
 And after buried was beneath,
 Could I such kindness know?
 Now is there nothing till we meet
 May give me joy below.
 My bliss is come, my care is gone,
 That lovely one I've met alone,
 I am as blithe in blood and bone
 As ever was wight;
 Now is He risen that was gone,
 My heart is light.
 I am as light as leaf on tree,
 For joyful sight that I can see,
 For He it was, I know full well,
 My Lord Jesu!

The touching complaints and appeals of God in His human form
 to man seem to meet with their fitting and natural answer from man
 in the following

FRAGMENT FROM 'THOMAS OF INDIA.'

THOMAS.

Not unless I might my finger put in place where nails have stood,
 And in His side my hands put in, there where He shed His heart's red blood.

JESUS.

Brethren all, be with you peace! leave strife that now is here;
 Thomas! of thine error cease; of truth witness now bear;

Put thy hand in my side:—no doubt: there Longeus' sword did pierce
Look, my rising is no less: no wanhope mar thy peace!

THOMAS.

Mercy, Jesus! rue on me, my hand is bloody, with Thy blood:
Mercy, Jesus! for I see Thy might I have not understood.
Mercy, Jesus! I Thee pray, that for all sinful died on rood;
Mercy! Jesus of mercy free, for Thy goodness that is so good.
Cast my staff away I will, and without weapon be,
Mercy will I call and cry, Jesus that hung on tree!
Rue on me, King of mercy, let me not cry thus long;
Mercy! thro' the villainy Thou bare from Jews with wrong.
My hat now will I cast away, my mantle soon anon,
Unto the poorer help it may, for richer know I none.
Mercy, Jesus! Lord so sweet, for Thy five wounds so sore;
Thou suffer'd thro' hands and feet, Thy seemly side a spear it shore.
Mercy, Jesus! yet again, for thy dear Mother that Thee bare;
Mercy! for the tears Thou shed when Thou raised Thy friend Lazare.
My girdle gay and purse of silk, my coat, away Thou shall!
For longer, while I such do wear, on mercy may I call.
Jesus! that sucked the maiden's milk, Thou ware no clothing gay;
They left Thee little, who on rood Thy clothes did take away.
Mercy, Jesus! honour of man; mercy, Jesus! man's succour;
Mercy, Jesus! rue Thy love, man's soul, Thou bought full sore.
Mercy, Jesus! that may and can be our hope, and sin forgive;
Mercy, Jesus! as Thou us won, forgive, and let Thy servant live!

Of the whole series of plays, perhaps the least interesting, taking it altogether, is the 'Ascension of the Lord,' which recounts several appearances of our Lord to the Apostles as well as His finally leaving them. It contains, however, many good passages, and is worth study. The few lines given here are from the latter part of it:—

*'He ascended into Heaven; sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.
Thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead.'*

JESUS.

With all my heart I bless you now—
My Mother, my brothers, have good day!

Then He makes ready to ascend.

Father of Heaven! with good intent
I pray Thee, hear me specially;
From heaven till earth Thou hast me sent
Thy name to preach and clarify;
Thy will have I done, all and some,
On earth will I no longer be;
Open the clouds! for now I come,
In joy and bliss to dwell with Thee.

And He ascends, the angels singing 'Ascendo ad Patrem meum.'

1st ANGEL.

Ye men of Galilee,
Wherefore marvel ye?

Heaven behold, and see
 How Jesus up can wend.
 Unto His Father free
 Where He sits in Majesty
 With him for aye to be
 In bliss without an end.
 And as we saw Him fly
 Unto heaven on high
 In flesh full bodily
 From earth now hither,
 Right so shall He, securely,
 Come down again full truly,
 With His wounds so bloody,
 To judge you all together.

Here space compels us to stop ; but these extracts might well be enlarged to the extent of a small volume without exhausting the beauties of these dramas or wearying lovers of genuine religious poetry.

F. M. CAPES.

THE AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS ACT, 1883.

IN the debate, in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Agricultural Holdings Bill, Lord Salisbury, while refusing to vote for Lord Wemyss's resolution in favour of freedom of contract, contemptuously described the measure as one of which, 'if the harm it will do on the whole will be little, the good it will do will be absolutely none.' This was a strange precursor to his subsequent action in Committee, when charges of confiscation were freely launched against the details of the Bill, when every effort was made, in the interest of landlords, to reduce it to a minimum, and when no single amendment was suggested in favour of the tenants. The depreciatory phrase was doubtless intended as a cue to Tory speakers, in the autumn campaign, on a measure, which the party dared not resist in principle, and where it was to be feared that the traditional fealty of the tenant-farmers might be shaken in favour of a government, which has twice during the present Parliament interfered directly with contracts between landlords and tenants, for the protection and interest of the latter. As speakers on county platforms are already acting on this suggestion, and as in other quarters disappointment is expressed that the measure should not have gone further, and expectations are held out of a renewed agitation for the protection of tenants against a rise of rent which may encroach on their interest in their improvements, it may be well to review 'the causes which made it necessary to pass a compulsory measure, the extent to which it will give protection to tenants whether sitting or quitting, and the reasons which make it impossible, unless we are prepared to elevate the status of tenants to that of co-owners with their landlords, to give further protection to them.

The necessity for legislation to secure tenant-farmers in their outlay had, long previously to 1875, been generally recognised, and in introducing in that year the Agricultural Holdings Bill, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Beaconsfield fully admitted it. That measure, however, was avowedly a permissive one; it contained no compulsory provisions; a general principle of compensation was laid down to apply in the absence of contract; it was hoped that the great bulk of landlords would agree to act upon the principle thus laid down, and

that even if they contracted out of it, they would do so only for the purpose of substituting for it some other method of compensation, which, under the circumstances of the case, might be more convenient and more acceptable to their tenants. The Bill throughout was permeated with restrictions and qualifications in favour of the landlords, not dissimilar to those which Lord Salisbury endeavoured to insert into the recent measure. The scale of compensation, based on the original outlay of the tenant and varying according to the different classes of improvements, was insufficient and unsatisfactory, and was incapable of general application. For the most part permanent improvements are not exhausted after twenty years, the extreme limit of duration contemplated by the Act; in many parts of the country seven years is too short a period for the exhaustion of the benefits of such operations as liming and boning; generally it was felt by tenants that the Act was insufficient; and it was alleged that they were by no means anxious to come under its operation. In fact, however, they had little choice in the matter, for they were never allowed the option of coming under the Act. The main cause of failure of the Act was the method by which it was proposed to preserve 'freedom of contract.' The usual method of doing this is to declare that the principle laid down shall apply unless both parties shall by contract exclude it; but the Act went far beyond this, for it applied the general principle of compensation to yearly tenancies, but gave power to either landlords or tenants, by giving a simple notice to the other, within a definite period, to avoid the Act. This was a method wholly new to legislation; no other case could be pointed out where, when a general rule has been laid down, persons objecting to it have been enabled by a simple notice to defeat the intention and object of Parliament. It is probable that had freedom of contract been preserved in the usual manner, the Act might have had a very important effect directly or indirectly; but the power given to landlords to notice themselves out of the Act was most unfortunate, and, it will be seen, entirely defeated its operation.

Meanwhile, it must be observed that the Liberal party protested against the illusory character of the measure. There is scarcely anything in the recent Act which was not foreshadowed in the amendments proposed by Liberal members in the Committee on the Bill of 1875. On three occasions the whole party supported amendments which would have made the compensation clauses compulsory, in the absence of agreements giving *bonâ fide* and adequate compensation. They were, however, met by such statements as those of the late Mr. Ward Hunt, who had charge of the measure in the Commons, 'that it was ludicrous to suppose that the landlords, as a class, would rush to their lawyers immediately after the passing of the Act and notice themselves out of it,' and of Mr. Chaplin, who said that 'he could not assume that tenants were so totally blind to their own interests, or

landlords so unfair, as members opposite seemed to suppose ; the fears of these members were totally without foundation.' The proposals of the Liberal party were defeated in the division lobbies. It is not their fault, therefore, that the Act of 1875 was a failure, and that for eight years, the most critical and disastrous which British agriculture has ever passed through, tenants have been without the protection for their improvements which the legislature intended to secure to them. It is true that no measure of compensation could have avoided the serious disasters which agriculture has experienced, owing to a succession of wet seasons and low production coupled with low prices of agricultural products ; but these bad harvests and low prices have rendered readjustments of rent necessary in a vast number of cases, and the fact that tenants had no legal security for their improvements must have been a grave disadvantage to them in these readjustments, and have placed them on very unequal terms in their bargains.

Immediately after the passing of the Act there happened that which Mr. Ward Hunt considered so impossible. The landlords as a class did rush to their lawyers with a view to notice themselves out of the Act. Notices fell upon the land as flakes in a snowstorm. The Act was completely nullified. It has been endeavoured by those responsible for it to show that it had important effects indirectly in stimulating agreements between landlords and tenants. All the evidence we have before us shows that this was the case to a very small and inappreciable extent. In 1876 Mr. Samuelson brought the subject under the notice of the House of Commons, and showed conclusively that tenant-farmers as a class were still without security, that the Act of 1875 had been universally repudiated, and had no appreciable effect in stimulating agreements. The evidence of the Royal Commission on Agriculture led to the same conclusion. The reports of the sub-commissioners were very instructive on this point, and showed that in spite of the Act of 1875 the tenant-farmers of England and Wales were, in the vast majority of cases, still without adequate protection for the improvements ordinarily effected by them. It appeared from these reports that there were only three districts in the country where existing tenant-right customs were sufficient and satisfactory, viz., in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Glamorgan-shire. In the rest of England and Wales customs either did not exist, or were inadequate as a protection.

Thus Mr. Little reported of Cornwall :—

Compensation for unexhausted improvements does not appear to be secured by any custom, and comparatively few agreements recognise the interest of the tenant in manures and feeding stuffs. . . . On the larger estates compensation for artificial manures, lime, &c., is frequently on a liberal scale. In some cases the Agricultural Holdings Act, with slight modifications, is adopted, but a great number of farmers have no security which will encourage them to farm well during the latter

years of their leases, and with seven or ten years' leases this must have a prejudicial effect upon the cultivation of the land. . . . Security for tenants' improvements was everywhere demanded.

In Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Bucks, Bedfordshire, Northampton, Norfolk, and Middlesex, it was specially reported that no customs existed, and that only on some of the larger estates was compensation provided by agreement:

Of Cheshire Mr. Coleman reported :—

Much more improvement would be made if return for judicious outlay were secured. Security is specially needed for outlay of bones, lime, and Dutch barns. Restrictive agreements act injuriously ; more freedom would encourage outlay and enterprise. On the best managed estates tenant-right claims have been introduced ; but as they are not universal and probably exceptional, a great stimulus would be given in many directions if tenant-right as to such matters was legalised.

Of Lancashire he said :—

In some cases owners have adopted the Act of 1875 as regards temporary improvements. . . . The general feeling of the part of the farming community is that they should have security for the unexhausted value of their outlay to the extent that the incomer is benefited, and that such compensation should only apply to what is properly tenants' outlay.

Of Bedfordshire Mr. Druce reported that of twenty-three tenant-farmers who were questioned upon the extent to which they were protected by their agreements, only seven stated that they were entitled on quitting their holdings to some allowance, which, however, from the details given, appeared to be very inadequate. Similarly, in Hertfordshire, out of fifteen farmers from whom information was obtained, only three were found to be entitled to any compensation on quitting their farms.

The general conclusion to be drawn from these reports and the evidence was that many of the more enlightened of the great land-owners had provided for compensation to their tenants in their agreements, that some others acted on the principle when tenants quitted their holdings, but that throughout the greater part of the country the tenants either were not protected at all by custom or contract, or were most insufficiently protected. It was in view of this evidence, doubtless, that the Royal Commission felt itself compelled to report that the Agricultural Holdings Act should be made compulsory where adequate agreements do not exist.

Meanwhile the question had not been lost sight of in Parliament, and several measures were introduced by private members ; the pressure of tenant-farmers was so strong that Mr. Chaplin felt himself compelled to introduce a measure to make the Act of 1875 compulsory even before the Royal Commission, of which he was a member, had reported. This, and another Bill with the same object

by Sir Thomas Acland, were in the session of 1882 read a second time and referred to a select committee of which the writer acted as chairman.

The principle, therefore, of compulsory legislation was generally admitted, and the only question was in what manner and to what extent. This question could not be determined on without reference to the demands of the Farmers' Alliance, an association which had come into existence previous to the general election of 1880, and which had done much good service in bringing into political prominence this and other demands of the tenant-farmers. The objects and views, however, of this body had developed with remarkable rapidity. The Irish legislation of 1881 was not unlikely to stimulate such a growth, and to raise hopes that the application of similar principles might be possible in England.

Previous to 1881 no thought was entertained in any quarter of giving security to tenants beyond making compulsory the Act of 1875. Mr. James Howard, the Chairman of the Farmers' Alliance, made it his boast that the schedules of that Act were borrowed from an original Bill of his own, and his Bill did no more than secure that in all cases compensation should be paid for the improvements included in this schedule. It was only in 1882 that wider principles were adopted by this association. Their demands then took the form of securing to the tenant a saleable tenant-right—in other words, that the tenant on quitting his holding should be entitled to sell to the best bidder his interest in his improvements. The provision, however, with its reservations and alternatives, would have proved of little value to tenants; and in the present year the association made a further step in advance by asserting the principle that a tenant, whether remaining or quitting, should be entitled to appeal to an independent body to prevent the rent being raised to a point which would encroach upon his improvements. This in fact was a distinct proposal to adopt the system of judicial rents; and Mr. Howard and the leaders of the Farmers' Alliance made no secret of their aims to obtain this security for the tenant-farmers of England.

In view of these demands it became necessary, especially for those who have strong views in the direction of land-reform, to consider what claims the English tenants have for legislation leading in the direction of the Irish Act of 1881. Personally I had always defended that measure, not as one of expediency to meet the land agitation in Ireland, nor even on the narrower ground that the Irish tenants were unable to contract with their landlords, and were entitled therefore to protection from the State, but on the broader grounds of equity and right arising out of the peculiar and exceptional condition, both historical and economical, of the Irish tenants.

Ireland is essentially a country of small cultivators. Wherever this is the case, it is impossible for the landlords to undertake the outlay

on houses, farm buildings, and other permanent improvements; to do so would entail a ruinous outlay on them. Such expenditure must be undertaken by the tenants; and where the tenants effect these improvements, their position to the land and to their landlords is, and must be, essentially different from that of tenants for whom such permanent outlay is undertaken by the landlords. As a matter of fact the Irish tenants had from the earliest times made all the improvements on their holdings, had with rare exceptions built their houses and homesteads, drained and fenced the land; they had also by the traditional custom of the country, though nominally for the great part only yearly tenants, been considered as permanently in occupation of the land; their interest in their holdings had descended from father to son, had been the subject of family charges and settlements, and had been bought and sold more or less with the knowledge, permission, or acquiescence of their landlord or his agent. It was obvious that a rack rent encroaching on this tenant's interest was in the highest degree unjust and inequitable, and was acknowledged to be so by the best landlords of the country.

The Act of 1870 endeavoured to secure the tenants against rack rents by giving them the right to claim, on quitting, the value of their improvements, and in the case of very small holdings a further sum for disturbance of their tenure; but it failed, because it was found by experience that the tenants could not or would not save themselves from rack rents by quitting their holdings and claiming compensation. There was no equality of contract, not so much because of the difference in status of the landlord and his tenant, but because the tenant could not disengage his interest from his holding so as to contract freely and independently with his landlord, and he would submit to any sacrifice rather than leave his holding. It was discovered then that a landlord could virtually set the Act of 1875 at defiance, and render it null and void by gradually raising the rent to a point where it appropriated the interest of the tenant. Hence arose the necessity for the State to interfere and to enable the tenant to appeal to a court of law to prevent a rent being exacted from him which encroached upon his interest. From the moment this was recognised the legal position of the tenants became essentially altered. With the judicial rent there followed, as a matter of logical necessity, a legal term for the rent, and the right to a renewal of the term upon a fresh determination of the rent, and the existence of the term at once implied the right of sale; and thus the three principles of the Act of 1881, fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale, were necessarily involved the one with the other, and flowed directly from the judicial rent. A dual ownership of land, it must be admitted, was virtually instituted by this measure, a system to which, in some quarters, grave exception is now taken from an economic point of view, but for which, when applied to a system of small holdings, there is much to

be said. This dual ownership, however, was but a legal recognition of an existing fact. Practically before the Act of 1870 the landlords were not full owners of the land, and on the other hand the tenants had in fact an interest in the soil far different from that of ordinary tenants.

It is thought well to repeat this explanation of the principle of the Irish Act for the purpose of emphasising the difference of facts between the system of tenancy in Ireland and that of England. It is indeed a matter of surprise that English Conservatives should not see the folly of denouncing this Irish legislation, the principle of which was accepted by both Houses of Parliament, as pure robbery and confiscation. If it were so, there can be no reason why it should not be extended to England, except that the agitation for it is not strong enough to disturb the equanimity of Parliament. If, however, its principles can be justified by a broad view of the historic and economic conditions of Irish tenure, then it becomes possible to object to its extension to England on safe and certain grounds.

Turning then to English tenancy, there are none of the conditions which make such legislation possible and expedient. The English tenants, with rare exceptions, have not made any permanent improvements to their holdings. The landlords have built the farmhouses and farm buildings, have drained and fenced the land, have done everything in fact except that which is ordinarily done out of tenants' capital. The tenants can make no claim whatever to hold by tenure; they have, with rare exceptions, no hereditary connection with their holdings; they have entered upon their farms under pure contracts. The system of large farms is such that it is possible for the landlords to incur the outlay on the necessary buildings and permanent improvements, and on the other hand it is economically better for the tenants, as a rule, not to lock up their capital in permanent improvements of the farm, but to keep it disengaged for the necessary conduct of their business and for such improvements as are ordinarily effected by tenants. No analogy, therefore, can be drawn between the English and Irish systems. What was just and expedient in the Irish case would be in the highest degree unjust and indefensible in the English case. Further, a system of dual ownership, which in a country of small holdings may be tolerable, if indeed it has not many advantages to recommend it, would be most inexpedient in a country of large farms. To convert the English owners into rent-chargers would be to destroy any interest they have in the permanent improvement of their land, while it is probable that the tenant-farmers would not be able to supply their place and to effect the necessary improvements. Every argument which was used in support of the Irish Act fails on this side of the Channel, and it would be in the highest degree unjust, and equally unsound from an economic point of view, to extend the principles of that Act to England.

Apart, however, from considerations of justice and even of economic principle, it would have been inexpedient, in the interest of tenants, to move in the direction of the Irish Act. In the position of parties, and strong as the Liberal party is, the passing of such a measure, however obscurely the principle of the Irish Act might have been imported, would have been impossible. The attempt to do so would have broken up the Liberal party, and in any case the measure could not have passed the House of Lords. But, meanwhile, the mere suggestion of such a measure and its adoption by one of the great parties of the State, or even by the larger half of it, would have profoundly disturbed the social system in rural districts, and the relations of landlords and tenants. English landlords would not be so helpless as Irish landlords, and there cannot be a doubt that if the fear were spread among them that legislation was imminent, which would convert them into rent-chargers, they would in no inconsiderable numbers endeavour to avoid the fate proposed for them, by resuming possession of their land and getting rid of their tenants while they should have the opportunity of doing so. The only limit to such a movement would be their means and power of farming and managing such land themselves; but much might be done in this direction by co-operative management and by sale of portions of the land. Possibly, in the view of some, a break-up of the larger estates in this manner by the indirect effect of a threatened tenant-right would not be an evil, but it could hardly fail to be disastrous to the tenants concerned. Looking at the question from the point of view of a land-reformer, who has frequently pointed out the exceptional dangers of the present condition of landownership in England, it was impossible to believe in the expediency or justice of undermining and subverting it by legislation of this nature.

These views in the main prevailed among the advanced members of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. There was no strong sympathy in this quarter with the demands of the Farmers' Alliance. The few friends of that Association did not even venture to raise this question directly, or in a form in which it could be discussed and voted upon in the House. Their proposals which most nearly approached this point, but which were very far short of it, were rejected by overwhelming majorities, and they obtained no substantial support from those members who specially represent the tenant-farmers. The debates then on the recent Act have made it clear beyond all question that the English and Scotch members will have nothing to say to judicial rents, and will not endow tenants with the status of joint owners with their landlords; and there is no appearance that such a policy has as yet found favour with any considerable section of the tenants themselves.

It will naturally be asked why, if the conditions of tenancy be

such that the principle of the Irish Act cannot be applied to England, it should be deemed necessary to interfere with contracts between landlords and tenants to secure compensation for those improvements ordinarily effected by tenants. Are English tenants so helpless that they cannot be trusted to look after their own interests, and to make such contracts as are necessary for their protection in their trade? The answer is that through a strange deficiency of our Common Law the right of tenants to their improvements, in the absence of contracts, was not recognised, and hence a practice grew up under which landlords, as a rule, refused or neglected to concede compensation, or customs existed locally on the subject of a wholly insufficient character. The law, indeed, has from the earliest times recognised the right of the outgoing tenant to the crops which he has left in the soil, and permits him to come upon the farm after he has given up possession of it, for the purpose of gathering the crops which he planted. Whether or not a tenant can contract out of this right, in fact this is never done, and the practice invariably follows the law.

The position of the tenant in respect of manures which he has put into the soil, or feeding stuffs which have been consumed on the farm and have added to its fertility, is identical with that in respect of the crops which he has left on the land. Such improvements are his property, the result of his industry and capital, and it is in the highest interest of agriculture generally that there should be every inducement to a tenant to invest his capital in this manner in the soil—in other words, to create that property; and the same security should be given to the tenant for this purpose as in the case of the crops themselves. The question is rather one of property and of the interest of agriculture and the State, than of freedom of contract. If freedom of contract results, as a rule, in the confiscation of property, or if it works so as to deter the creation of property, then in the interest of the public and in the name of justice it is right and expedient to restrict such freedom to do wrong. If the law had originally given the same protection to improvements as to emblements or crops left behind by an outgoing tenant, there would probably have been no necessity for a compulsory measure, but in the existing practice of landlords, and under the customs of the country, there is no method of bringing about a change in this respect without a compulsory measure dictating equally to landlords and tenants. Whatever theoretical arguments may be adduced against compulsion, it is an instructive fact that no discussion was raised upon it in the House of Commons; that only eight peers were found to follow Lord Wemyss into the lobby of the Upper House on behalf of freedom of contract; and that Lord Wemyss had, on vacating his seat for Haddingtonshire, been replaced by his son, who aban-

done his father's principles in deference, it may be presumed, to the demands of the Lothian farmers.

On the one hand, then, it was admitted to be necessary to intervene between landlords and tenants, either to secure by law compensation for improvements, or to compel such agreements as are in accordance with equity and with the interests of the public, in giving inducements for good cultivation; on the other hand, it was neither expedient nor just to carry this principle to the point where it would trench upon the principle of ownership, or risk the introduction into England of the system which had been adopted in Ireland. It was to avoid this that the compulsory provisions for compensation were limited to what are ordinarily tenants' improvements, to those acts of husbandry, such as manuring, the use of feeding stuffs, marling, boning, liming, &c., which, according to the system in England, are invariably carried out by tenants, and which it is obvious can be more successfully and economically carried out by them than by landlords. In respect of such improvements, then, the new Act gives full latitude and protection to the tenants; it repeals all the conditions imposed by the Act of 1875, and secures to them compensation either according to the principle laid down in the Act, which is based on the actual remaining value of them to the incoming tenant, or by previous agreement between landlord and tenant, which, by the terms of the Act, must be such as to secure fair and reasonable compensation.

With respect to more permanent improvements (other than drainage), such as are usually carried out by landlords, building, planting, irrigation works, &c., the previous consent of the landlord is required by the Act as in the case of that of 1875, but in the absence of any agreement to the contrary, the same principle of compensation for such improvements, based on the value of the same to the incoming tenant, is laid down. With respect to these permanent improvements the principle kept in view, in requiring the landlord's consent, is that they alter the character of the holding, and that to permit such improvements to be carried out by the tenant, or rather to give him a legal right to compensation for the same, when effected without the landlord's consent, would be to trench upon the principle of ownership, and if conceded would entail at no distant date a further advance towards recognising a co-partnership of the tenant with his landlord. Here again, however, it may be observed that an opposite course might in practice prove detrimental to the real interest of tenants. So long as the right of ejectment, and of determining the length of the tenancy, is left with the landlord, it is obvious that this power might be used by a landlord to prevent anything being done to the holding, which is contrary to his wishes or to his interest. In the case of a yearly tenancy, determinable by a six or twelve months' notice to

quit, it is not to be supposed that a tenant would execute any permanent improvement in the face of a notice to quit by the landlord; the landlord, therefore, might entirely defeat a proposal to make compensation compulsory in respect of permanent improvements, by giving notice to quit, upon his tenant commencing any improvement against his wish. A compulsory provision as to permanent improvements, therefore, would operate as a great preventive of leases, and might tend to increase the exercise of arbitrary power by a landlord over his tenants rather than to reduce it.

The consideration of this shows that the possibilities of protection to a tenant in his improvements are limited so long as the right of resuming possession of his property is reserved to the landlord, and that security, in the sense desired by many, could only be attained by altering the fundamental condition of ownership, and by recognising the right of a tenant to a joint ownership with the landlord, with all its contingent consequences of judicial rents and fixity of tenure. The one exception made by the Act in respect of permanent improvements is that of drainage. Drainage is so essential to good husbandry, and is so deficient in many parts of the country, that it fairly comes within the rule of tenants' improvements. The Act, therefore, gives power to the tenant to claim compensation for drainage works, which have been executed without the consent of the landlord, where the landlord has refused or neglected to execute the required works himself. It is believed, however, that in its practical working this provision will have more effect in stimulating landlords to execute drainage themselves than in inducing tenants to undertake it.

The compulsory provisions of the Act being limited to what are ordinarily tenants' improvements, the question naturally arose whether this protection should be given only in the form of compensation to the tenant on leaving his farm, or whether any other form of protection could be given to the tenant who wishes to remain in his farm. It was urged with great ability and force by Sir James Caird and others, that no advantage accrued to the great mass of tenants, who desired to remain in their holdings, by securing to them compensation for their improvements on quitting their farms, and that what was really needed was some means of preventing their rent being raised upon their improvements so as virtually to confiscate them. The answer to this was twofold. In the first place issue was taken with the statement that no benefit accrues to a sitting tenant by giving him a legal claim to his improvements on quitting his holding; and, secondly, it was maintained that no other security could be given to him in the sense desired than that proposed, except by submitting the determination of rent to an external authority, and that any measure short of this would prove to be nugatory and futile for the purpose aimed at.

On the first of these points it is only necessary to make a com-

parison between the position of the sitting tenant, who is secure in the compensation proposed by the Bill, and that of a sitting tenant who is without protection, in order to estimate the difference in their position. Suppose, for instance, that two tenants have laid out each 500*l.* in tenants' improvements, but that one of them is without any protection, and the other is protected as proposed by the Act. Which of them is best in a position to negotiate with his landlord for a change of terms of the tenancy? In the one case the protected tenant knows that if he does not come to agreement with his landlord and has to quit his farm, he will receive compensation to the extent provided by the Act, and the landlord knows that he will have to pay such sum or find another tenant who will pay it to the outgoing tenant. In the other case the tenant knows that if he quits his farm, owing to his unwillingness to submit to the terms of his landlord, he will get nothing, and the landlord knows that the tenant's improvements will enure to his benefit without payment. The difference, therefore, is very great. The Act, in securing the legal right to a tenant on quitting for full compensation, gives him a support at the very moment when terms of renewal of the tenancy are the subject of negotiation, and it is equally valuable whether the landlord demands a higher rent or whether the tenant considers himself entitled to a lower rent. In either case the position of the tenant is strengthened and that of the landlord weakened, as compared with the case where there is no legal claim for compensation.

It was said, however, that when a tenant quits his farm in consequence of his rent being raised, the expense of removal to another farm is so serious that this alone would induce him to submit to a higher rent than he would otherwise do, and that this rent may encroach on the value of his improvements. This expense, however, is not only on the side of the tenant. A change of tenancy is always a serious matter and the cause of great expense to the landlord. As a rule he is compelled to expend money in repairs and improvements before a new tenant comes in. A landlord is not, therefore, so ready to part with improving tenants for the sake of a slightly higher rent from unknown incomers. It is notorious that the reverse is the case, and that he is willing to take a somewhat lower rent from the sitting tenant, especially if he be an improving tenant, rather than a higher rent from a new tenant. The conditions of the bargain, therefore, where the tenant has a certain claim to compensation for his improvements on quitting his holding, are not unequal.

With respect to the further point, complaint was made of the provision in the Bill that compensation should be legally enforceable only when the tenant should quit his holding, and not when the terms of tenancy are changed, and it was attempted to show that this would place the sitting tenant at a disadvantage. The

tenant, however, who remains in his holding, reaps the benefit of the improvements; if therefore the landlord should be compelled to pay for such improvements on any change of the terms of a tenancy, the tenant would get the value of his improvements twice over, unless the landlord should raise the rent proportionally. The improvements, however, being temporary (for in respect of permanent improvements the question does not arise, as any arrangement may be made which is convenient to both), the rent must be raised temporarily. Suppose, for instance, a tenant farming 100 acres of grass land at a rent of 200*l.* should apply bones to 50 acres at a cost of 6*l.* per acre or 300*l.*, and that the effect of the bones is estimated to last six years; and suppose that after two years the existing tenancy should expire by notice of either party, with a view either to an increase or reduction of rent. The remaining value of the bones would not be less than 200*l.* If the landlord should be called upon to pay this sum, on a mere change of the terms of the tenancy, to the sitting tenant, he would be compelled to raise the rent by the sum of more than 50*l.* per acre for four years, the period for which the effect of the bones would last; otherwise the tenant would get the value of the improvements twice over. How then would the tenant be benefited? Would it be so easy for the tenant to get the rent reduced again? This, however, is a comparatively simple case.

In most cases the improvements on the farm are of varying duration; and the rent would have to be adjusted to meet the varying duration of the improvements for which the landlord would have to pay the tenant; the adjustment of the rent on this basis would be most difficult. It may be confidently asserted then that in no such case would a landlord ever consent to pay to a continuing tenant compensation for such tenant's improvements on a break of the tenancy. Whatever the Act might provide in this respect, the landlord would make it an absolute condition of the new tenancy that no payment should be made for any improvements, and that the new rent, whether higher or lower, should be based on the tenant continuing in possession of his improvements and receiving no compensation for them. This has been the invariable practice in the past where contracts or customs provide compensation for tenant's improvements, and no case, it is believed, has ever occurred where a landlord has paid to a tenant, on a renewal or change of terms of a tenancy, compensation for improvements. The practice in the future would be the same as in the past. The landlord would not pay compensation to a continuing tenant, and on a change of tenant it would be the incoming tenant and not the landlord who would pay the outgoing tenant the value of the tenant's improvements, and the rent to the continuing tenant and to the new tenant would be adjusted on this basis. In this view, then, it is a matter of indifference whether the

legal liability for compensation arises on the determination of the tenancy or on the tenant quitting his holding, and no advantage can accrue to the tenant by giving him a legal claim on the determination of his holding. The proposal to secure compensation on the determination of a tenancy would be quite useless and nugatory in the sense desired, and would be no better protection against a rise of rent than is provided by the Act as it stands. This was frankly admitted in the course of the debates by Mr. Jesse Collings, who stated that he had tried his hand several times at a clause for giving protection to a sitting tenant against a rise of rent on his improvements, but that none of his clauses would hold water when tested, and that the only valid protection that could be given would be the judicial rent, a conclusion which he urged the House of Commons to adopt at once without hesitation. The admission was important as confirming the view that the Act as it stands does as much for the protection of the sitting tenants as is possible, unless we are prepared to adopt the judicial rent with all its concomitants of recognising a co-partnership interest in the tenant, and of virtually creating a dual ownership of land.

Comparing then the recent Act with that of 1875, it will be found that it differs in these important respects.

1. The Act of 1875 was purely permissive. The Act of 1883 is compulsory as regards compensation for those improvements which are ordinarily effected by tenants.

2. The Act of 1875 applied only to future tenancies, and in the case of yearly tenancies permitted either landlords or tenants by a simple notice to prevent its application. The Act of 1883 is retrospective, and applies its principle of compensation to all existing leases and agreements, except where the parties have expressly agreed that specific compensation should be given for a particular improvement, in which case the agreement is to supersede the provision of the Act to that extent.

3. The Act of 1875 laid down as a general rule, in the absence of agreement, a scale of compensation which is admitted to be unsatisfactory and insufficient in the vast majority of cases. The Act of 1883 lays down a simple rule, applicable to all cases in the absence of agreement, that the compensation to be paid shall be the value of the improvement to the incoming tenant; it permits, however, landlords and tenants to make agreements as to the scale of compensation, provided they are fair and reasonable.

4. The Act of 1875 requires the previous consent of landlords to drainage as to other permanent improvements. The Act of 1883 gives to the tenant the right to drain his land and to claim compensation on quitting, provided the landlord does not undertake on demand to do it himself, charging the tenant a reasonable rate of interest for it.

5. The Act of 1875 required previous notice to the landlord in the case of all such improvements as liming, boning, &c. The recent Act has swept away these conditions.

6. The Act of 1875 applied only to agricultural holdings of above two acres. The Act of this year applies to agricultural holdings without limit of size, and to market-gardens.

7. The Act of 1875 allowed landlords to notice themselves out of the clause which extended the notice to quit from six months to twelve months. The Act of 1883 makes a year's notice necessary in every case, unless both landlord and tenant together shall agree that the shorter notice shall prevail.

8. The Act of 1883 does away with the presumption of law that buildings are the property of the landlord, and enables a tenant to remove at the end of his tenancy any buildings he may have erected. This is a most important relaxation of the old feudal principle that whatever is fixed to the soil becomes the property of the landlord.

9. The Act of 1883 reduces the right of distress for six years' arrears of rent to one year's rent.

If the provision as to distress stops short of total abolition, and that as to a year's notice is not compulsory in all cases, it has been from the conviction that the great body of the tenants are opposed in both cases to a more thorough measure.

It may be well to supplement this short description of the Act by pointing out what will be the position of existing yearly tenants, who constitute four-fifths of the tenants of England and Wales, under their present agreements. The Act does not come into legal operation till the beginning of 1884. As regards yearly tenancies then existing, it will not have full effect till the day when, after that date, either landlord or tenant, by giving notice to the other to quit, could terminate the tenancy. In the case, therefore, of tenancies terminable at Michaelmas by six months' notice, the Act will have full operation after Michaelmas 1885, and, if terminable by a year's notice, after Michaelmas 1886, and where the tenancies are terminable at Lady Day either by six months' or twelve months' notice ending Lady Day, the Act will not have full operation till Lady Day 1886. In the case of leases the Act will not have full operation until the end of the lease. The Act, however, will have important effects upon yearly tenancies which terminate in the interval between the date of its commencement and its full operation, for the compensation clauses are retrospective, and secure compensation to an outgoing tenant, unless in respect of any particular improvement the agreement or custom of the country prescribes the scale of compensation; and the same holds good in respect of leases. The tenants, therefore, will be supported to this extent in any new agreements they may make with their landlords. When the Act comes into full operation

in respect of a yearly tenancy, it will override any local custom, and the method of compensation provided by the Act will be substituted for any existing custom; but where the contract specifies any particular scale or method of compensation other than that of the Act, such agreement will prevail, provided it is held by the Court to be fair and reasonable. As, however, so large a number of tenancies are dependent upon customs of the country, it is important that tenants and landlords should recollect that all customs of the country in respect of compensation will, after the dates alluded to, be put an end to, and that all tenancies, in the absence of agreement in writing, will come under the general compensation clauses of the Act and be freed from any such local customs.

Looking to the extent to which existing tenancies are the subject of customs for the most part of an insufficient and unsatisfactory character, it is certain that a vast proportion of them will come under the Act, unless agreements be made in the interval. Tenants, therefore, should recollect that they have only to stand by and to decline to enter into specific agreements on the subject, and they will then enjoy the full benefit of the Act. If, on the other hand, they should prefer a scale of compensation based on the principle of outlay, similar to the Lincolnshire custom, it will be necessary for them, before the Act comes into full operation in respect of their holdings, to come to an arrangement on the subject with their landlords, for the substitution of an agreement to this effect for the general rule of the Act.

Looking at the Act from the point of view of landlords, it may be well to add a few words with respect to its future working. The permission to substitute agreements for the general principle of compensation laid down by it gives to landlords a certain latitude of action. It is true that such agreements must be fair and reasonable; it is possible, however, that this provision may be worked so as to restrict within the narrowest limits the intentions and objects of the Act. An opinion has, for instance, been expressed by a high authority, that conditions attached to such agreements, requiring tenants to give notice to their landlords before making improvements of the third class, or conditions requiring previous analyses of the manures to be applied, would be held to be 'fair and reasonable.' This, however, is a point which appears to be open to grave doubt. The clause in the Act of 1875 requiring notice to the landlords in the case of certain improvements was expressly repealed by the recent Act, and the Government declined to re-enact it on the ground that such conditions are not reasonable, that tenants cannot be expected to serve their landlords with notice every time that they put a few cart-loads of lime on their holdings, or before applying bones or artificial manures to their land; and it would seem to be unreasonable that

landlords should be able to enforce by contract what the Legislature has repudiated as a general rule. However this may be, it is most undesirable in their own interest that landlords should restrict the objects of the Act by conditions of this kind, or that they should endeavour to take advantage of the power to substitute agreements by adopting the lowest possible scale of compensation. It would be well they should recollect that the Act of 1883 became necessary in consequence of the unfortunate repudiation of the Act of 1875 by the mass of the landlords, just as the Irish Land Act of 1881 became necessary through the landlords discovering the means of evading and rendering nugatory the Act of 1870. The success of the recent Act and its permanence as a settlement of the question will depend in a measure upon the action of the landlords in its practical working. If, for the purpose of certainty as to the method of compensation, landlords prefer agreements, laying down a scale of compensation based on the original outlay, they will do well to make these agreements on the most liberal scale. It will be equally in their interest to revise their existing agreements in the same sense. In respect of drainage it will be wise in them to encourage their tenants to undertake the work whenever they are unable to do so themselves; and generally, as regards other permanent improvements, it is to be hoped they will readily give their consent to their tenants effecting whatever improvements they are indisposed to undertake themselves, and which are not detrimental to the value of the farm. They should recollect that the question cannot be reopened again without the greatest risk that the principle of the judicial rent will directly or indirectly be introduced.

Saving some minor points on which it will not be worth while to reopen the question, the recent Act, it is believed, goes as far as possible to protect the tenant's interest without involving the principle of the judicial rent and its practical admission of co-ownership of the tenant, and if further legislation should be necessary it will be far more difficult to avoid this. That the question of the judicial rent should have been raised and distinctly brought under the notice of the tenant-class in England by a body professing to represent them is not without significance. It may meet with more sympathy with the class in the future, when they understand what it means, when rents are again on the rise, and when farming is a more profitable business than it has been during the last six years. The Legislature in the passing of the recent Act, and still more in its discussions, has distinctly and almost unanimously repudiated this principle. This has mainly occurred through the refusal of the advanced Liberals to support it, under the belief that the true path of land-reform does not lie in this direction. This, however, should not blind our eyes to the dangers of the existing condition of landownership in England.

It will be then the true interest of landowners to assist in all measures which will tend to bring into their ranks a larger number of defenders. Land-reform in this sense must take the direction of assimilating land to personal property, requiring that it shall be divided on intestacy in the same manner as personal property, restricting within the narrowest limits the power of effecting family settlements, and making its transfer as simple and inexpensive as possible.

Lord Cairns's Act of last year was a great step in this direction. The power given by it to tenants for life to sell any portion of the land, with the exception of the family mansion, without even the consent of the trustees of the settlement, was a wise and bold conception. It was doubtless believed by its framers that such a step would stave off other and wider reforms for a long time to come, as it would weaken the argument against entails and family settlements that they impede the sale and transfer of land. This may be the case for a short time, but ultimately the effect of the measure must inevitably be to lead to wider reforms. It has, in fact, thoroughly undermined the principle on which primogeniture and family entails are founded. When land and personalty under settlement have no longer any practical distinction, and can be converted the one into the other by the tenant for life, the legal distinction between them cannot long be defended, and great force must be given to those who claim that for the purpose of intestacy and for all other legal purposes no such difference should be recognised. When also it comes to be thoroughly understood that no matter how the landed property may be tied up, or how great the desire of the settlor or testator to keep the land in the family and to put it beyond the danger of dispersion, his next heir, immediately on coming into possession, may sell it and convert it into personalty, and that it is impossible therefore to secure the preservation of the family-property from conversion into personalty by the temporary owner, it is certain that a great change of opinion will occur in the family view of such arrangements.

Many other things have also occurred during the past five or six years which have tended to alter opinions with respect to the value of such family-settlements and the accumulation of land in few hands, even among those who are the objects of them. The agricultural depression of the last six years has fallen with great severity upon those landowners who are dependent for their fortunes wholly upon land, especially where they are encumbered with family charges and mortgages. The reduction of rents, and the enforced necessity of taking land in hand and finding capital for working it, have brought home to great numbers of landowners how unwise it is to have so large a part of their fortune locked up in land. It is

probable, therefore, that we may see in the next few years a considerable change in the family and social opinions which, when assisted by the Legislature, have led to the accumulation of land in so few hands. Not less important may be the movement in the direction of the combination of ownership and occupation. In all directions landowners are recognising the necessity and advantage of themselves cultivating a not inconsiderable portion of their land. This has been forced upon them by the adversities of the past few years; but the experience gathered will show that it is wise to continue or extend this. The claims and the promise of agitation for judicial rents and for converting tenants into co-partners with their landlords will tend to strengthen this movement.

It is probable, then, that we are approaching a period when tenancy will not be the all-prevailing condition of cultivation of land in England, and that ownership will be combined with occupation to a far larger extent. The effect of this in promoting on the one hand the highest forms of cultivation, and in strengthening on the other the rights of owners against the demands of tenants, may be very important. Ownership is the best form of security which can be given to the cultivator; and it may be confidently stated that the highest kinds of cultivation, those requiring most application of capital, can be carried out under the stimulus of security which ownership alone can give.

The future condition, then, of landownership in England and of its relation to tenancy and the cultivation of land, and whether reform will take the direction of a social revolution, or will assume that gradual process which is characteristic of English progress, will depend upon the extent to which landowners themselves appreciate the forces around them, and read the lessons of the past and the present. The settlement of the tenant's compensation question upon lines which do not involve any recognition of a permanent interest in the tenant, has given a breathing time; but if tenancy is to continue the universal system of England, and if the land is to continue in the possession of the few thousands of owners in whose hands, under the system which has prevailed during the last two hundred years, it is now accumulated, it may be difficult at some future time to resist the pressure of the tenant-class for some greater inroad upon their landlords' interest, and we may have an agrarian movement similar to that which has taken place in Denmark, a country where the condition of landownership and tenancy was, at one time, not unlike that in England.

On the other hand, there are wider movements on foot. One of these has been stimulated by Mr. Henry George's recent work in favour of the nationalisation of land, which has produced a profound impression among the artisan classes; another, which has many sup-

porters, advocates the investing the class of agricultural labourers with a permanent interest in the soil, and the artificial creation of a class of peasant proprietors. Probably at no period in our history have the powers of resistance to agrarian measures of any kind been less powerful, or schemes of such reform been more numerous and wide-reaching. The present session, beyond all its predecessors, has been fruitful in germs which may well raise expectations as regards their possible development. It has seen the Tory leaders in the House of Lords commit themselves to a scheme for converting Irish tenants into owners by the assistance of State loans, upon terms that they are to pay less in the shape of interest for a few years than their former rents. It has seen an Act passed, with the consent of all parties, which enables local authorities in Ireland compulsorily to purchase land in rural districts for the erection of dwellings for agricultural labourers with suitable gardens attached to them; the cost of the operation to be assisted by State loans. It has seen Parliament unanimously pass an Act which gives power to the Government to advance money on easy terms to companies, to buy land for the purpose of settling upon it families, which are to be migrated from the congested parts of Ireland, assisted by State grants at the rate of 8*l.* per head of the migrated family.

It is not difficult, as has been shown in the earlier part of this paper, to draw a distinction between the conditions of tenancy in Ireland and England, so as to avoid the application to the latter of the principles of the recent Irish Land Acts; but it will be far more difficult to draw such distinctions in respect of the policy contained in these later proposals for Ireland. It may be contended that it is as much to the interest of the tenants of England and of the community at large that tenants should have the opportunity of becoming owners of their farms on easy terms; the difference in the condition of agricultural labourers in England and Ireland is one of degree only, and where cottages are neglected in England, or are deficient in number, or are wanting in gardens, it will be difficult to resist the application of similar powers; if the State is prepared to migrate families from one part of Ireland to another at a cost of 8*l.* per head and to settle them on land of which they are to become owners on payment for a term of years of no more than a reasonable rent, it is difficult to see what claim for future legislation in England this may not give rise to.

In the presence of such proposals, and with such germs of legislation waiting only a favourable season for propagation, it may seem almost old-fashioned to suggest that the principle of individual property in land is worth a struggle, and that measures leading naturally to the multiplication of owners and to bringing within reach of all the incentive of ownership, will be the best means of giving

encouragement to industry and thrift, and the safest rampart against revolutionary movements. If we are not prepared to arrive at this end by a short cut, by admitting the tenants to a co-partnership with their landlords in their holdings, let us at least adopt legislative measures which will have these objects in view, and which will not savour of either socialism or confiscation.

G. SHAW LEFEVRE.

MESMERISM.

I.

Les effets obtenus . . . ne permettent guère de douter que la proximité de deux corps animés dans certaines positions et avec certains mouvements n'ait un effet réel, indépendant de toute participation de l'imagination d'un des deux. Il paraît assez clairement aussi que ces effets sont dus à une communication quelconque qui s'établit entre leurs systèmes nerveux.—CUVIER, *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée*, iii. 35 (id. 1845).

AMONG the subjects that are engaging the attention of the Society for Psychical Research, the group of which Mesmerism is the most conspicuous representative occupies a peculiar position. The majority of our subjects are exposed to common and not unnatural prejudices. In the first place, they are liable to the damning description of superstition; that is to say, they are thought to be mere survivals from the time when the apparent uniqueness and inexplicability of any particular fact were not even a *primâ facie* objection to its acceptance—when the supernatural was believed in as readily as the natural, and the element of mystery presented itself to men's minds as a thing to be rather cherished than analysed away. In the second place, most of the phenomena with which we deal are incapable of certain or ready reproduction; and although, as we have elsewhere pointed out, this characteristic is common to a great part of the subject-matter of all the sciences which deal with life, it is specially easy and convenient to pass by events which have no recognised or predictable conditions of occurrence. To Mesmerism neither of these objections can be fairly applied. The facts are wholly independent of any occult philosophy; and so far from being a superstitious survival, it claims (even if dimly surmised by the ancients) to be practically as much a modern discovery as the antiseptic treatment of wounds. And whatever the *rationale* of its effects may be, many of them are, at any rate, as definite and reproducible as the rendering of a concerto, or the performance of a difficult surgical operation. The scene of its ordinary manifestations is neither elusive nor obscure: the human body, whatever mysteries it contains, is a sufficiently unmistakeable fact, and the mesmeric phenomena therein produced are

strikingly conspicuous; while one of their most noticeable features is that each occasion on which they are produced adds to the facility of their production. "Nothing brings home to us with a more forcible shock how much of accident, in spite of all our modern diffusion of knowledge, still enters into the causes which determine conviction, than to know that at any time, by merely securing the presence of certain given persons, we can be sure of witnessing facts as palpable as the furniture in the room, the very possibility of which facts nearly every scientific man in London would stoutly deny, just for want of being in the same place at the same time.

We are really at a loss to account for the small measure of attention which has been accorded to phenomena so eminently impressive to those who from time to time have chanced to come across them, and which have been more than once so impressively put before the world. It is true that the phenomena have not been matter of daily exhibition; but their infrequency has not been such as would have interposed any serious difficulty in the way of their reception by minds prepared to receive them. And perhaps we must accept this as another illustration of the truth that facts find admittance to men's minds not simply as soon as it becomes possible to attest them, but in an order of filiation dependent more on the constitution of the minds than of the facts. No other subject, assuredly, which has drawn forth such a report as that of the French Academy of Medicine in 1831, has been subsequently allowed to fall into utter neglect. The territory at which science used to cast fascinated if somewhat dubious glances has simply ceased to attract the explorer's eye; and meeting after meeting of the British Association passes without so much as a mention of its name. Even opposition has languished; or, rather, it now takes the form not of attacking the offending doctrines, but of shutting the door on them. For while it is true that, under the name of Hypnotism, the subject has after a long interval reappeared on the scientific horizon, and many of the phenomena commonly called 'mesmeric' have lately received a good deal of valuable attention, the theories which would confine the field of Mesmerism to these phenomena are based on observation so limited that the slightest general scientific interest would have sufficed to show its inadequacy.

A fact which at first sight distinctly heightens one's surprise at such want of general intelligent interest is this—that in a local and fitful way the more obvious phenomena certainly do excite very genuine interest and astonishment. The truth, however, may be that the effect produced by public 'mesmeric' exhibitions is of too obviously popular and startling a kind; and that the educated man is naturally indisposed to discern the subject-matter of serious inquiry in so farcical a performance. But let us briefly describe what this sort of exhibition really is, taking the phenomena in their

grotesque confusion, before we attempt to analyse them in detail, or to discuss the theories to which they have given rise.

The scene may be a public hall in a university town, the operator a woman of vigorous frame and commanding gaze. Sitting along the back of the platform is a row of young men, groups of whom are in turn called forward, and seemingly compelled to go through ridiculous antics, to laugh, sneeze, or jump till they are plainly in agony, to divest themselves of their personal property, and generally to behave in a manner for which the blushes of a lifetime will hardly atone. In the midst of this scene a disturbance is heard at the door, and a bareheaded undergraduate is seen forcing an entrance. With gaze fixed on the mesmerist, he pushes and clambers his way to the platform, regardless of the obstacles interposed by the serried ranks of the audience, over whose hats or persons he tramples with equal indifference. Remonstrances are not spared him; but he does not appear even to hear them, and ends his headlong career by flinging himself at the feet of the stern mistress of his destinies. It turns out, on inquiry, that on the previous evening he has been bidden to attend, and all his efforts and precautions have not enabled him to resist the command. Not the least interesting part of the entertainment is the demeanour of some of the 'subjects' on waking, their angry incredulity gradually passing, under the influence of accumulating testimony, into a resigned conviction as to the nature of their last half-hour's performances.

Or let us shift the scene to an exhibition before a less educated assemblage, where the greater simplicity of the 'subjects' makes them succumb still more rapidly and completely to the operator's will. Here will be seen a score or so of rough boys and men crowding on to the platform. They are accepted as 'subjects' without parley; and in a few minutes a majority of them are to be seen blindly following about a slight youth, who reminds us of the former operator in nothing except the force and fulness of his gaze, and who has apparently dominated them by that gaze alone, aided by a few passes from his quivering fingers. As they crowd on his heels, jostling over him and each other in the effort to gain his eye, they have all the air of Franksteins which his magic has created, and of which he now can rid himself no more. At last, with a clap and a gesture, he restores them to comparative sanity. He then calls one of them forward, and bids him place his flat palm on his own; a rapid pass or two, and the victim with all his contortions can no longer remove his hand from the cohesion of the living magnet. Another series of passes, and the whole arm is rendered stiff and insensible. Pins may be run into it, the most savage pinches may assault it, and its owner looks on in smiling contentment. Another 'subject' is then selected and thrown into a deeper condition of trance, in which he is told that he is to wake in a quarter of an hour, and then to perform in order a

long series of actions of various sorts, such as taking off his coat and putting it on inside out, stealing his neighbours' handkerchiefs, and so on. While he is left to his quarter of an hour's slumber a dramatic element is introduced, and the whole remaining bevy are induced to pore upon the ground and solemnly employ themselves in reading the inscriptions on imaginary tombstones. In pursuing these studies they unintentionally collide, and angry pushes vindicate the objects of their respective homage from desecration by alien steps. Suddenly a white handkerchief is fluttered in their midst by their relentless controller, and at the word 'ghost' they fly asunder in the wildest confusion, one or two leaping out among the audience, convulsed with terror, and taking refuge under chairs and benches. After a time the last impression seems to vanish, and in an absorbed and stealthy fashion they again approach their respective tombstones, to be again scattered by a wave of the magician's handkerchief. And at last, when the churchyard struggle is becoming too thronged and violent, a sudden word fixes them all at once, each in the place and posture in which it finds him. They are now released, and one of them in shame and confusion hastily attempts to leave the place of entertainment. Vain thought; he is suffered to skulk down the length of the hall, but at the very threshold a word of command from the platform turns him as motionless as Lot's wife, and another brings him back like Eurydice, drawn all unwillingly from the portals of safety by a force which he can neither resist nor comprehend. Then follows an interlude in which the sleeper, punctual to the time appointed, wakes up and performs in correct order, but with bewildered pauses—during which he appears to dive into the very depths of his memory—the series of actions which had been impressed a quarter of an hour before on his sleeping brain. The final act of the drama is one of heavenly calm. Another whispered suggestion persuades each 'subject' in turn that he sees, floating in the air above him, some object which is not too clearly defined to him, but which his imagination is allowed to shape into sunset glories or angel beckonings, or whatever may most readily stimulate his sentiments of admiration and awe. One stands rapt and motionless, transformed from an ordinary English working boy into a model for St. Sebastian. Others fall one by one on their knees, their homely countenances lightening with an expression that a painter might envy. A ruffianly tanner in the centre of the stage clasps his hands, and shows a dark visage concentrated into the dully glowing intensity of a Ribera or a Zurbaran. Leaning over him, the mesmerist says, 'What do you see?' In a gruff whisper comes the answer, 'Heaven.' But this state of tension cannot be too far prolonged. Gradually the adoring crew roll over from their knees on to their backs, and the curtain falls on a bevy of motionless figures who have sunk below the limit of consciousness into profound and dreamless sleep. In another minute, if we peep behind the curtain, we

shall see the operator waking his 'subjects' one by one. One or two of them complain of headache, which a few upward passes relieve; and they walk home apparently none the worse—later on, indeed, we shall have to point out circumstances in which they may find themselves much the better—for their evening's experience.

Such is a rough sketch of some of the more obvious phenomena, as publicly exhibited. As phenomena, apart from theory, they cannot be denied—the hypothesis of collusion, which naturally first suggests itself, being rapidly negatived by the indiscriminate acceptance of any volunteer who presents himself as a 'subject.' Clearly, then, if the facts do not excite the attention of experts, it must be that they are supposed to have been already explained and done with. And, in truth, a theory has been propounded, the apparent sufficiency of which has been a very main factor in that lulling of scientific curiosity on the subject to which we have adverted—a theory the more harmful to the extension of knowledge in that it contains a large amount of truth, and with a little straining will cover, for example, nearly all the phenomena above described.

The theory may be most comprehensively designated as that of *suggestion*. It entirely negatives the idea of any direct effect of the organism or will of the operator on the organism or will of the 'subject,' and it attributes the effects produced to a suspension of volitional or directive power in the 'subject,' and the entire engrossment of his faculties by any idea which is presented to him *ab extra*. As so far described, however, the theory is clearly not in any way an *explanation*, but a simple statement of the condition in which the 'subject' obviously is: the question is, how, if the operator produces no specific effect on him, is he brought into that condition?

We must not encumber this article with technical controversy, but we shall hope on some other occasion to discuss with great fullness the various answers which have been given to this crucial question, and to show their inadequacy. For the present we must be content to give in a rather summary fashion some of the conclusions which we are quite prepared to defend in detail. We may briefly say, therefore, that the question, How does suggestion operate? has both a mental and a physical side, and has received replies from both points of view.

And first we will take Dr. Carpenter's attempt to explain the 'mesmeric state' as a form of 'automatic mental action,' which he includes in the same category as the reverie of the poet and the 'absence of mind' of the engrossed mathematician. We should be sorry to speak with anything but respect of any part of Dr. Carpenter's work. He has done much to clear the approaches to our subject; he has performed the tedious but necessary task of detailing with emphasis the numerous sources of error which make the tyro's experiments and the enthusiast's pamphlets on Mesmerism so exasperatingly

unprofitable. But in psychological analysis, Dr. Carpenter, by his own admission,¹ is not strong, and the juxtaposition, as given above, of what he considers as three forms of 'automatic mental action,' illustrates almost grotesquely how much argument a single word may stand for, if only its meaning be definite enough to give an air of precision, and yet vague enough to allow of being shifted as the facts require. For here, in the first place, the poet's reverie is not in any scientific sense *automatic*; it can be called *automatic* only in the sense that it is without conscious effort. He follows the suggestions given to him by external objects with a conscious knowledge that he is playing with his impressions—a conscious delight in the exercise of his imagination's vividness and flow.

He will watch from dawn to gloom
 The lake-reflected sun illumine
 The yellow bees in the ivy-bloom,
 Nor heed nor see what things they be ;
 But from these create he can
 Forms more real than living man,
 Nurslings of immortality.

If Dr. Carpenter supposes that the poet believes (as a mesmerised subject might believe) that the bees are veritable angels to be worshipped or clasped to his bosom, as the case may be, then his conception of poetic abstraction is considerably more thorough-going than Shelley's.

In the case of the absent-minded philosopher, on the other hand, there really is *some* cerebral action which may be called automatic. The mathematician who is told 'Sir, your wife is dying,' and who calmly answers 'Tell her to wait till I come,' is no doubt responding in a quasi-reflex manner to an external stimulus very feebly apprehended; that is, he is mechanically shaping with his lips a phrase which has become habitual to him in reply to conjugal appeals of a less urgent character. But unfortunately for Dr. Carpenter's parallel, the mind of the absent sage is by no means 'possessed,' as that of the mesmerised subject is supposed to be, with the external question and the automatic response. On the contrary, his mind is 'absent' from external incidents simply because it is intensely absorbed in a perfectly conscious, perfectly deliberate prosecution of some complex argument which it needs all the strength of his will to stick to and grapple with. No better illustration of what a 'thinking being' is could be given than the very case which Dr. Carpenter (misled by the mere outside accidents of the condition) has selected as an illustration of what a thinking being is *not*—as a parallel, namely, to the mesmerised 'subject's' inward blankness, on which the slightest suggestion from the mesmeriser seems to project itself with such controlling power.

¹ Preface to *Mental Physiology*.

It is plain that little is taught us by these attempted analogies to the *mental* side of the mesmeric condition. Let us turn to Mr. Braid, who approached the problem from the *physical* side, and achieved, as we think, a real discovery; a discovery which, in Braid's hands, was wholly empirical, but to which Heidenhain and others (working often in ignorance of Braid's results) have supplied a plausible groundwork of theory. Braid demonstrated that the peculiar state of exaltation, merging into coma, which mesmerists had ascribed to the operation of their specific effluence, could be induced by a particular strain of the muscles of the eye, a prolonged upward and inward squint, which the subject could effect for himself without any one to mesmerise him. And it has been gradually discovered that this 'hypnotic' state, as Braid termed it, may be induced by other methods of 'fixation,' other ways of adjusting the nervous system to a uniform or rhythmically recurring stimulus. Light monotonous stroking on the face, the tick of a watch in the ear—even such small causes as these, if the attention be steadily fixed on them, may suffice to bring about, in sensitive persons, this peculiar nervous change.

This, we hold, was a true discovery. And Heidenhain's explanation, which we can do no more than indicate here, seems to us to offer as probable a picture as we are likely at present to get of the manner in which some at least of the hypnotic phenomena take place in the nervous system. He supposes that the rhythmical stimulus, by exhausting the sensibility of certain nerves, temporarily paralyses or *inhibits* the functions of the higher *cortical* portion of the brain—the region to which it is supposed that nervous discharges must pass from the lower sensory centres, before the impressions which those centres have received can be represented in consciousness or responded to by purposeful actions. The result of this suspension of the controlling power is that the nervous current will be, as it were, *short-circuited*, that an impression made on the external senses will be reflected by the motor centres—a *suggestion* will be responded to by an *action*—without any knowledge of the matter having passed through consciousness at all.

This theory, however, is only plausible in cases where the 'subject' mimics or obeys his hypnotiser in a quite mechanical way, without attempting any complex achievement, whose details he must needs arrange for himself. And, in fact, Heidenhain, with that fixed persuasion that his own experiments must needs have covered the whole ground, which is the prevailing danger of those who approach these novel topics, began by assuming that *all* hypnotic obedience or mimicry was of this mechanical and unconscious character. He asserted, for instance, that a 'subject' would never nurse a pillow for a baby, unless the operator pretended to rock a baby before his eyes. Some further experiments have shown him his error, and forced him to

admit the frequent presence of the suggested ideas in consciousness. The 'subject' will often obey commands, the fulfilment of which involves much memory and requires a series of complex actions; or he will adopt his own method of acting on a suggestion. Thus (to take an experiment of our own), a whisper reaches his ear that some children are struggling in the water. He at once assumes the room to be a lake, seizes a chair, throws it down so as to make it as like a boat as he can, gets astride of it, and begins vigorously pulling in the direction indicated. Then, snatching up some pieces of paper which happen to be lying on the floor, he wraps them tenderly in his coat, murmurs the words, 'Very near dead!' in a commiserating tone, rows back to shore with his burden, and hurries off once more to the rescue.

In such a case as this it seems hard to deny that consciousness is present at the time, though it may be forgotten afterwards as completely as the somnambulist forgets in his waking moments what he said in his trance. 'And Heidenhain, we repeat, now admits this; though he seems hardly as yet to have realised how greatly his admission restricts the field which his original theory will cover.

'But in spite of all this,' it may be said, 'and admitting that Heidenhain's explanation is not a sufficient one, why should not some other explanation of the same kind be found which shall suffice? You admit that hypnotism is a *vera causa*; that certain nervous stimuli do produce some of these obscure nervous changes without any effluence from any special operator; why, then, do you insist on the existence of *mesmerism* as well as *hypnotism*—on the reality, that is to say, of this supposed specific influence of one person upon another, which lies so far out of the main track of physiological speculation?'

Our answer is, that the reality of this specific influence is forced upon us by a number of unmistakable facts, which cannot fail to strike every experimenter if he will only make experiments *enough*.

Firstly, then, the objection to the sufficiency of the hypnotic explanation, from the fact that some persons can operate successfully, and others cannot, has never been realised or met.

'There are all varieties both of power and of susceptibility, but if we take a casual group of persons, omitting those who are in no degree susceptible, we shall probably find that they may be arranged somewhat in the following order. A and B can hypnotise *themselves*, either by the inward or upward squint, or, as it may sometimes seem, by mere imagination and expectancy. C and D cannot hypnotise themselves, but can be hypnotised by gentle rhythmical stroking at the hand of almost any one. E and F can be slowly and partially affected by almost any one, but immediately and thoroughly by a given mesmerist, X. And the rest of the letters of the alphabet can

be sent into the sleep-waking state by X, and by X alone, even though they may have no previous notion that X can affect them—nay, even though they are distinctly told that it is not X but Y who will be able to control them. In such a case—as we have ourselves seen—Y may be as Goliath and X as David in comparison, but the big man will not succeed in doing in an hour what the small man who has the specific gift will do in five minutes.²

Secondly : just as X alone can send these persons into the trance, so X alone can awake them out of it. It is very easy to take care that the subject shall have no previous notion that X alone will be able to wake him ; and, as a matter of fact, the most striking illustrations of this thesis are cases where every one present, mesmerist included, is new to mesmerism, and believes that any one who chooses can wake any subject up again. The typical case is somewhat as follows. A group of persons at an evening party begin to mesmerise each other in joke. One of the guests sends a schoolboy to sleep, and drives off, thinking nothing more about it. At the end of the evening the boy's parents try to wake him up. They cannot do so ! The boy begins to rave, and is worse when touched or spoken to. Next morning they send in alarm for the guest who has done the mischief. He succeeds in waking the boy, but the experiment is followed by a week of headache and depression.

This brings us to a *third* point, tending to show the reality of the mesmerist effluence, namely, the distress and even danger which sometimes follows on *cross-mesmerisation*—on passes, that is to say, made by Z upon a person whom X has already mesmerised, and over whom X may make passes as often as he likes with only a soothing result. Now in such a case Z's passes may very probably have no effect whatever ; but in a specially sensitive 'subject' they sometimes bring about a state of mental chaos, of alternating violence and bewilderment, which, though it almost always subsides after a time, is a real risk against which experimenters in mesmerism must before all things be on their guard. The 'dominant idea,' so far as it exists here, must be strong fear or dislike of all human beings except one ; but inasmuch as there has been nothing whatever to suggest such an idea to the 'subject's' mind, its existence is not an explanation, but a fact which itself seems explicable only on the hypothesis of a special *rapport* established between the 'subject' and his recognised controller.

² Nothing in Heidenhain's treatment of the subject is more unsatisfactory than his attempt to account for the existing differences in the power of producing the result by differences of temperature, moisture, and style of movement, in the several operators' hands. All that is needed, according to his own theory, is gentle monotonous stimulation. The number of hands in the world whose 'moisture, temperature, and style of movement' are, or can be made, such as to allow of this sort of stimulation, are clearly innumerable ; and the fact of wholly exceptional operative powers is thus left quite unexplained.

And fourthly, passing from these general characteristics of the mesmeric state to more definite experiments, we may observe that even such rough platform exhibitions as those recounted at the beginning of this paper present features which seem quite irrelevant to any theory of paralysis of the will, or subjection of the mind to a suggested idea. A boy, for instance, is told that he may have a sovereign if he can pick it up. He struggles to do so till the sweat runs down his face; while his countenance, so far from being blankly acquiescent, is full of incredulity, resolution, and rage. Sometimes he will succeed in doing what he is told he cannot do—he will wrench his flat palm away from the operator's flat palm after an apparently desperate struggle. Can we suppose that in these cases volitional power has been paralysed, or the nerve-functions normally associated with the desired acts inhibited during all the time that the boy has been vehemently struggling to perform them? The theory which covered the cases of the frog stroked into immobility, or the cock set staring at a chalk line, must be considerably stretched if it is to suffice us here. Or let us take a case in which the obvious effect is a *mental* one. A boy in a light state of trance is asked what is his name, and gives it; he is at once asked again, and now (at the mesmerist's silent wish) he cannot remember it. It may be said that the idea that it is impossible to recall the name, though not virtually expressed, is suggested to him by the very nature of the experiment. But at any rate this idea is so far from being *dominant* in his mind that he will sit for half an hour hopefully struggling for the word, as may be proved by asking him from time to time what he is thinking about. It may be answered: 'It is not needful that the suggested idea should *absorb* the mind, but only that the brain should have been thrown into such a state that particular centres or sets of connections can easily be made to suffer inhibition of their normal functions. All that is necessary is to inhibit the nerve-activities which normally accompany the boy's utterance of his name.' But what, then, are we to take as the immediate cause of such inhibition? Surely the suggested idea that the action is *impossible*. But here the boy's *conviction* is that the action is *possible*; so that we shall have to conceive the inhibition as consequent on an idea which the boy at most imagines as present in *some one else's mind*, and which he persistently refuses to admit into *his own*. That is to say, we must credit with this singular inhibitory power an idea which is nevertheless unable to prevent its exact opposite from dominating consciousness. So that here again the inhibitory theory will have to be stretched to embrace facts almost directly opposite to those which it was originally started to explain.

Clearly, however, public exhibitions are very ill-suited for producing conviction; nor is the platform the place for delicate experimentation. We will therefore proceed to give a few samples of the

more conclusive results, indicative of the specific mesmeric influence, which our colleagues and we have obtained in private.

Prominent among these are various phenomena belonging to the class of mesmeric *rapport*. Of the subdivisions of this class, the one most widely attested by previous observers is perhaps that of community of sensation between the operator and the 'subject;' and to us the results obtained in this department are of special interest, owing to their bearing on those further phenomena of Thought-transference between persons in a normal condition, which have only quite lately (mainly through the exertions of Professor Barrett) obtained any degree of scientific recognition. Not, of course, that the two sorts of phenomena are by any means identical; but it may be hoped that the two inquiries will throw light on one another; and at any rate the *a priori* objection of impossibility to which the facts are exposed is the same in either case, and is satisfactorily disposed of by proof of the reality of either. The following short series may serve as a sample of many experiments of this kind. The 'subject,' a young man called Wells, who was in a tolerably deep state of trance, was blindfolded, and a large screen interposed between him and the mesmerist, Mr. G. A. Smith, signals by sight or contact being thus made impossible, even if Wells had been in a state to profit by them. In the last of the experiments, Mr. Smith was in an adjoining room, separated from the one where his subject was by very thick curtains. Perfect silence was throughout observed, except for the simple and uniform question, 'Do you feel anything?'—which it was necessary that Mr. Smith himself should ask, as (according to the admitted rule with mesmerised or hypnotised 'subjects') Wells was deaf to every other voice.

1. Upper part of Mr. Smith's left ear pinched. After the lapse of about two minutes, Wells cried out: 'Who's pinching me?' and began to rub the corresponding part.

2. Upper part of Mr. Smith's left arm pinched. Wells indicated the corresponding part almost at once.

3. Mr. Smith's right ear pinched. Wells struck his own right ear, after the lapse of about a minute, as if catching a troublesome fly, crying out: 'Settled him that time.'

* It is to such cases as this, of course, that the hypothesis of collusion seems specially appropriate; and it must be met by an accumulation of experiments with different 'subjects.' But fortunately the hypothesis has not, in this department of our research, the same plausibility as it had in relation to some of our experiments on 'thought-transference,' the 'subjects' of which were in a normal state. For the peculiar condition of the mesmerised or hypnotised 'subject' is one which, after a little experience, it is not easy to mistake; and the irrepressible honesty and directness of conduct which characterise it have been generally recognised by those who deny no less than by those who maintain the reality of the 'mesmeric' agency. For a case in which the hypothesis of a code was absolutely excluded by the fact that the investigator was himself the mesmeriser, see Professor Barrett's paper read before the British Association at Glasgow in 1876.

4. Mr. Smith's chin pinched. Wells indicated the right part almost immediately.

5. The hair at the back of Smith's head pulled. No indication. (It is curious that with this particular pain no result has in any case been obtained.)

6. Back of Mr. Smith's neck pinched. Wells pointed, after a short interval, to the corresponding part.

7. Lobe of Mr. Smith's left ear pinched. Same result.

8. Mr. Smith's right calf pinched. Wells was very sulky, and for a long time refused to speak. At last he violently drew up his right leg and began rubbing the calf. After this he became still more sulky, and refused in the next experiment to give any indication whatever. 'I ain't going to tell you,' he remarked, 'for if I don't tell you, you won't go on pinching me. You only do it to make me tell.'

In experiments like these there is always a great difficulty in keeping the 'subject' for long together at the exactly right stage of alertness. The trance, if rather deep to begin with, seems to have a tendency to become deeper; and the objection of the 'subject' to make an effort, or to be troubled with questions, increases in a corresponding ratio, as in the case of an exhausted person who is falling into natural sleep. The only resource, then, is to wake him completely and begin operations *de novo*.

Another sort of example of the mesmeric *rapport* may be found in the extraordinarily exalted susceptibility of the 'subject' to sensory impressions received from the operator. As long as this merely takes the form of exalted sensibility to the operator's voice, combined as a rule with deafness to other voices, it no doubt may be and frequently has been explained in the old way, as due to the dominance of a single idea—the possession of the 'subject's' mind by the idea of his operator's control making him abnormally wakeful and responsive to any sensible signs that can be recognised as issuing from him, and correspondingly inattentive to all others. Even so, the experiment may be so arranged as to bring out very clearly the abnormal *physical* state on which it was Mr. Braid's great merit to insist; for if the operator's voice and words be distinguished among a perfect Babel of other voices, the sensorium of the percipient must be at any rate in a most remarkable state, analogous, *e.g.*, to that of a person who should distinguish the flame of a candle held against the sun. But it seems impossible to carry on the 'hypnotic' explanation in any way to cases where the sensory impression is not a spoken sentence, but the faintest whisper of a monosyllable. The individuality of voices (at any rate where there is no exceptional peculiarity in the pronunciation of consonants, such as a lisp) depends entirely on *timbre* and inflexion, which are produced by the vocal chords and by changes in the shape of the pharynx; and which have no place at all in a low whisper. It is easy for any one to assure himself of this by shutting his eyes and getting a dozen of his acquaintances in turn faintly to whisper such a monosyllable as 'Fred' in his hearing; he will find himself totally unable to identify the

author of the sound. How far the case is otherwise with a mesmerised 'subject' may be seen from the following experiments. Wells being placed in a corner, with his back to the room, Mr. Smith and two of our own number kept, whispering his name, 'Fred,' as softly as possible and at uncertain intervals; he in every case responded to Mr. Smith, and in no case to either of the others. Again, Mr. Smith took his place in a corner of the room, side by side with one of the observers; Wells, again in a tolerably deep state of trance, was seated in the opposite corner, in such a position that he could not have seen Mr. Smith even had his eyes been open and in their normal state; and one of the present writers kept up a perpetual loud howling and clapping at the distance of an inch or two from his ear. Mr. Smith then, at quite uncertain intervals, whispered the one syllable 'Fred,' so faintly as to be inaudible to the gentleman who was sitting in contact with him, and who saw his lips move. Wells responded at once to every such whisper. This experiment was successfully repeated ten times. Mr. Smith, with his companion, then went into the adjoining dark room, where thick curtains separated him from the 'subject,' and again ten immediate responses were given to the whispered word, which at that distance would have been inaudible to an ordinary ear even if listened for in perfect silence, instead of amid unearthly bellowing. On being asked afterwards whether he had heard the bellow's voice, Wells replied that he had only heard Mr. Smith; but when the latter prepared him for being spoken to by the gentleman to whose loudest vocal efforts he had thus been impervious, and when that gentleman then addressed him in the gentlest tone, he at once complained loudly of the excessive noise.

A stranger phenomenon still, and one which takes us altogether out of the region of exalted sensibility, is the effect produced on the power of response by the unexpressed will of the operator. Our experiments on this head have been made on our friend, Mr. Sidney Beard. A list of twelve *Yeses* and *Noes* in arbitrary order was written by one of ourselves and put into Mr. Smith's hand, with directions that he should successively 'will' the 'subject' to respond or not to respond, in accordance with the order of the list. Mr. Beard having been previously put into the trance, a tuning-fork was now struck and held at his ear, with the question, 'Do you hear?' which in this case could be asked by one of ourselves, as the ordinary insensibility to other voices than those of the operator had not supervened. This was done twelve times with a completely successful result, the answer or the failure to answer corresponding in each case with the 'yes' or 'no' of the written list, that is to say, with the silently concentrated will of the mesmerist.⁴

⁴ Similar trials on other occasions were equally successful; as also were trials where the tuning-fork was dispensed with, and the only sound was the question, 'Do you hear?' asked by one of the observers. On these latter occasions, however, Mr. Smith

These cases, it will be observed, however conclusive they may appear as to mental influences acting otherwise than through recognised sensory channels, still do not drive us to suppose any special physical *effluence* or force as passing from the operator to the 'subject.' Such an effluence is indeed strongly suggested, as we have already seen, by the mode of producing or of putting a stop to the mesmeric state, taken in connection with the exceptional powers in that direction which certain individuals possess; but as far as the resulting phenomena go, it would be a conceivable hypothesis that the trance condition is produced hypnotically, and not as any special effect of one organism on the other, but that, when once it is produced, a special mental influence can be brought to bear, analogous to ordinary Thought-transference, but differing therefrom in the striking fact that only one person is able to exercise it. Even so the heart of the mystery, the *mental rapport*, the problem why the one influential person should always be the operator, remains wholly unravelled; since no amount of supposed hypnotic submission to the operator's will could afford a solution to cases (like those just described) where there was nothing to suggest to the 'subject' what that will at the particular moment was. But further experiments make it almost impossible to doubt the reality of some sort of special force or virtue, passing from one organism to the other, in the process of mesmerisation; and however vague at present may be our conceptions of the nature of this physical *rapport*, there is at any rate a satisfaction in being able to point to it as the basis or condition of the mental.

We find the most striking indication of such physical effluence in cases where the 'subject' is allowed to remain in a perfectly normal condition, with the exception of *local* effects produced on him without contact, and without any possibility that the idea or expectation of them shall dominate his mind. Such an experiment is the following, which in the first instance was suddenly improvised, and which we have repeated between thirty and forty times without a single failure. The 'subject' was blindfolded and seated at a table, on which his ten fingers were spread out before him. A screen, formed of thick brown paper quadruply folded, was then placed in front of his body in such

was holding Mr. Beard's hand; and extreme adherents of the theory of 'muscle-reading' might maintain that 'yes' and 'no' indications were given by unconscious variations of pressure. How completely unconscious the supposed 'reader' was of any such sensible guidance will be evident from Mr. Beard's own account. 'During the experiments on January 1, when Mr. Smith mesmerised me, I did not entirely lose consciousness at any time, but only experienced a sensation of total numbness in my limbs. When the trial as to whether I could hear sounds was made, I heard the sounds distinctly each time, but in a large number of instances, I felt totally unable to acknowledge that I heard them. I seemed to know each time whether Mr. Smith wished me to say that I heard them; and as I had surrendered my will to his at the commencement of the experiment, I was unable to reassert my power of volition whilst under his influence.'

a way that it rested on his fore-arms and against his breast and head, extending far beyond him in all directions. On some occasions holes were made in the paper for his arms to pass through, so that the screen became a gigantic breastplate reaching high above his head. No one probably will deny the possibility of so arranging this simple apparatus as to make sure that the boy's fingers should be completely concealed from his sight, even apart from the blindfolding; and no one who witnessed the experiments found it possible to entertain the slightest doubt on this score. Two out of the ten fingers were then selected by one of the present writers and silently pointed out to Mr. G. A. Smith, who then, standing beyond the screen at a distance of some feet from the subject, proceeded to make extremely gentle passes over them. Care was taken to preserve such a distance between the tips of Mr. Smith's fingers and those which he was operating on as to preclude all chance of contact, or even of the production of a sensible current of air. The experimenters themselves were totally unable to detect any such current when similar slow passes were made over their own fingers, though their hands were decidedly less thick-skinned and more sensitive in the ordinary sense than those of the 'subject;' but, to make assurance doubly sure, one of them as a rule kept making passes over two of the eight non-selected fingers, imitating Mr. Smith's pace and mode of action as completely as possible. It was even found possible to dispense altogether with movement, the mesmerist simply holding his fingers in a downward direction over those of the 'subject;' but the results were obtained more quickly when passes were made. It is needless to say that Mr. Smith (whose genuinely scientific curiosity on the subject has led him throughout to welcome the most stringent tests and conditions) was under the closest observation during the whole experiment. After the passes had been continued for a minute or less, the two fingers proved to be perfectly stiff and insensible. The points of a sharp carving fork gently applied to one of the other fingers evoked the sort of start and protest that might have been expected; the same points might be plunged deep into the chosen two without producing a sign or a murmur. The insensibility being once proved, the stabs were on several occasions made with a violence which it required some nerve to apply, and which would have seemed barbarous to an ignorant bystander unless he had chanced to note at the same instant the smiling silence or easy chatter of the victim; and on all occasions what was done was sufficient to produce in a normal finger, however pachydermatous, a most acute pang. The experiment was equally successful when varied by applying a lighted match to the more sensitive region surrounding the nail; but it was not thought well to repeat it often in this form, as we were unwilling to cause the 'subject,' even with his own consent, any sensible amount of subsequent incon-

venience. It may possibly be suggested¹ that some organisations are extremely impervious to pain; and that the youth, being warned of what was coming by the slight preliminary pricks on some of the fingers which retained their sensibility, was enabled to set his teeth, and to carry out the wholly inscrutable and useless project of enduring the agony when it came without complaint. Anticipating this objection, on a good many occasions after we had convinced ourselves of the genuineness of the phenomenon, the wielder of the fork or the match took care to *begin* with one of the mesmerised fingers. The assault then came, it will be observed, at a moment which it was impossible for the 'subject' to foresee; and we know of no warrant for the assumption that an ordinary youth, who is sitting with relaxed limbs in quiet unconcern, would be able to control every sort of reflex start or twitch when a naked flame is suddenly applied to one of the most sensitive parts of his person. It is wise, however, to guard against even unwarranted assumptions; and we accordingly repeated the experiment with a delicate woman, whose shrinking from pain was such that the merest touch of the point of the fork on one of her unmesmerised fingers would cause a half-hysterical cry. The trials with her were fully as successful, though not so numerous, as those with the former 'subject'—the reason why they were discontinued being simply the difficulty, in the case of very thinskinners and delicate hands, of taking such measures as under ordinary conditions would cause severe pain without running the risk of subsequent annoyance or disfigurement.

The rigidity of the mesmerised fingers could be tested with, if possible, even more certainty than their insensibility, by simply telling the 'subject,' after a minute of mesmerisation, to close his or her fist: the selected digits in every case refused to bend with the others, and thus for the first time revealed to their possessor what particular pair it was that had been operated on. And opportunities sometimes presented themselves for testing this rigidity and

¹ The only other objection that occurs to us is that it is possible here to suppose a case of *direct inhibition*—that, though the currents of air or changes of temperature produced by movements of the operator's hand were imperceptible to the 'subject,' they yet sufficed to set up a weak monotonous stimulation, whereby the power of response in the particular sensory centre was gradually annulled. But (1) other operators ought then to succeed; (2) the explanation does not extend to the cases where the operator's hand did not move; (3) the explanation is itself most violent, and contrary to all analogy. Heidenhain himself never suggests that the weak and monotonous stimulation which induces the hypnotic state can be so weak as not to reach the threshold of consciousness; and it seems incredible that such sub-liminal stimulation should suffice to bring about the local anaesthesia, which (when produced, as above described, without suggestion) is a far rarer phenomenon than the general hypnotic state. *Local and partial inhibition* of particular sensory centres, brought about by *unfelt* stimuli, while general volition and consciousness remain quite unimpaired, would, at any rate, bear no relation whatever to the inhibition (as Heidenhain conceives it) of the *whole area* of volition and consciousness by a monotonous of *felt* stimuli.

want of motive power in an impromptu way. Thus it happened one night that the youth whose fingers were the subjects of the experiments just described was lying in a very deep mesmeric sleep, with his head buried in a cushion and one hand extended and grasping the back of the sofa-frame. One of the present writers silently threw a screen over his head and body, leaving only this one hand exposed, and then beckoned to the mesmerist to approach and make a few noiseless passes over the hand. The screen was then removed, and the boy wakened by the usual clap and call. On endeavouring, however, to rise and leave the sofa, he found his hand tightly glued to the frame, nor did all his efforts avail to withdraw it until some reverse passes had restored it to animation.⁶

But the reality of the physical effluence is still more unmistakably shown by the fact that, though emitted only from living bodies, it can be made to produce effects which inhere for some minutes in inorganic ones. An object which has been handled, or over which passes have been made, by a mesmerist, will be recognised and picked out of a number of similar objects by a person who is sensitive to that mesmerist's influence. This phenomenon is no doubt rare, but fortunately it is one which it is particularly easy to test. In the following case, for example, the 'subject'—a gentleman with whom we have frequently experimented, and whose anxiety for complete tests has always been fully equal to our own—was engaged in conversation by one of our committee in a room on another floor during the time that the process of mesmerising the chosen object was going on. That process consisted merely of passes and occasional light touches, and was most carefully scrutinised throughout. When it was concluded, the mesmerist was taken into a third room by another member of the committee, and the 'subject' was then introduced into the room where the mesmerised object lay among a number of others. This object had of course been selected by one of ourselves, and its position in relation to the others was generally

⁶ In connection with this experiment, we may quote the following passage from Professor Mayo's *Truths contained in Popular Superstitions*, 3rd edition, p. 155:—

'A servant of mine, aged about twenty-five, was mesmerised by Lafontaine for a full half-hour, and, no effect appearing to be produced, I told him he might rise from the chair and leave us. On getting up he looked uneasy, and said his arms were numb. They were perfectly paralysed from the elbows downwards, and numb to the shoulders. This was the more satisfactory, that neither the man himself, nor Lafontaine, nor the four or five spectators, expected this result. The operator triumphantly drew a pin and stuck it into the man's hand, which bled, but had no feeling. Then, heedlessly, to show it gave pain, Lafontaine stuck the pin into the man's thigh, whose flashing eye and half-suppressed growl denoted that the aggression would certainly have been returned by another, had the arm which should have done it not been really powerless. However, M. Lafontaine made peace with the man by restoring him the use and feeling of his arms. This was done by dusting them, as it were, by quick transverse motions of his extended hands. In five minutes nothing remained of the palsy but a slight stiffness, which gradually wore off in the course of the evening.'

changed after the mesmerist had left the room and before the subject entered it; but this was a superfluity of precaution, as the two were never for an instant within sight or hearing of one another. In the first experiment a cardboard box, in the second a pocket-book, selected from a group of ten small objects (including, *e.g.*, a lump of wax, a pen-wiper, a paper-knife, &c.), was mesmerised and was successfully picked out by the 'subject' after he had held each of the objects for a moment in his hand. We have found it best to avoid using coins and metallic substances, as our results with them, though sometimes startlingly successful, have been uncertain, and also they are so easily warmed, even by very slight contact with the hand, that it is necessary in their case to take special measures for insuring equality of temperature between the object operated on and the others. After the second trial we eliminated the uncertainty as to results which might arise from the use of a variety of substances, and employed ten small volumes, resembling each other as closely as any two peas. Any one of those that we selected having been operated on, the 'subject' identified the particular volume four times in succession the instant that he touched it, and again on a fifth occasion after taking up each of the ten in turn. The sense of *smell* was in no case resorted to; and to avoid all chance of unconscious indications, we were careful that the particular member or members of the committee who had selected the volume, and knew which of the ten it was, should avoid watching this part of the proceedings. In the last trial (as well as in other successful experiments of the same kind) no contact whatever had taken place between the hands of the mesmerist and the book. That the very slight contact which was permitted in the preceding trials could produce such a change of temperature in a cardboard-box or the binding of a book as would be sensible to human hands a minute afterwards, seems a violent assumption; but we took the precaution, during the mesmerising process, of ourselves giving a similar amount of handling to some of the nine objects which were not being operated on. The chances against succeeding *by accident* in seven consecutive trials of this kind are nearly five millions to one; and the experiment may therefore, we think, be considered a tolerably crucial one. The 'subject' described his sensation on taking up the right object as 'a kind of mild tingling;' and according to abundant testimony water, over which mesmeric passes have been made, has been similarly betrayed to the nerves of the tongue. Our own experiments on this latter point have been successful to the extent of giving results against which, on the hypothesis of accidental occurrence, the chances were hundreds to one; but in these matters it is perhaps a justifiable demand that the adverse chances shall be reckoned by millions.

We have been occupied in this paper mainly with one fundamental question—the question of the reality of the mesmeric force; in

other words, of the reality of the specific facts of Mesmerism, whether mingled with, or standing beyond and distinct from, those of Hypnotism. In a concluding article we shall deal with some further departments of the subject, including the vexed questions (often called, *par excellence*, the higher phenomena) of clairvoyance, phreno-mesmerism, and mesmeric healing. But one fact remains which concerns the lower phenomena as much as the higher, and which is of such fundamental importance in the study, whether of Hypnotism or of Mesmerism, that the statement of it (though involving references to the topics of our next paper) will find its most fitting place here. It is a fact on which Dr. Elliotson, one of the acutest minds that ever applied itself to these subjects, frequently insisted, but which both mesmerists and anti-mesmerists, though for different reasons, have often been tempted to ignore. Briefly it is this: that, (with certain exceptions to be hereafter explained) the more startling effects of Hypnotism and Mesmerism may be matched with occurrences, either closely parallel or absolutely identical, which have occurred spontaneously; while at the same time, the rarity and the pathological character of their spontaneous occurrence are entirely in accordance with that theory of exceptional nervous affection which has been discussed above. The fanatical mesmerist is apt to keep this spontaneous occurrence in the background, as tending to impugn the unique character of the influence which he is celebrating. The anti-mesmerist begins by relegating these mysterious phenomena to the scanty chapters on 'Somnambulism' which form one of the weakest points in the medical conspectus of man. And then, when he is confronted with these same phenomena as produced by Mesmerism, he exclaims that they are incredible, and dismisses them as inconsistent with established physiological laws. Now it is perfectly true that some of these phenomena do sound incredible; that they cannot possibly be fitted into our present conceptions of the way in which the nervous system acts. But it is not Mesmerism which is responsible for them, but Nature; that is to say, Mesmerism offers a special way of producing phenomena which have been spontaneously produced in ways wholly unknown to us before Mesmer was born. To prove this in detail (a task which we hope hereafter to attempt) would carry us far beyond the limits of this article. We must content ourselves here with referring the reader to the list of authorities given below, a list which, though by no means exhaustive, contains, we think, full justification of all that we shall at present advance.*

* See the collections of somnambulist and other cases contained in the following works:—Dr. Abercrombie on the *Intellectual Powers*; Dr. Azam in *Revue Scientifique* for 1876, 1877, and 1879; Dr. Belden's *Account of Jane Rider*; Dr. Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia*; Dr. Dyce in *Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions*, 1822; Dr. Dufay in *Revue Scientifique*, 1876; Dr. Elliotson in his *Physiology*, and the *Zoist*, vol. iv.; Dr. Macnish's *Philosophy of Sleep*; Dr. Mayo's *Truths contained in Popular*

What, then, are the main modifications of ordinary waking consciousness, which spontaneous *sleep-wakers* (to use a term of convenient vagueness) have been observed to present? The rough analysis, which is all that we shall here attempt, shows us that these modifications extend irregularly over one or more of five regions.

Confining ourselves to broad distinctions of external manifestation, we find obvious changes occurring in (1) sensibility to pain; (2) sensory and supersensuous perception; (3) the current of consciousness; (4) memory; and (5) emotional disposition or character. In each of these particulars we are familiar with certain changes induced by states of nutrition, by expectant attention, by narcotics, by disease. But in each case the spontaneous sleep-waking state will be found to carry us on by an unbroken series from changes which are familiar, and in a certain sense explicable, to changes which are altogether baffling and apparently at conflict with recognised law.

Thus, as regards sensibility to pain, we have first the ordinary somnambulist, who shows much the same bluntness of sensibility as a man shows when deeply absorbed in reverie, but who may nevertheless be awakened by a sharp blow or the touch of a hot object. Then we come to cases such as that of Professor Haycock, who 'would preach in his sleep so steadfastly that no pinching would awake him';⁸ and then to such cases as that of Mrs. Griffiths, a patient of Dr. Lingen's,⁹ who was repeatedly laid up with severe scalds, caused by her unfortunate habit of cooking her husband's dinner in the somnambulant state and then throwing the boiling water over her legs, without any perception of having done so till she spontaneously 'came to herself.' In this case, and in others like it, there was no indication whatever of nervous lesion in the ordinary state, nothing to account for this idiopathic and fitful insensibility to the severest pain.

Again, in the matter of the acuteness of sense-perception, we are familiar with marked exaltations of sensibility in fever, or under the influence of certain drugs. It does not surprise us to find that the sense of muscular balance in the somnambulist is often so acute that he can pass without tottering along roofs wholly impassable to his waking feet. It does not surprise us to find that he can at times hear sounds which are too faint for other ears to catch. But we begin to be staggered when we come to a metastasis of function, when the patient, deaf to all shouting at her ear, hears a whisper at the pit of her stomach.¹⁰ And as regards *vision*, the sleep-waker's condition offers a series of puzzles. We are of course prepared to be-

Superstitions; M. Taine's *Traité de l'Intelligence*; Dr. Troussseau's *Leçons Cliniques*; M. Ribot on *Diseases of Memory*; and Professor Wienholt's *Lectures on Somnambulism*. Dr. Herbert Mayo, F.R.S., was Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in King's College, and of Comparative Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons, London. We quote from the third edition of his book.

⁸ Macnish, p. 170.

⁹ *Zoist*, vol. iv. p. 181.

¹⁰ Dr. Petelin's case: Mayo, p. 113, &c.

lieve that the eye may become sensitive to amounts of light far lower than are normally perceptible. We hear, therefore, without incredulity of the sleep-waker who threads her needle under the table, or blows out the candle at midnight before she washes up the dishes, under the impression that 'she has just had breakfast, and that it is wasteful to burn lights in broad daylight. But the observers of sleep-waking cases go on to insist on what seems a quite needless stumbling-block; they tell us that the eyes of the sleep-wakers are not open but shut, with pupils upturned, or that if the eyes are open, at any rate there is 'no speculation' in them, but a mere vacant glare. If we reply that this must be a mistake of observation, they go on to overwhelm us with cases¹¹ where the patient reads with the palm of her hand, or with the back of her neck, or criticises the moves of chess-players sitting immediately behind her. Nor is even this all. Professor Mayo became convinced, or, as he expresses it, 'resigned himself to the belief,' that these spontaneously arising powers sometimes attain a degree so extraordinary that we prefer to describe it in his own words.¹² 'The patient manifests new perceptive powers. She discerns objects all around her and through any obstructions, partitions, walls, or houses, and at an indefinite distance. She sees her own inside, as if it were illuminated, and can tell what is wrong in the health of others. She reads the thoughts of others, whether present or at indefinite distances. The ordinary obstacles of space and matter vanish to her.' It is obvious that the claims of clairvoyance when induced by Mesmerism can scarcely go beyond the powers here ascribed to spontaneous or idiopathic trance.

To proceed to the next point. The mesmerist, when he claims that he can limit the stream of consciousness, and bestow a temporary dominance on some one idea or emotion, only asserts that he can produce a phenomenon which admittedly occurs already both in apparent health and in disease. The power of suggestion begins in the condition of ordinary dream before it attains its intenser degree in somnambulism. The sleeping officer follows with growing anxiety the description of a battle whispered to him by his friends, till at last he jumps from his bed and runs headlong away. The sleeping beauty, whose ingenious lover has obtained permission to breathe his own name in her ear, is melted at last into tenderness for him by the strange recurrent dream. In more advanced stages the sleep-waker acts out his vision among waking men; he fancies himself employed in some habitual duty, answers only the remarks which bear on this supposed employment, and neglects all external stimuli which he cannot coordinate with his dominant train of ideas.

It is possible that we may ultimately be able to trace an unbroken line of progression from the voluntary and transient hypertrophy of

¹¹ Mr. Bulteel's case, Dr. Petelin's cases, Dr. Delpit's case, in Dr. Mayo's collection alone.

¹² *Popular Superstitions*, p. 111.

a mental image which is necessary for the thinker who wishes it to stand forth distinctly in his brain, to the degenerative hypertrophy of a group of such images which renders them permanently dominant in consciousness and impossible to dislodge. And the key to such inquiries seems to lie in the somnambulist state—midway between idiopathic reverie and monomania—and combining a hallucination as profound as the lunatic's with a capacity of recall as sudden as the shock which arouses a Socrates to the perception that he is not in the ideal world, but before Potidæa. The great drawback is the rarity of these cases of instructive trance; and when the mesmerist claims to reproduce them, he is merely offering to reproduce by empirical means an observed abnormal state, which physiologist and psychologist alike may well desire to see reproduced. It is of course a question of evidence as to whether or not the mesmerist succeeds in this avowedly empirical reproduction of a most obscure nerve-condition; but there is at any rate no reason whatever why his evidence should be slighted, or his attempt dismissed *à priori* as fantastic and unphysiological.

The next point on which, as we urge, the claims of Mesmerism have already been far exceeded by the unsought phenomena of Nature is that of intermittent memory—of the establishment of a second state, which carries on its own memories from one access to another, but whose recollection of the normal state is in varying degrees imperfect, and which is itself altogether forgotten so soon as the normal state recurs. The complexity of these intercurrent memories may reach a point which imagination can scarcely realise. Dr. Mayo cites a case of quintuple memory, where a normal state was interrupted by four separate morbid states, each with a memory of its own. The phenomena, whether of amnesia or hypermnnesia, which mesmerists allege, reach no such marvellous pitch as this; but they offer a means of direct experimentation such as cannot otherwise be obtained in this direction; and some of the cases adduced—as of the so-called 'mesmeric promise,' or impression made on the brain in the mesmeric state, which irresistibly works itself out in the subsequent normal condition—present a singular conformity to some of the best physiological speculations on the mechanism of memory.

The fifth point which we mentioned as conspicuously subject to modification from obscure but spontaneously arising causes, was *character*—the set of emotional and volitional dispositions which make up a recognisable personality. Character is of course largely influenced by *memory*: a change in the body of pictures reproducible at will must needs change the general conception of the universe on which a man's more definite views and preferences are based. And there is a childlike sense of freedom and deliverance in the escape from the trammelling recollection of what one has done in the past, and what other people think about one, which forms a

marked feature in many accounts of spontaneous double-consciousness as well as of mesmeric trance. But the history of spontaneous double-consciousness includes also cases where character alters—as though through some altered distribution of the supply of blood to the brain—while in the altered state the memories of the normal state are preserved. Such cases are of much importance with reference to certain allegations of permanent change in emotional disposition effected by Mesmerism; and it may not be out of place to refer here to Dr. Azam's case of *Félida X.* (the earlier stages of which have been already summarised in *Mind*)—a story which brings home to us the relativity of human judgments, the pathetic limitations of man's outlook on the world, more forcibly than any romance:—

Félida X., an hysterical young woman living in the south of France, became subject in 1856 to accesses of what was at first considered as somnambulism—states lasting a few minutes or hours, of which she retained no consciousness on regaining her normal condition. Gradually the duration of these accesses increased, they became considerable enough to rank as a 'second state,' and it was observed that in this second state *Félida* perfectly remembered the first state—in the 'first or normal state she forgot the second. The second state gradually grew upon her till it has become almost continuous, her relapses into the first state occupying perhaps not more than one day per month. And it is remarkable that her second state is in all respects superior to her first. Her health is better; *her character is more cheerful and even*; her memory perfect for both states. She is aware of her occasional entry into her first state, but she considers that as abnormal, and though not unduly distressed by it she would fain avoid its occurrence. When in the first state, on the other hand, her aches and pains return, and her memory for the second state disappears. She is then truly miserable, even to the verge of suicide, and helplessly bewildered by the vast gaps in her memory, which are so profound and extensive that if her husband or children happen to be out of the room at the moment when she enters the first state she does not know whether they are alive or dead, and waits anxiously to see whether they come in again. She is ashamed of this loss of memory, and uses all her art to conceal it. Of late she has hit on a plan which somewhat lessens this inconvenience. When she feels that an access of the first state is coming on, she writes a letter to her other self, giving a précis of the facts which she considers it desirable that that self should know. Thus, for instance, she details the orders which have to be executed, the measurements of chintz, &c. But there are cases where the poor creature is glad to forget. For example, in the second state she learnt facts giving her grave cause for jealousy as to her husband's conduct with a female friend of her own. So much did this distress her that she attempted suicide. She was rescued before life was extinct: and then in her new misery she ardently desired the return of the first state, with all its suicidal gloom: preferring, as one may say, to hang herself in forgetfulness of the truth, rather than because she remembered it. She has, since then, in fact returned repeatedly to the first state, and knows nothing therein of the trouble which has come on her second self. Yet this immunity is not without its inconveniences: for while, in the second state, she rejects indignantly all acquaintance with the treacherous friend, she knows that there will be as it were intercalary days of amnesty when she will greet her again with cordiality and ease.

The brief sketch thus given of some of the abnormal phenomena of sensation and consciousness which do unquestionably occur, and

which unquestionably occurred before Mesmerism was named or thought of, might easily have been indefinitely extended. But enough has been said, we think, to show how unscientific is the objection urged against Mesmerism on account of the *incredible character* of the phenomena said to be thereby induced. It may or may not be the case that the mesmeric process induces these phenomena; but to call such phenomena *à priori incredible*, is to ignore or disregard an immense though scattered mass of testimony (of a perfectly unbiassed kind) to the existence of precisely similar and of still stranger phenomena, which have been sporadically observed in all ages and countries in which accurate observation has been possible.

For our own part we feel so strongly the profundity of the mysteries which the phenomena of somnambulism involve that we cannot recognise any *à priori* objection to what may be called the grotesque simplicity of method with which Mesmerism attacks them. We cannot but remember that the first clues to problems whose solution lies far beyond the resources of existing knowledge are generally discovered accidentally and in unexpected quarters. We are in no way suggesting that a clue thus empirically discovered is likely to prove to be the central solution, the true *mot de l'énigme*. We are inclined to attribute a quite coordinate importance to the classes of experiments associated with the names of Reichenbach and of Charcot, which indicate hitherto unexpected relationships between the nervous system and certain forces resident in inorganic matter; and we watch with great interest the various series of experiments which Professor Stanley Hall and others are conducting on the more easily accessible forms of abnormal nervous states. But we urge that these experiments are not enough; that, the higher the generalisations to be reached, the more various probably must be the means employed for reaching them; and that, besides the exactly measurable experiments which can be instituted on such points (for instance) as the modification in the speed of nervous reactions in the hypnotic state, we need an immense mass, an immense variety, of experiments, necessarily indeed vaguer, but not on that account less instructive, on the higher, the rarer, the less analysable phenomena. Some of these phenomena are wholly irreproducible. A case like Férida's must simply be waited for till it occurs of itself. But other rare phenomena—sense-metastasis, clairvoyance, alternating memory, emotional modification—these Mesmerism, and Mesmerism almost alone, claims to be able to reproduce. This claim—which we shall hope to discuss in a subsequent paper—may be mistaken or exaggerated, but at any rate it is not obviously absurd, it is not *primâ facie* illegitimate. And if the claim be in any measure justified by facts, if this strange empirical process can achieve one-tenth of what Elliotson, Gregory, Mayo have claimed for it, there will assuredly be matter for the close

attention of all exact inquirers. For a new roadway of direct experiment will have been driven into the jungle of those obscure phenomena which Science neglects because they cannot be accurately tested, and Ignorance distorts because they cannot be authoritatively explained.

EDMUND GURNEY.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

AMONG the strongest impressions I bring home with me after a long year's sojourn among our kinsfolk who live under the Southern Cross, is the belief that there is not a little of the pathetic in the regard nourished by the colonists for 'the old country.' They are Australians much, but I think they are Britons yet more. Here, perhaps, the outward and visible evidences of respect for the Sovereign savour somewhat of the conventional. The Queen, abstractedly as a sovereign, personally as a woman, dwells in the very core of the hearts of her Australian subjects. They are no flunkeys; they think their manly thoughts and speak their manly minds plainly enough in regard to any royal weakness or failing; but their devotion to their sovereign is staunch, and their love for Victoria and her race has a glow of personal warmth in it such as does not universally burn among subjects clustered closer on the confines of the royal circle. No such ovation, no such pretty tenderness of affection for the Prince of Wales's sailor-lads, could have greeted them on home-shores, as the genuine loving enthusiasm in whose atmosphere they lived during their visit to Australia. To speak slightly or even without respect of the Queen is not a crime, indeed, according to the written law of Australia, but the man who should do this thing would quickly realise that it might be safer for him to have committed an offence under the statutes. Every public speaker who would sit down on good terms with his audience, will weave into his peroration expressions of devotion to the Crown, of congratulation that Australia lives under the flag of 'the Empire,' of fervent aspiration that this shall be ever so. For a man who betrays in talk that he has dared to let his mind stray towards the question of Australian independence, although his excogitations may have been in the pure abstract—for such a man there is the cold shoulder in the most emphatic fashion. He is made to endure the pariah sensation: the lower orders, but that they are so orderly and that such missiles are not to be squandered in Australia, would heave half-bricks at him; the better classes wither him with the cold significance that he is 'bad form.'

There is an element of oppressiveness in this Australian fervour

of loyalty. Intolerance comes of it; it frowns down liberty of speech, and so inevitably cramps the range of free thought. Not an Australian myself, my year's residence among them has so brought me into subjection to this tyranny, if I may use the term, that I have a sense of guiltiness in now daring to get over the fence of the paddock within which Australian public opinion so rigorously confines itself. Returning to Australia, I shall have a sense of nervousness as I land, because of this article, guarded as I design its tone shall be. There are every day manifestations of this curious tyranny of the fervour of loyalty. Let me give some examples. We all know what men here say, and are free to say, inside Parliament and outside Parliament, on the subject of Ireland. There are men in Parliament who have avowed in their places that they are taking part in a parliamentary warfare, in default of the longed-for ability to engage in quite another kind of warfare. There are men inside and outside of St. Stephen's who avouch that they are struggling and plotting for the disruption of the Union, and no man maketh them afraid. No speaker could hold this tone in Australia in regard to Ireland. The Redmond brothers last year visited that continent on a crusade to raise money for 'the cause,' and probably meant to speak in Australia as they had been wont to speak at home. But on the very threshold they were warned by enthusiastic partisans of their own stripe that this must not be—that Australia simply would not stand it. So they struck a lower key, spoke ever respectfully of Great Britain, and with enthusiastic encomium of Britain's sovereign—sovereign as well, they took care to emphasise, 'of the bright gem of the say.' There was droll irony in the anticlimax that their meetings concluded with the National Anthem. But it was in vain that the revolutionary brothers thus 'louted low.' Several of their earlier assemblages, ere yet they had learned the full lesson of moderation, were scenes of fierce riot, owing to the sturdy Australian determination to have none of this 'seditious gibberish.' The newspapers never gave them a chance: some refused their advertisements and waste-paper-basketed their letters of remonstrance; all declined to give any prominence to their utterances. The universal press-attitude to them was thus tersely expressed: 'This is no field for such people as you; you are not wanted. Your mission is to make mischief and stir up the race hostilities which the Australian air tends to lull into dormancy. We trust you will be exceedingly uncomfortable while you stay here; we shall genially contribute to this end, and so you had better go away.' Hall-proprietors, with whom the rent is mostly the main object of interest, declined with emphatic unanimity to lease their platforms to the agitators, who had to burrow in remote inconvenient Roman Catholic schoolrooms. Certain members of the Victorian Parliament, persons of Irish birth or extraction, put their names to an address to Mr. Parnell in which there occurred the words 'foreign despotism.'

Some such expressions have been uttered in the British Lower House by members 'rising in their places.' But the Australian Parliament men who signed this document did not do so as such, but as members of the community simply chancing to be able to write 'M.P.' after their names. The colony rose against them in its wrath. Indignation meetings were held in every township. It was only by abject explanations that savoured strongly of apologies, that they escaped the expulsion from Parliament for which there was so widespread a clamour. The colonial Ministry were forced by public opinion into a belief of the need for transmitting to the sovereign an expression of profound sorrow for the conduct of the sinning M.P.'s, and of their own and the colony's quenchless loyalty—a memorial which, in the British official manner, was acknowledged with studied coldness, if I remember rightly, by an Under-Secretary. A general election followed soon after: four out of the five members who had perpetrated the outrage on colonial loyalty lost their seats; and the episode was the chief nail in the coffin of the O'Loughlin Ministry, whose head chanced to participate in the nationality of the offending and offensive signatories.

And it is not that the Australians are ultra philo-British; they are British in thought, word, and deed. Of English-born colonists this is but natural: *cælum non animum mutant*. But in multitudinous attributes the native-born Australians are at least as British-seeming as are the emigrants. Their British-hood manifests itself in things big and in things little. I jot down a few at sheer random: in the accent of the lower classes, which is a glutinous Cockney; in the slow heavyish walk, save in Melbourne, where the Americans of the 'golden age' have left their impress on many habits; in the fondness for the potent spirits and heavy beers of old-country headiness in the teeth of hostile climatic conditions, and in the custom of making merry in song and chorus over the deliberate glass, as contradistinguished from the American habit of 'taking the poison' at a gulp—and that poison a cunning concoction of cocktail or julep; in the full side-face whiskers, which of late are becoming old-fogeyish at home; in the sporting tastes and the fine keen manly fondness for athletics, none recking that the cricket and football are played *sub Jove calido*; in the active habits of the women, who are as good pedestrians as, and better walkers than, their British sisters, and who are as keen on lawn-tennis with the thermometer 100 in the shade as our girls are when it marks 'temperate'; in the universal truly British preference of compartment carriages in railway travel, and the addiction to being accompanied in the compartment by portmanteau, hand-bag, a bale of rugs and great coats, and a fascine of walking-sticks and umbrellas; in sectarian intolerance on the part of the clergy, with a fine keen nose for intestine heresy; in the atmosphere of steady, somewhat narrow, conventional decorum among the middle classes—there are no upper classes

in Australia in our sense of the term ; in the burning zeal for writing letters to the newspapers, on personal petty grievances, on abuses which the American curses at while suffering and forgets the moment they are over, and on trifles generally that nevertheless evolve a display of great indignation, long words, and the old, old quotations ; in the intensely British-‘form’ of those newspapers themselves, with their rotund ‘we,’ their mathematically three-paragraphed leading articles, their fine, manly, wooden holding aloof from a certain vein of news which no doubt would be interesting and indeed useful, but which might incur the reproach of trenching on the personal.

How comes about this fondness of verisimilitude, this abiding aspiration after identity ? Is this spirit, then, the outcome of a genial and persevering fostering zeal on the part of the mother-country ? The oldest of those Australian colonies she invented as a *moral cloaca*. When, in spite of the garbage steadily poured into it, the stream had run itself pellucid through the filter of self-help, God’s good gifts of sweet air, fair land, and the potentiality of cleanly life, and there rose from Australia the noble self-denying cry that no longer this reproach should come upon it, that reproach Britain strove callously and masterfully to perpetuate, and yet strove again and again. The politician who was Colonial Secretary in a British Ministry when the quay of Sydney witnessed a demonstration that was all but a riot caused by his attempt to foist convicts on New South Wales eight years after transportation thither had ceased under a Ministerial pledge of its absolute abolition, has later had for his colleague in the same Cabinet the man who was an eloquent leader of the impassioned and successful resistance that drove away (only to a less opinionative portion of the continent) the convict ships, which, so acute was the crisis, were already riding at anchor in Sydney harbour, within earshot of the cheers ; the convict faces lowering over the bulwark of the barracoon as they gazed at the gestures of the orator whose words lashed his listeners to confront with passionate words the representative of the Majesty of Britain with British bayonets in his back kitchen. For long years, while as yet they were Crown colonies, the Australian provinces had to pay the Crown for the distinguished honour of being governed, and constituted a lucrative preserve for the nephews and hangers-on of personages who stood well with the Crown functionaries who dispensed the colonial patronage. When at length, after much wrestling and striving, the privileges of self-government were partially and reluctantly conceded, Britain haggled over the civil lists in much the same spirit as an aristocratic fortune-hunter might contend about settlements with the lawyers of a plebeian heiress. The British Colonial Office repudiated the bills of the Governor it had sent to one of the Australian colonies—bills drawn with its own sanction to mitigate the famine that had befallen the colony mainly because of the emigration policy of the department itself. The ‘mother country’

persisted in withdrawing from the colonies British soldiers to the last red coat, in the face of impassioned entreaties to the contrary, backed by the offer to maintain the troops if only they were left. She coldly bade them furnish the means for their own protection from any enemy that her action might haply bring down upon them, had no particular objections to sell them munitions of war for their self-defence, and has been generous enough to lend them skilled officers to superintend the construction of their fortifications and drill their local cohorts, on the condition always that they should relieve her of the task of paying those officers while engaged in this work. When the colonies, with a full and deliberate knowledge of their own internal social conditions, passed measures legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister, the Royal sanction—while as regards home legislation *la reine veult*, has been a phrase of course for a century and more—was denied, until steadfast importunity had worn down the stubborn stiff-neckedness of the Colonial Office. The 'mother country'—nominally so—yes! could a step-mother country have been sourer, by any refinement of ingenuity?

The Australian shuts his faculties from taking heed of these things, and lets his fondness have its scope in idealising 'old England.' He puts from him, with a strong blind will, the risk he runs in being the helpless dependent of a country in whose foreign policy he has no voice. Once, when there came over the long southern waves the sough of an impending war, an Irishman who happened to be of the Ministry that then ruled that colony, suggested that Victoria should take into consideration the policy of cutting loose into independence, if England should go to war and her colony so be involved in the consequent risks of injury. For the pawkiness of this proposal, the man should have been a Scotsman. But had he been a Scotsman, he would have known his public better and been too cautious to open his mouth with a suggestion so heretical. He had reason, as it was, to be very sorry he had spoken. Skobelev's soldiers I have heard avow that they would rather fight and die behind him, their hero, than fight and live under another general. It seems, if we are to regard the signs and tokens, that the Australian would rather perish, if it should be so, in the ashes of Britain than survive her. He would live with her and die with her—I do not say for her. It is beautiful: and the touchstone has never been applied. Meanwhile he rejoiceth in England's glories, when there come to her the laurels which of late have sparsely fallen to her lot. The Australian glowed over Ulundi, and thrilled and swelled at the Tel-el-Kebir tidings. Military successes get into all our heads, and the man who has personally helped to them has a glow of self-satisfaction. But his feeling is nothing so intense as is the elation of good people who have won a battle vicariously; and even with the latter *surgit aliquid* in the reflection that they will have the bill to pay. But the Australian has un-

chequered joy; he has had the battle won for him vicariously, in all his community there is not one weeping woman, and it has not cost him a rap. Oh! British Jingo, don't you wish you were an Australian?

There are shrewd, unemotional men in Australia who look at the matter with closer and quite unsentimental eyes, and, so far as my experience goes, they are quite as loyal, or, perhaps I may more exactly define it, quite as pro-British. They recognise the risk in case of war, and you can almost see them shudder: then they brace their nerves, and conclude to 'take the risk' in the underwriter sense, regarding the advantages of the connection and the situation as an adequate set-off. After some such reason do we find the Americans 'taking their own insurance' against the risk of war. They have no army but what is needed as an Indian frontier police, and a navy only in name. On the balance of the chances, they argue with themselves, it is cheaper overhead to save military and naval expenditure about which there is an unpleasantly stern reality, and to take the chances of war, which are remote, and of the damages that war, if it should occur, would involve. Probably they will find the sum work out in their favour more and more as the years of immunity roll on and the years also of economy in naval and military charges. It may be parenthetically observed that while the Great Republic has few seaboard places of importance, and these mostly affording facilities for being made roughly defensible on short notice, Australasia has an overwhelming proportion of her wealth and population lying on her seaboard edges. But this, for the present, by the way. The shrewd man recognises what economy Australia as a colony effects, in the matter of consular, to say nothing of diplomatic, representation all over the globe. The ægis of the Empire, they discern, is worth a good deal to Australia in peace-time, whatever it might be worth in war-time. It staves off the bugbear of foreign occupation in New Guinea and the smaller South Sea islands; the flag gives Australian shipping a certain conventional prestige; and the travelling Australian finds a comforting complacency in the *civis Romanus sum* consciousness. They recognise further that the British investor is a copious milch-cow of capital, not alone in regard to colonial Government loans, but in regard to the thousand-and-one colonial financial, land, and industrial enterprises with which the Stock Exchange list has been so greatly lengthened of late years. This comes freely while the Australias are colonies; the British capitalist would by no means let the milk down so freely, or be content with the interest which the Australian turns his own nose up at—not a million all told of all the many millions of Australasian Government loans is held in Australasia—were the colonies independent States, although in certain aspects the security might be at least none the less good were this the case. And then there abides unto such men as I am speaking of—men who in the

abstract might not be averse from independence—the full consciousness of the existing difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of Australian federation, without which any Australian aspiration to independence would be an experiment fraught with folly, danger, and mischiefs unspeakable. Such men find the present situation satisfactory enough. England sometimes sends the colonies Governors who are fiascos at once melancholy and ludicrous, but it is a curious anomaly, that with all the colonial devotion to the Sovereign of which I have spoken, the colonial hard-headedness takes full play in regard to that Sovereign's vicegerents. The colonial Governor is not a bit of a fetiche; he is simply a mere figurehead. If he is a good Governor—and his goodness is taken to consist in his doing nothing at all but being affable, and in spending his stipend in adequate entertaining—he is personally popular and may be beloved. If he is a dull, wooden Governor, unentertaining in the sense of not entertaining, he is simply ignored. If he is a caricature of what a Governor should be, he is ridiculed with a light-hearted irreverence. If he is a Governor who fain would rule and concern himself masterfully with affairs, as Sir Arthur Gordon tried to do in New Zealand, his Ministers lay themselves out to thwart him, and succeed somehow—in the instance cited, by an audacious ruse, which the whole colony applauded as at once a successful stroke and a good joke. The Australasian Governor is hardly even the fly on the wheel of the Australasian coach.

But as regards the mass of the Australian population, how much or how little of the devotion to Britain which I have tried to describe, is simply sentiment? He is a hard-headed man, the Australian, and has a keen regard for his own interest, with which in the details of his business life his unquestionable attachment to his not over-affectionate mother is not permitted materially to interfere. Where his pocket is concerned, he displays for her no special favouritism. For her, in no commercial sense, is there any 'most favoured nation' clause in his code. He taxes alike imports from Britain and from Batavia. His wool goes to England because London is the wool-market of the world, not because England is England. He transacts his import commerce mainly with England because it is there where the proceeds of the sale of his wool provide him with financial facilities. But he has no sentimental predilection for the London market. He is now selling his wool largely at home, with even hand to all comers of whatsoever nationality. The Suez Canal widened the radius of his exports, and he has alertly availed himself of the increased scope. He is glad to take 'notions' from America, and would fain that America would hack a breach in that close protection-bulwark of hers, in favour of his wool. In fact, he 'makes no bones' of using the strongest language in regard to mother-England when one of those recurrent financial awkwardnesses within her borders has its inevitable tightening action on his own local money-market.

And to what extent does Australia's past throw light on the depth of the sentiment, if I am to take that word and use it for want of a more convenient one? Well, no provocation, no slight, no coldness has moved any Australian people to serious talk, much less to threats, of hiving off. When, in the early gold-digging days, Sir Charles Hotham, in the fine old crusted and crusty British fashion, was molesting and obstructing gold-digging enterprise with all the narrow zeal of hyper-officialism, there was a stern and somewhat bloody revolt against his authority, and there were fierce mutterings which broke out once and again into hot angry words that had an ugly flash in them. I am not aware that Australia has ever offered regiments for service in British wars; she till recently had none to proffer, and those she now has are composed of men who are citizens as well as militiamen. She contributed with a full hand to the Patriotic Fund. When the Governor of New South Wales would have persisted in sending away to the Indian Mutiny the battery of artillery which the colony paid, the colony waxed wroth against him (notwithstanding that in the crisis it had itself made the offer), because it seemed to it that the crisis had already passed before the battery was ready for despatch. An excited Victorian Minister is now again in office, who, when the home authorities stood between him and some line of action in which he was ardent, did commit himself to impassioned utterances referring to a contingency that might bring about 'battered towns and blazing houses,' or some such words. But these are stray trifles.

The condition indicated above, however it may be designated—a satisfactory *status quo*, a summer-weather halcyon period, or a fool's paradise—may endure indefinitely. That the bands of the one-sided love will slacken as the native-born population increases, and drifts away in life-habit and tone of thought from the original immigrant, may be conjectured, feeble as are the symptoms as yet of any such divagation. But against this will operate the strength of fashion. The live ardent glow of to-day may cool and stagnate into a traditional, no longer vitally-pulsating, sentiment; but, after all, what is more potent than tradition, so long as nothing comes to tear it up by the roots? Were the Prince of Wales to visit Australia, what sense there may be of Britain's neglect would be effaced in an outburst of fervent loyal enthusiasm, the radiance of which would slant its beams forward into the next generation of Australians. I honestly think that so long as England does not aggravate her present sour coldness by wanton slights, or by offensive assertion of dominance, there can happen only one thing to tear up by the roots this beautiful Australian loyalty that England makes so light of to-day. That thing will be, or would be, England's entering the lists of war with a great European Power.

What such a war might portend for England, lies in the dark

womb of fate. On the Australian colonies, at the lightest, it would certainly bring wide-ranging and terrible mischiefs. An indication of what would assuredly be one of the most serious features of such a war was afforded in the organised haste with which Russia made her preparations for sending to sea swift cruisers equipped in American ports, when war seemed imminent between Great Britain and her in the spring of 1878. Some of those cruisers the Australians have already seen, forming part of the squadron which Admiral Aslanbegoff led south into their harbours. It lies among the certainties of such a war, should it ever come, that the British Empire must uncover its outlying flanks for the protection of its centre—the British Isles. Steam has discounted the ‘silver streak.’ Organised invasion, indeed, might be less to be dreaded than ever; but England’s first necessity would be to picquet her coast-line with her warships against the swift sudden raids of cruisers aimed at her unprotected coast-towns. It must not be, such would be her earliest care, that the Provost of Peterhead should be awakened in the grey of the morning to listen to a demand for the borough’s ransom, enforced by a pistol-muzzle at his temple, or the point of a bayonet in unpleasant proximity to the pit of his portly stomach. The Imperial squadron in Australasian waters consists of one ironclad, three gunboats, and a couple of schooners. Left in these, it could not protect effectively the vast range of coast-line; but it may be assumed as certain that it would not be left there.

Hostile cruisers would haunt the Australasian waters, coaling in the neutral ports about the Eastern Archipelago. The colonial fleet consists of an ironclad that is suited only for harbour defence, and two or three indifferent gunboats, the attributes of which furnish the colonists with a source of mild amusement. The capitals have positions and defences which adequately protect them against raids (nor need anything more important be apprehended), and the interior would have complete immunity; but the minor, yet far from unimportant, coast-towns, those of them which are not retired up rivers, would tempt the cruisers by their absolute openness and defencelessness. I speak of such places as Cooktown, Townsville, Bowen, in Queensland; of Newcastle, in New South Wales; of Portland and Belfast, in Victoria; in South Australia, of Robe, Port Macdonall, Kingston, Victor Harbour, and the Spencer Gulf ports. New Zealand seems to regard herself as absolved from the duty of self-defence, and, although Quakers do not abound among her people, to have adopted the imbecile dictum of a local pseudo-statesman that ‘in her defencelessness lies her truest protection.’ True, several of her principal cities—Christchurch, Invercargill, Auckland, Blenheim, and perhaps her capital, Wellington—are safe either in virtue of position or so situate that a few guns would make them so. But many others are clean naked; such as Oamaru, Timaru, Nelson, Napier, Gisborne, New Plymouth, Greymouth,

Hokitika, while Dunedin, although the waterway to the face of that beautiful city is covered, is open to inshore cannon-fire across the neck of Ocean Beach. The colonies own a number of smart passenger-steamers, which, with a few guns aboard, would make useful counter-cruisers, but a lightly-plated enemy would have complete immunity while engaged in the avocation of irregularly increasing the ventilation in the 'tween decks of the Rotomahana, the Buninyong, or the Flinders. The colonies would be racked by 'scares,' and get into an unsettled and 'jumpy' frame; probably there would be 'flaming houses,' if not 'battered towns;' almost certainly there would be sudden levies, known in European warfare as 'forced contributions,' which make citizens sombre, and bank-managers suicidal. . .

But all this, bad as it would be, would nevertheless by no means constitute for the colonies the most serious evil of such a war. The Australasians have plenty of 'grit.' They would take such things as the fortune of war, and fight their staunchest, if a chance to fight should offer itself. But the Australasian colonists, those of them who have not achieved independence, live from hand to mouth. You may assume that four out of every five men whose conditions afford them valid security have utilised that security in the borrowing of as much as is procurable on it, in order that they may widen the scope of their operations. Mr. Smith finds himself possessor of 5,000*l*. He does not cast about for a 5,000*l*. investment; nothing so paltry; he finds one which will require 20,000*l*., whereupon he serenely borrows the 15,000*l*., and completes the transaction with a light heart. If all goes well, he prospers, gradually wipes out his indebtedness, and stands a 20,000*l*. man with his feet clear, having lived meanwhile on the margin between his returns and the interest on his debt. But a bad season pinches him; a second bad season goes far to wipe him out. It is this all but universality of indebtedness that accounts for the swift shock which a little frown of 'tight money' and 'dear money' sends vibrating and thrilling all through the Australasian communities. They pay their way by the prompt disposal of their produce; if that disposal does not occur, say because drought has closed the navigation of the Darling, or if it should occur disastrously because of bad markets, they are at once in trouble. Now, war would be an infliction sorer than the want of water in the Darling; tenser and severer than the worst of bad markets. The markets for the staple productions of Australasia lie, all but invariably, outside the producing colony; for the most part, outside the colonies altogether. In multifarious ways would war hamper the transportation of those productions. There would be the added burden of the war-risk marine insurance; there would be occasional, even if not frequent, mischances on the voyage at the hands of 'the Queen's enemies,' which would of course enhance freights. Neutral bottoms would command their own prices, if, indeed, Vattel would hold them scathe-

less in conveying what would be virtually British produce from what would in effect be a British port to another British port, if the destination were England. The struggle—a struggle not of her own making—in the issues of which she probably would have neither part nor lot, interest nor opinion—the struggle, I say, whether short or long, would dislocate Australasia commercially all along the line. Were it protracted, there might be default in the payment of the interest on colonial debts, public, semi-public, and private; and this with no blame attributable to the debtors. The security for most of these is ample, but, as regards that which stands for much of the public debt, it is only contingently reproductive; and a sword-hand on the throat of colonial commerce, and more especially of colonial exportation, would for the time paralyse colonial money-earning and money-paying life. In piping times of peace, the national debts of the Australasian colonies loom large. Queensland, for instance, with her population of 225,000 souls, carries on her broad shoulders sixteen and a quarter millions sterling of public debt. New Zealand jauntily owns to thirty-one millions, with a population of 500,000 all told, something over that of Whitechapel parish. The indebtedness per head of each of these colonies is more than triple the *per capita* indebtedness of the mother-country. I put out of reckoning altogether municipal, harbour, and other corporate indebtedness, nor take any account of the vast sums of English money invested by financial and industrial institutions, and through private channels, all over the colonies. And I should be untrue to my own opportunities for observation, should I fail to record my conviction, that, bar convulsions, the security that Australasia affords for the load of public debt she carries is ample now, and steadily increasing in amplitude.

In case of default, whether on private or on public indebtedness, the British creditor, himself hardly pressed by war-taxes coming on the back of heavy normal taxation, would be apt to open his mouth in a highly disagreeable, not to say offensive manner. Such expressions would give the greater umbrage to the colonial debtor, human nature being what it is, because of his consciousness that the pinch which had made him a defaulter would have a purely gratuitous character so far as he was concerned. 'The beginning of strife is as the letting out of waters;' we have no definition from the same pen of the end of strife. I at least have the implicit conviction that if England should ever be engaged in a severe struggle with a Power of strength and means, in what condition soever that struggle might leave her, one of its outcomes would be to detach from her the Australian colonies.

In regard to the phases through which the alienation would be consummated, speculation might be indefinitely indulged in. But let us take a single contingency. Suppose one of the colonies, not

having quite forgotten a discouragement it may have once encountered in its little effort at a *coup de main* on an adjacent territory which it professed to regard as, looming large with possibilities baneful to it—suppose this colony were to pronounce itself independent in the climax of the struggle. That stroke would bring chaos into Australia, if not actual internal strife. The generation has not yet passed away that witnessed a terrible intestine struggle between two sections of a great English-speaking nation. But if there were war to-day between two Australian colonies, that would not be intestine war in the sense in which the American civil war was intestine war. There would be the common repudiation of the vaguely exercised suzerainty of the British Crown; but, in all other respects, such a war would be one between two distinct States, with separate governments, separate laws, antagonistic tariffs. It is as if Servia and Bulgaria, both acknowledging the suzerainty of the Porte, were to go to war with each other, or Cashmere and Nepaul. The Australian colonies, thank Heaven, are neither Servia and Bulgaria, nor Cashmere and Nepaul; and it is not easy to imagine circumstances that would make rifle-bullets whistle across the waters of the Murray. But if any colony were to pronounce itself independent in war-time, the complications would thicken beyond the power of speculation to follow them in their possible ramifications. It is more profitable and pleasant to refrain from that kind of mental exercise, and to follow out briefly another and an easier train of speculation.

The act of separation from the mother-country exercised by the Australian colonies as the result of a war that had wrought them the harms I have outlined, must and would bring about Australian Federation, and would be the only lever that could effect that consummation. The one thing is the complement of the other. Federation is as much a chimera under the present conditions as it would be a necessity under the other conditions. Some Australian statesmen are amusing themselves and their listeners just now with unpractical talk about federation, and the newspapers occasionally take the topic up when there is a dearth of subjects for leading articles. But no citizen has any keenness for it from disinterested motives; no colony evinces any feeling about it outside the range of its own individual interests. Abstinence from concern, far less agitation, about federation is a phase of the easy indifference of the colonial disposition in regard to the future. There is no spur of necessity towards federation; each colony, sufficient unto itself, is prospering without it. In fact there is a strong, although dormant, intra-colonial feeling against it in most of the communities; I should say everywhere outside of Victoria, which has some vague hankering after it from interested motives. The other colonies are working each for its own hand in directions which are plainly hostile to federation. They are doing

things—making intra-colonial railways, for instance—the specific *rationale* of which federation would utterly subvert, so that the money spent on them would have been all but wasted.

But a common resolution to cut loose and be independent would make federation a burning necessity, in front of which minor obstacles would crumble. The colonial cry would then widen its volume; it would swell vehemently into 'Australia for the Australians!' Of course there would be difficulties, serious difficulties; but the need to do the thing, fully comprehended by a people of whom strong good-sense is a salient characteristic, would be felt to be stronger than the difficulties. The outcome would be an 'Australian Dominion,' if we take the not inappropriate word devised for the use of Canada. Remote as is Western Australia, it would be included, just as British Columbia is included in the Dominion of Canada, because of the community of interests and because the intervening territory will soon be traversed by belts or studded with posts of settlement. New Zealand, the yet remoter Newfoundland of the South, a thousand miles away out on the ocean, could not well be included in the ring-fence of the new Dominion. That rich and beautiful country would have to go its own way, whithersoever that might tend. Australia will never have a population commensurate with its extent according to European or American ideas, and its vast distances would constitute an element of deficiency in its federated strength. But if the United States can afford to 'take their chances' in regard to any external danger, how much more could an Australian Dominion do this, with half a world between it and any aggressor, starting with a nationality virgin of complications, and, impressed by warnings whose smart might haply have come home to itself, steadfast in its determination of rigorous abstention from a 'meddle and muddle' policy!

ARCHIBALD FORBES.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. LXXXI.—NOVEMBER 1883.

IRELAND AND THE EMPIRE.

CONCLUDED.

IN concluding the article on 'Ireland and the Empire,' which appeared in the September number of this Review, I expressed my conviction that it is necessary for the welfare of both countries that Great Britain and Ireland should remain under the authority of one strong government, while I reserved for a second article an explanation of my reasons for this opinion, and also of the difficulties which will have to be faced if it is to be acted upon.

This explanation I will now proceed to give, but I must first say a few words upon what I consider a very unwise measure, the 'Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act,' which was very hurriedly carried through Parliament after my former article had been sent to the press. It would be a waste of time to try to point out the glaring objections there are to this Act now that it has received the sanction of Parliament, but I cannot refrain from pointing out the striking evidence it affords of the want in its authors of any clear and definite views as to the policy that ought to be pursued in Ireland. This fault is especially to be remarked in the provisions with regard to emigration. A large scheme of emigration at the public expense is considered by many persons as the measure best calculated to improve the condition of the Irish people. For reasons I have fully explained I believe them to be wrong; still I can understand their views. But what I cannot understand is how it can have been thought expedient, for the

insignificant advantage which would be gained by an expenditure of 200,000*l.*, to incur almost all the evils which would arise from a large measure. This petty grant for emigration would have nearly the same effect as a larger one in checking the flow of money from private sources, from which, as I have shown, it is supposed that not less than three millions a year are now spent for emigration. The grant that has been made only shows that those who have proposed it have not made up their minds whether the application of public money to emigration is wise or the reverse, and, halting between two opinions, have taken a course which in either view of the subject is wrong.

The grant of 50,000*l.* to assist public companies to purchase land to be re-sold to the occupiers, or to remove persons or families from certain unions, is open to precisely the same observation. It violates what have hitherto been considered vital principles of sound legislation, without applying sufficient money to the objects it contemplates to produce any appreciable good even if the scheme were a sound one. Of the measure taken as a whole, I must further remark that it is really only a repetition of what experience has proved to be the worse than futile attempt to bribe the disaffected portion of the Irish people into a better feeling towards the Imperial Government by lavishing public money upon them, and by giving them boons to which they have no just claim, and which therefore, instead of exciting gratitude, are only taken as proofs of the weakness of the Government, and as an encouragement for further unreasonable demands. Mr. Trevelyan's speech against allowing out-of-door relief to be granted in the distressed unions had seemed to hold out hopes that a wiser and sounder policy than heretofore would now be pursued; but these hopes are destroyed by the passing of this Act, which is a return to the system of political quackery in its worst form. It is sad that so mischievous a measure should have met with no discouragement from the Opposition in its progress through Parliament.

Without attempting to carry further these very imperfect remarks on the Act recently passed, I now turn to the subject I have undertaken to discuss. My reasons for believing that the present union between Great Britain and Ireland must be maintained at all hazards will, I hope, admit of being stated in not very many words. The situation of the two islands seems to me alone sufficient to make it evident that their being under two independent, and therefore perhaps hostile authorities, must be a source of extreme danger, and of great and certain evils to both. I say independent and therefore perhaps hostile authorities, for if they were independent of each other, it is impossible to be sure that the two might not become hostile. It is clear that if the Government of Ireland were independent, and this country were unfortunately to be involved in a quarrel with any other power, that power would use its utmost efforts to secure for itself the alliance

and assistance of the Irish Government. Every possible inducement would be held out to it to join our enemies, and in the present temper of the Irish people it is not probable that such solicitations would be made in vain. And it is a fact too clear to require proof that it would be a task of extreme difficulty for us to defend ourselves against a powerful nation which could take Ireland for the base of its operations, with the advantage of the men and resources which could there be supplied to a hostile force. The many points on the coasts of England and of Scotland which would be open to attacks from Ireland, and the facility and speed with which these points might be reached, would leave us little hope for safety except by anticipating attack and endeavouring by a great effort to re-establish our power in Ireland. The separation of the two countries could hardly, therefore, fail to lead sooner or later to a mortal struggle between them which, however it might end, must be calamitous to both.

And even if this danger should be escaped, and the two islands should not inflict upon each other the miseries of war, both must suffer most seriously from their ceasing to form part of a single powerful state, able to wield their united strength to protect their common interests in all parts of the world. Great Britain would sink to a lower position than heretofore, and would become only a power of the second order; while Ireland, standing alone, would be too weak to defend herself from any wrong or injury to which she might be exposed. The cessation of the unrestricted trade between them, which must necessarily follow from a political separation of the two countries, would also be a grievous loss to both. Ireland would further be deprived of the great advantage it now enjoys from having employment in the public service throughout the British dominions open to its people. This field for exertion and enterprise, in which so many Irishmen have won distinction, would necessarily be closed against them. Nor is it by any means improbable that Irishmen of the working class might in like manner be deprived of the employment they now obtain so largely in this country. There is no small amount of jealousy even now among English and Scotch labourers of the competition of Irishmen; and, if a separation of the two countries were to take place, that feeling might soon become so powerful as to induce Parliament to impose some severe check upon the coming of Irishmen to this country in search of work. I do not say that it would be wise for Parliament to take such a course, but still we must regard it as one very likely to be adopted, when we consider what would be the state of things, and what feelings might be expected to prevail among a large number of the electors by whom the members of the House of Commons are chosen. We have an indication of what might be expected to happen here, in what has already happened in Australia, where the working classes, in their fear of competition, have strongly opposed not only the introduction of

Chinese labourers, but the giving of encouragement to British immigration.

Those of the Irish Home Rule party who advocate the change they demand, from a sincere belief that it is calculated to promote the welfare of their country, would also do well to consider what prospect there is that if Ireland were made independent it would be possible to create an authority capable of governing it well and wisely. The notorious divisions among its inhabitants, the great conflict of opinion between different classes, and the readiness which a majority of them have shown to follow the least trustworthy leaders, would afford little ground for hoping that if Ireland were left to govern itself, power would fall into the hands of rulers who would use it with justice, firmness, and discretion, for the benefit of the whole nation. What we might rather look for would be anarchy and confusion, if not civil war. Recent occurrences in the north of Ireland prove this to be no imaginary danger. Separation from this country would not, therefore, be for the true interest of Ireland, even if it could be obtained without civil war; while it is scarcely possible that it should be brought about except by that terrible calamity, since the people of England and of Scotland are not likely to yield a peaceful consent to it in the face of the certain evils and still greater dangers it would bring upon them. They would resist it from considerations affecting their own safety and welfare, of the same kind but more weighty than those which caused the people of the United States to put down at the cost of a bloody civil war the attempt of the South to secede from the Union.

The more moderate members of the Home Rule party may tell me that all I have now said is directed against a shadow, since the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom is not what they demand; that all they want is that the Irish people should be allowed to manage purely Irish affairs for themselves; and that they desire to maintain the authority of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament unimpaired in the concerns of the empire at large. I have no doubt that this language may be honestly used by some of the Home Rule party, but it is not on that account less calculated to deceive, and it is highly desirable that this should be understood because it sounds very plausible, and is, I fear, likely to meet with more acceptance than it deserves. Although on this side of the Irish Channel the number of those who would listen to any proposal for the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom if distinctly made is exceedingly small, there are signs, as I have already had occasion to observe, that many more persons are to be found who would not be unwilling that an attempt should be made to avert a struggle with the Home Rule party by some concession to them. Words have fallen from men holding high positions in the political world which seem to imply an inclination to listen not unfavourably to the suggestion that

some at least of the powers now exercised by Parliament in Irish affairs might properly be made over to a representative body sitting in Dublin. This suggestion appears to me to be full of danger, and I am convinced that no scheme of the kind, however carefully guarded, could be adopted without its speedily leading to our being compelled to choose between allowing a really independent government to be set up in Ireland, or using force to prevent it.

In saying this I do not mean to express here any opinion for or against the establishment of representative bodies in the Irish counties for the management of purely local affairs. Whether this ought to be done is a very difficult question, which there is no occasion for now discussing; what we have at present to consider is the totally different proposal for creating a representative Assembly to sit in Dublin, and exercise more or less authority over the whole of Ireland; it is of this proposal that I desire to point out the extreme danger. In attempting to do so I have in the first place to remark that nothing can be more vague than what has been said by those who are called the moderate adherents of the Home Rule party in explanation of what they really desire. This reproach of vagueness cannot be made against the whole party. Some at least of those who compose it make no real secret that what they want is to establish a completely independent Irish Republic. Those who have this for their aim may as yet be a minority, perhaps not more than a small minority, of the whole party, but they make up for this want of numbers by their energy, and by their having a clear and well-defined purpose in view, which those who for the present are acting with them do not seem to possess. As always happens in such cases, the flock of weaker men would in the end follow the lead of the smaller number of those more determined than themselves. Few of those who have taken the trouble to study the ordinary course of revolutions will doubt that if a representative Assembly for all Ireland were allowed to meet in Dublin it would speedily fall under the dominion of the bolder spirits, and that whatever authority might be granted to it would be used to extort one concession after another till the independence which is the real object of those who would guide it were attained, or an open rupture with the British Government were produced.

This is the more certain to happen because, as I have said, those who ask in moderate language for nothing beyond the creation of an Irish authority to deal with purely Irish affairs, have never yet attempted clearly to define what affairs ought to be considered purely Irish. They have very good reasons for not attempting to give any such definitions, or to explain precisely what they want, because I believe it to be quite impossible to point out how effective powers could be assigned to an Irish Representative Assembly that would not clash with the authority of the Imperial Parliament. This will be seen at once if we consider in detail what functions are to be allotted to the

Irish Assembly. To begin with, are taxation and the regulation of trade to be matters which are to be dealt with in Dublin or at Westminster? If in Dublin, how is the harmonious co-operation of the two legislatures to be secured? Nothing is more probable than that the Irish representatives sitting in Dublin might wish to encourage some branch of Irish industry by returning in its favour to the obsolete policy of protection, and might seek to encourage Irish manufactures by imposing duties on some commodities imported from abroad, perhaps even on their importations from England and Scotland. At first at least it is probable that to make English or Scotch goods subject to duty in Irish ports would not be asked, but a demand for the protection of Irish produce or manufactures against foreign competition would be by no means unlikely, perhaps I might say would be certain, to arise, and if strongly insisted upon by an Irish representative body must lead to much inconvenience. The Imperial Parliament could not accede to such a demand without either taxing all British consumers for the benefit of Irish producers, and returning for their advantage to the policy of protection, or else putting an end to the present unrestricted commercial intercourse between the different parts of the United Kingdom in order that duties might be levied in Ireland on the importation of some foreign goods which should still be allowed free entrance to ports on this side of the Channel. To do this, and to place the trade between Great Britain and Ireland on a different footing from the general coasting trade, would inflict much injury upon both countries, but it would become absolutely necessary if higher duties were levied in Ireland than here on any description of goods. The evasion of these duties could only be prevented by requiring all vessels carrying cargoes across the Channel to submit to a custom-house examination; and uniformity in the duties, whether of customs or excise, levied in the two islands, is indispensable if the trade between them is to remain unrestricted as part of our coasting trade. The sole power of dealing with all questions of taxation must therefore be retained by the Imperial Parliament, and as a necessary consequence it must equally keep the exclusive power of considering and deciding how the revenue derived from taxation is to be expended.

With regard to matters affecting the general interests of the empire, and especially to questions of foreign policy, no authority or right of interference for an Irish Representative Assembly is asked for by those Home Rulers who do not desire the absolute separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom. But if the proposed Irish Assembly is to be precluded from dealing with financial matters and questions affecting the general interests of the empire, I can see nothing that would be left for it to do which would not be better done, and with more impartiality to the various interests concerned, by the Parliament at Westminster than it would be by one sitting in Dublin. It is said, indeed, that the private legislation of Ireland would be

better and more conveniently done in that country. I am quite aware that great fault may justly be found with the existing arrangements for carrying on the very large and important mass of business (including all that relates to railways) which is now done by passing what are called private Acts of Parliament. But the improvement of these arrangements is at least as necessary for England and Scotland as it is for Ireland, and certainly would not be accomplished in Ireland any more than it would be in the other divisions of the kingdom by the establishment of a new local Parliament. This question, like that of the county administration to which I have already adverted, has really little to do with that as to the creation of an Irish Parliament.

But while there is no probability that such a Parliament would prove useful for any good purpose, it could not fail to become a powerful instrument in the hands of those who desire to break up the British Empire, and to afford the means of greatly embarrassing the action of the Government. Although the Dublin Assembly might not be given any authority in all those matters to which I have referred, as requiring to be kept entirely under the exclusive control of the Imperial Parliament, no means would exist of preventing these subjects from being discussed by the Dublin Assembly. That body, though it would have no right to deal authoritatively with these matters, could not be prevented from expressing its opinion upon them in addresses to the Crown, or in applications to Parliament to pass or to reject measures it might consider desirable or the reverse for the welfare of Ireland. Debates on proposals of this kind would afford easy means of carrying on an embarrassing opposition to the measures of the Imperial Parliament and Government, and there can be little doubt that on many subjects such opposition would be offered with much determination. There would be no lack of questions which would provoke it, and those relating to expenditure could hardly fail to create difficulty. Judging from the claims preferred by Irish members in the House of Commons, we must anticipate that an Irish Assembly in Dublin would insist on the expenditure of far more money from the Imperial Treasury in Ireland than would be thought wise or just at Westminster. These demands, supported as they would be by the whole weight of the Irish representative body, could not be admitted without injustice to the British taxpayers, nor rejected without leading to acrimonious controversies and increased irritation against England in the Irish people. With regard to foreign policy also, and the use to be made of the naval and military forces of the Crown, it is improbable that there would always be an agreement of opinion between the two authorities; and the policy of her Majesty's Ministers, adopted with the approval of the Imperial Parliament, might be seriously thwarted by remonstrances against it from Ireland. Whenever difficulties arose with foreign nations, the encouragement they might receive in pursuing a course unfriendly to us from the proceedings

of the Dublin Assembly might easily become a source of serious danger.

Another and a far more serious danger would be created by the existence of a representative body sitting in Dublin and claiming by law the right to speak in behalf of the Irish people. At this moment obedience to the law (such as there is) and tranquillity are only maintained in Ireland by a wisely stern exercise of the great powers with which the Executive Government has been armed by the exceedingly severe Act which Parliament passed after the Phoenix Park murders. Very few of those who are acquainted with the condition of Ireland and the feelings of the people have any doubt that if these powers were withdrawn, or were exercised with less firmness than they are, the authority of the law would again be triumphantly set at defiance throughout the country. But with an Irish representative body offering a determined resistance to the Act now in force (as it assuredly would), the difficulty of maintaining it, and still more that of renewing it should it continue to be required when the time arrives for it to expire, would be nearly, if not quite insurmountable. And even though it should be kept in force, the firm exercise of the powers it confers would be scarcely possible. We have seen how, in spite of the manifest disapprobation of the great majority of the House of Commons, a small number of Irish members have persisted in bitterly attacking the conduct of the Government in dealing with the violators of the law in Ireland, and the manner in which the police have performed their duty. If similar attacks were continually made in an Assembly in Dublin, which, instead of repressing them like the House of Commons, would probably endorse them, and press them on the attention of the Lord-Lieutenant as well-founded statements of grievances he was bound to redress, it is obvious that the action of the police in trying to maintain the public peace would be dangerously weakened if not actually paralysed. No man can doubt that the majority of members returned to an Irish Assembly would go with those members of the House of Commons who have been the fiercest and the coarsest assailants of the police, and it is equally clear that a continual succession of hostile comments made in such a body, not only on the conduct of the police, but on that of the Lord-Lieutenant and his advisers, must tend to weaken the moral authority of the Executive Government, to encourage agitation, and to inflame the passions of the people against their rulers. Nor would it be possible to prevent such mischievous proceedings in the Dublin Assembly. It cannot be said that if such a body is to be created for taking a share in the management of all public affairs which specially concern Ireland, it would be at all stepping beyond its assigned province in discussing and expressing its opinion upon the various acts of the Executive Government.

These considerations lead me to conclude that the creation of

such an Irish Assembly as is contemplated by even the most moderate of the Home Rulers would, as I have said, put into the hands of those who aim at the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom a new and most formidable instrument for advancing their designs. And while it would thus add to their power, it would have no tendency to lead them to abandon their projects of a revolutionary change. The language they have constantly used affords the clearest proof that such a concession would do nothing whatever towards satisfying them; its only effect would be to encourage them to prosecute the enterprise in which they have embarked with new vigour by affording a fresh proof of feebleness and want of determination in their opponents. Such being the case, the nation ought to come to a clear determination whether it will or will not consent to that disruption of the United Kingdom which is the manifest object of the real leaders of the Irish agitation. If the British people are, as I trust, resolved on resisting such disruption as involving dangers and evils it would be madness to incur, common sense requires that they should at once take their stand upon this ground, and refuse to make even the smallest concession which would be calculated to diminish their own power and increase that of their antagonists in the impending struggle. That we shall in all probability have a great and perilous struggle to go through if we are resolved to maintain the integrity of the empire, it would be mere childish folly to seek to disguise from ourselves. But if Englishmen of the present day are worthy of the name they have inherited, and desire to escape from the disgrace of showing themselves to be degenerate descendants of those who raised this country to the proud position it has held in the world, they will not shrink from looking the dangers before them in the face, and meeting them with both prudence and courage. This is what they ought to do, and I trust they will do, instead of weakly attempting to stave off these dangers for the moment by concessions which will only make them more difficult to encounter with success when there is nothing more left to concede.

I have not the presumption to suppose that it would be in my power to point out what would be the best course to adopt in order to bring the nation safely through the perils by which it is surrounded. This is a question which would be one of extreme difficulty for the wisest statesman, and which I am incompetent to answer, nor should I think it right to attempt to do so, even if I had far more confidence in my own judgment than I have any right to feel. The suggestion of such strong measures as may become necessary by a man not holding a position of authority might produce inconvenience; it is the duty of the Ministers of the Crown to decide what steps ought to be taken for the national security, and in such grave circumstances as those in which the country is now placed, they ought not to have their difficulties increased by premature discussions on proposals

brought forward by irresponsible persons. But without venturing to offer an opinion as to what ought to be done, I think it may not be useless that I should endeavour to point out some of the difficulties that have to be contended with, and how it is that we have been brought into them.

These difficulties are of two kinds: the first are those which are met with in carrying on the ordinary government and maintaining order in Ireland; the second are those which arise in the management of the affairs of the empire at large from the state of feeling that prevails in Ireland, and its effect upon the House of Commons. With regard to the first class of difficulties, it must be observed that it is impossible to maintain order and general security in any country under the ordinary forms of a free government without the willing co-operation of the great body of the people. These forms, and the limits assigned to the authority of the Executive Government in free nations, assume that the Government will have the willing support of those over whom it rules, and if that support is withheld the Government cannot perform its most necessary duties while it leaves to its subjects the unrestricted exercise of the rights and liberties they ought to enjoy. At present these rights and liberties of individuals are very seriously restricted in Ireland, and the Executive Government is there armed with powers far larger than it would be right to entrust to it except under the pressure of necessity. Yet hardly any man, not connected with the party of agitation, believes that these extraordinary powers could be safely dispensed with, and it is generally felt that they cannot be relinquished until there shall be such a change in the temper of the Irish people that they will yield a willing obedience to the authority of the Imperial Government. To bring about this change is therefore what is wanted, and to find the means of doing so is the problem to be dealt with. Whether it admits of being solved is I fear exceedingly doubtful; but one thing at all events is I think clear—its solution will not be found in mere concession to the demands, reasonable or unreasonable, of those who arrogate to themselves the claim of speaking on behalf of the Irish people.

This policy of mere concession is that which has for some time been pursued, and its disastrous failure ought to be regarded by the nation as a warning not to persist in it any longer, but to try instead what can be accomplished by firmness and justice in the government of Ireland. That by a government conducted in this spirit great good might be effected in that unhappy country I entertain no doubt, but unfortunately there is no prospect that the experiment will be tried. A seemingly insurmountable obstacle is opposed to its being so by the second class of difficulties I have referred to, as arising from the present condition of Ireland. Neither Ireland nor the rest of the empire can be well and wisely governed unless the House of

Commons is properly qualified for the discharge of its high duties, and this it cannot be while a considerable number of its members owe their seats to their publicly proclaimed hostility to the existing institutions of the nation. It was not to be expected that those who had thus obtained an entrance into the House of Commons would endeavour to assist it in the effective performance of its functions; there is therefore no ground for surprise in the fact I have already adverted to, that their conduct has manifested a desire not to assist but to thwart and embarrass the action of the Imperial Parliament and Government. They have hit upon a very effective mode of doing so. Irish members hostile to the Union, taking advantage of the division of parties in this country, have adopted the policy of throwing their weight now into the scale of one party, now into that of the other, so as to make it difficult for either to carry on the Government. They have been assisted in pursuing this policy by the disposition which has been shown by both the great parties in the State in the eagerness of party strife to purchase Irish support against their antagonists by means of very questionable propriety. Each party has on different occasions accused the other of such conduct, and I fear it can hardly be denied that both have had at least some ground for their accusations. And what has happened in the House of Commons has also happened in the election of its members. In many constituencies Irish voters are numerous, and are often able in closely contested elections to turn the balance in favour of one or the other party as they please; and as in the House of Commons so also in elections, both parties have sometimes been unable to resist the temptation of seeking to secure Irish votes by unworthy concessions. More than one case might be mentioned in which a candidate in order to gain his return has not scrupled to hold out hopes that if elected he would not be unwilling to listen with some favour to the demands of Irish agitators.

At a time when it is more than ever of vital importance that Ireland should be governed with firmness according to a consistent and well-considered line of policy, these results of its present condition can hardly be contemplated without a feeling akin to despair as to the future. And this feeling must be increased by considering how it is that we have been brought into a situation of so much peril. Party-spirit has been the root of the evil. From the days of the old republics of Greece and Rome this spirit has been the bane of free governments, and this country has long suffered from it like others. It has led rival parties in their contests for power to think too much of gaining popularity for themselves or creating a prejudice against their opponents, and too little of trying to promote the real and permanent welfare of the nation. Hence good measures and wise counsels have too often been opposed and defeated, while bad measures and an unwise policy have been pressed forward with success

for the sake of flattering passions and prejudices that have prevailed for the moment among those who by choosing the members of the House of Commons were able to determine in what hands political power should be placed. Our history from the time of William III. abounds with examples of the evil thus produced by party-spirit, and perhaps Ireland has suffered more from this cause than other parts of the United Kingdom. Much of what most deserves to be condemned in the conduct of this country towards Ireland may be traced to the rivalry of political leaders in seeking to gain popularity by supporting measures which it is scarcely possible to believe they did not know to be wrong. Of such measures we have an example in the iniquitous Acts which the English Parliament was induced to pass during the last century in order to gratify the selfish jealousy of Irish competition which was felt by the owners and occupiers of land, and still more by traders and manufacturers in this country.

The prevalence of party-spirit amongst us is therefore no new evil, nor is it now for the first time that Ireland has especially suffered from the influence of that spirit on the conduct of political leaders in this country. But while this is true, it is not less true that a comparison of recent with earlier times affords strong grounds for believing that the evil has of late been greatly aggravated, and that to this we must attribute both the present disastrous state of affairs in Ireland and the dangers now threatening, not Ireland only, but the whole British nation. After the stormy discussions to which Irish affairs had previously given rise, they had for more than twenty years before 1868 ceased to be the subject of any serious party-contests, and the measures to be adopted in consequence of the grievous calamity of the potato famine had been discussed by Parliament with a praiseworthy absence of party-spirit. During this suspension of party-contests with respect to Ireland there was a decided improvement, not only in the general condition of the country, but in the temper of the people, or at least of that large and important class, the occupiers of land. From this class, in which the disaffected party now finds its chief support, the Fenian conspiracy had in 1868 met with marked disfavour, and had been able to gain very few adherents. But in 1868 the state of Ireland was once more selected as the subject for party-contest, and I would refer to the manner in which that contest was carried on, and to the effects it has produced, as more than justifying my assertion that there has been of late a great aggravation of the evils arising from party-spirit. The beginning of the contest I refer to was marked by Mr. Gladstone's speeches in Lancashire, when he too successfully stirred up the inflammable passions of the Irish people against the 'Upas tree' of British dominion. A few years later he still more excited their animosity not merely against the Administration which he was labouring to overthrow, but against the Imperial Government itself, by his celebrated

Midlothian speeches. I seek in vain in these speeches for any signs of that statesmanlike prudence and that care to avoid inflicting injury on the vital interests of the nation by recklessness of language which we have a right to expect from men of high standing in the political world, and which I believe had never before been entirely lost sight of by persons holding such a position in the bitterest of the many fierce attacks they have made upon Ministers to whom they have been opposed.

Party-warfare thus conducted naturally tended to fan again into a flame the embers of Irish disaffection, which, after the suppression of the Fenian sedition, had ceased in 1868 to be either general or active. But even the speeches I have referred to were less calculated to do harm than those delivered by Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain in November 1880. These gentlemen were then Cabinet Ministers, and it was the time when agrarian crimes in Ireland were at their very worst. Lord Mountmorris had been murdered not two months before, and other murders and ferocious outrages had followed each other in quick succession in many Irish counties, while the Land League was at the height of its power, and its leaders were savagely denouncing the landlords of Ireland as the authors of all its sufferings. Such was the time chosen by Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain for making speeches at Birmingham, in which the evils they contended to have been produced by the existing system of land-tenure were described by them in the most passionate language. Mr. Bright more especially used his great oratorical powers to paint in the strongest colours the grievances under which he asserted that the Irish people were groaning. He did not attempt to direct the attention of his hearers, or of the far larger number of those in Ireland who would read his speech, to any practical measures for the improvement of the law relating to land. Still less did he seek to impress upon their minds the fact that it was vain to look for any real improvement in the condition of the people unless the authority of the law were upheld, and unless industry and enterprise were encouraged by creating in men's minds a sense of security against violence to their persons or property. An earnest appeal from him in favour of obedience to the law and against the terrible deeds which were then of daily occurrence would have been invaluable. But on these topics he had nothing or next to nothing to say, and he seemed to be only intent upon exciting to the very utmost in the minds of all Irishmen whom his words might reach an indignant sense of the wrong done to them by existing arrangements with respect to the tenure of land. If all he said as to the injurious operation of these arrangements had been as true as it was obviously and even ludicrously the reverse, this would have been no sufficient excuse for his having, at a time when agrarian outrages were so prevalent in Ireland, used language directly tending to inflame still further those angry passions which produced them.

Less than three years after he had delivered this speech Mr. Bright made another, in which, practically abandoning his former doctrine that 'force was no remedy' for the evils of Ireland, he contended that these evils had become so intolerable as fully to justify the passing of the very severe Act of 1882 for the repression of crimes. He laid the responsibility for having produced the terrible state of things he described on Mr. Parnell and his followers, and asserted that it was by their language and conduct that the necessity for such legislation had been created. I do not doubt that the necessity for passing the Act in question was as urgent as Mr. Bright asserts; I find therefore no fault with him for having given it his support. I also concur in his opinion that a heavy responsibility rests upon Mr. Parnell for the bloodshed and misery we have had to lament in Ireland. But can Mr. Bright fail to perceive that his own responsibility for these things is still greater than that of Mr. Parnell? I do not know of any speech of Mr. Parnell's which was calculated to do so much harm as that delivered by Mr. Bright, with all the weight and authority of a Cabinet Minister, in November 1880, nor do I consider that anything done by the Land League has contributed so much to encourage lawlessness in the Irish people as what was done and left undone by the Government of which Mr. Bright was then a member. During the autumn and winter of 1880, while the reign of terror in many of the Irish counties was being more and more established by a series of murders and outrages, her Majesty's Ministers looked on in apparent apathy without making any strenuous attempt to put them down either by asking Parliament for additional powers, or by using those they possessed with vigour and judgment to enforce obedience to the law.

This apathy of the Government during the progress of Irish disorder in the latter part of 1880, as well as what I have endeavoured to show was the unwise character of the measures falsely called 'remedial' to which it afterwards induced Parliament to assent, are hard to account for, except by ascribing them mainly to the exigencies of party-interest. I do not give credit to the statement now confidently made by more than one authority, that before, and during the progress of, the general election of 1880, direct encouragement, and even promises of future support, were given to the Irish agitators for 'Home Rule' by the leaders of the Liberal party. This is distinctly asserted in the *Newcastle Chronicle* of the 13th of September last, but although Mr. Cowen, its proprietor, has undoubtedly enjoyed great facilities for obtaining information, while his character forbids any suspicion of his having been guilty of wilful misrepresentation, I trust that he is labouring under some mistake, and that we need not accept as correct a statement which involves an exceedingly grave imputation on her Majesty's Ministers. But in rejecting as incredible the charge brought against those who now

hold the reins of power, of having while in opposition given direct encouragement and promises of support to the Irish agitators, I do not see how it is possible, in the face of well-known facts, to resist the belief that they have, as well since their accession to office as before, allowed both their language and their conduct with regard to Ireland to be far too much influenced by a desire to gain the help of Irish votes in the battle of parties. In saying this I am bound to add that the fault I impute to the Liberal party is one from which I do not consider their opponents to have been altogether free. We may recognise the influence of the same motives which have been powerful with their rivals over those who call themselves Conservatives in the feeble resistance they offered to the legislation with regard to land which has wrought so much evil in Ireland, and in their omission when they were in power to make any attempt to place the relations between the owners and occupiers of land in that country on a better footing than that on which it had been left by the Act of 1870.

Such are the considerations by which I have been led to form the opinion I have expressed that the evils Ireland is labouring under are mainly due to the fact that party-spirit has of late exercised a more pernicious influence than formerly over the councils of the State. Perhaps this fact may be denied, but I venture to appeal with some confidence to a fair consideration of the course public affairs have for some time taken for the proof that what I have asserted is true. I do not mean to say that there is more of party spirit in this country now than formerly, for I am not ignorant of its lamentable excesses ever since the system of Parliamentary Government began, and I am aware that there was not less, perhaps there was even more, bitterness displayed in the attacks constantly made upon Ministers of the Crown long ago, than in those we have ourselves witnessed. But the important difference between the present and earlier times is that there has been a change we can hardly fail to recognise in the use made of power by those to whom it is confided, and in the conduct of political leaders who aspire to it. Though it cannot be pretended that British Ministers ever have been, or from the character of our government are ever likely to be, altogether superior to considerations of party-interest in their public policy, still in conducting the affairs of the State they have in general till of late been mainly guided by the judgment they have formed as to what was most for the welfare of the nation, and by a regard rather for public than for party-interests. This can, I fear, be no longer said to be true; in looking back at what has been done by successive Administrations during some years, and especially during those since the last change in the constitution of the House of Commons, it is difficult to find any signs that those who in that time have in turn been the responsible Ministers of the Crown have

been guided as much as they ought by their own deliberate judgment as to what measures would most conduce to the welfare of the nation. We may observe instead very significant symptoms of the undue consideration they have given to the interests of their party, and of their having too commonly acted under the bias of a desire to gain strength for it, and to win popularity even by very questionable means. The same may be said of what has been done by parties in opposition, and it might fairly be inferred from their acts that men in the foremost rank of political life hold it to be right and proper that the line they take with regard to questions of high national importance should be determined by a consideration, not of what is wisest with a view to the real good of the country, but of what is most likely to be popular with the electors of the House of Commons. Formerly it was considered to be the duty of statesmen to endeavour by all legitimate means to recommend to the public what they believed to be the best policy for the country, and if they could not succeed in doing this, to be content to remain out of power instead of seeking to gain it by making themselves the instruments for carrying into effect measures of which they disapproved. This was what was held to be the course it became a high-minded politician to take. It cannot be asserted that this idea was always or even generally acted upon, but in theory at least it was recognised as that which ought to guide the public conduct of conscientious men, and in practice it often did so. Thus the great Whig party chose rather to be excluded from office for many of the earlier years of the present century than to make themselves responsible for governing Ireland while justice was refused to its people by not repealing the laws that imposed political disabilities on Roman Catholics. A different view of the subject now prevails; those who take an active part in politics seem no longer to regard it as their duty to try to lead public opinion in what they consider the right way, when this cannot be done without some sacrifice of personal and party interests. What appears to be their aim is to swim with the current of popular feeling in whatever direction it may chance to flow, content to become blind tools for giving effect to the demands of that feeling, whether they be wise or unwise.

Some of our most eminent statesmen have not scrupled to use language which will scarcely admit of being interpreted otherwise than as avowing this to be the view they take of their public duty. Notable examples of such language are to be found in that of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington respecting the Church of Scotland; and such striking evidence of the increased power considerations of party-interest are now allowed to exercise over the conduct of men possessing the highest influence in the State is furnished by what they have said, that I must call attention to it, though in doing so I may seem to digress somewhat widely from my subject. A con-

troversy on the question whether the Church Establishment of Scotland should be maintained or abolished has been going on for a considerable time, and promises to become very keen. On one side it is contended that the Established Church of Scotland ought to be zealously maintained because it has rendered services of inestimable value to its people, and has been the chief means of creating among them that strong sense of religion and those orderly and industrious habits for which they are distinguished, and to which the nation owes its high character in the civilised world. On the other side it is strenuously insisted (for reasons I cannot undertake to state, because I have never been able to understand them) that this Establishment, for which so much merit is claimed, ought to be abolished. Which side may be in the right in this controversy, and which in the wrong, it is not for me to pronounce; but this at all events is clear—that it is of the very highest importance to Scotland that the question at issue should be rightly solved, while it is scarcely possible it should be so if it should be made the subject of a fierce party-conflict, with all the angry passions it must excite. The country had a right to expect from a statesman holding Mr. Gladstone's position that he would use the great influence and authority he wields in order to avert a conflict of this kind, and to bring about, with as little excitement as possible, that settlement of the question which appeared to him to be most for the true interest of the Scottish people.

He had it in his power to do much towards the accomplishment of a result so greatly to be desired. The mere declaration of his judgment as to what ought to be done would have been of great value for this purpose, whatever that judgment might have been. Had the conclusion he came to been in favour of maintaining the venerable establishment of the Church of Scotland, and had this conclusion and the reasons for it been made public, the more eager enemies of the Establishment might still have persevered in attempting to overthrow it, but their attacks upon it would have been rendered so obviously hopeless, that there would have been little cause to be afraid of their producing mischievous excitement. It would of course have been open to him, in declaring his support to the Establishment, to have suggested any reforms in it which might have appeared to him to be required, or even to have pointed out the necessity of seeking some mode of reconciling to the Church the great dissenting bodies that hold what is substantially the same Presbyterian faith. If, however, upon full consideration, he had come to a different conclusion, and had satisfied himself that no reform of the Church Establishment of Scotland would be sufficient, and that the good of the nation required its abolition, this opinion ought not to have been concealed. When a question of so much difficulty and importance had been raised, the country was entitled to the benefit

of his advice in deciding it. He must have formed a judgment one way or the other, and the people of Scotland had a right to have this judgment, whatever it may have been, plainly declared, because its concealment tended to increase the difficulty of arriving at a right conclusion. No such declaration could be obtained from him. The report, revised by himself, of the speeches he delivered in Midlothian in the winter of 1879, shows that he then evaded, with singular skill, committing himself to an opinion either for or against the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, and I am not aware that since that time he has given any further explanations of his views on the subject. At Dalkeith on the 26th of November, 1879, what Mr. Gladstone said (and Lord Hartington has expressed himself substantially to the same effect) was that the Church of Scotland should have a fair trial at the hands of the people of that country, and that no measure affecting it ought to be passed except by a Parliament elected when this question was fully before the people, with whom the decision must rest, implying (if I rightly understood his words) his readiness to give effect to that decision, whatever it might be. This might have been a very clever way of dealing with the subject for party purposes, and may have been of great use in what was called 'keeping the Liberal party together,' so that in the elections which were soon to follow men of the most conflicting opinions might be arrayed together against the Administration, of which the overthrow was desired. But it was by no means so well adapted to promote the public good. By declaring that the question of maintaining or disestablishing the Church of Scotland must be decided by a Parliament elected with this question fully before the people, Mr. Gladstone, in effect, suggested both to the enemies of the Establishment and to its friends to prepare everywhere for election-contests turning upon this point. Anything more injurious to the nation and to the interest of religion than a strife of this sort, and fierce party-fights throughout the land on such a subject, it is difficult to imagine.

The view taken of the duty of men in public life by statesmen of an earlier period differed very widely from that which appears to have guided Mr. Gladstone in the matter I have just referred to. The question whether the laws which imposed political disabilities on Roman Catholics should be repealed had been strongly contested for many years before it was finally settled by the Emancipation Act of 1829. It was a question which touched the religious feelings of the people, and excited very keen interest, not in Scotland only, like the question of the Scotch Church, but in every part of the United Kingdom, and it had been largely discussed both in and out of Parliament by all the political leaders of the day. Their speeches were strikingly different in spirit from those made in these days. In none of the speeches on the Roman Catholic question can a trace be found of the slightest notion having been entertained by those who made

them that the great question at issue ought to be decided otherwise than by a consideration of its real merits, or that, apart from these merits, any weight ought to be given to what might be the wishes of the people on the subject. The opponents of emancipation resisted it on the ground that it would be the cause of danger and of injury to the nation, and it seems never to have occurred to them to support their arguments by showing that to refuse the concession which was demanded would be in accordance with the wishes of that large part of the people in whom a strong anti-Catholic feeling then prevailed. On the other hand, the knowledge that such a feeling prevailed very generally did not prevent the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities from being strenuously contended for by those who believed it to be required both by justice and policy. They did not wait to recommend to Parliament the measure they held to be right till they could do so with advantage to their party-interests, and it had been 'brought within the range of practical politics' by murder and outrage, but resolutely combated the feelings and the wishes they considered to be mistaken, and strove by reason and argument to bring public opinion round to what they believed to be right, instead of yielding to its errors.

Such was the mode of dealing with great political questions half a century ago; now it seems that the action of Parliament is directed by its advisers towards doing what is agreeable to the wishes of the people at the moment rather than to what is wise and right in itself. Lord Derby, I think, complained that it was hard to know what were the wishes of 'our masters,' implying, I presume, that when known it was the business of political leaders to give effect to these, whether they were judicious or mistaken.

The observations I have just made on the increased influence considerations of party-interest are now allowed to exercise in the conduct of public affairs have extended to greater length than I had intended, but I hope they may not be regarded as irrelevant when it is remembered that their object has been to point out how it is that Ireland has been brought into the condition in which we now find it. If this were understood by the nation, it might possibly be roused to such action as would prevent contending factions from longer making its highest interests the sport of their petty rivalry. It is the more desirable that the nation should thus assert itself, and insist that those entrusted with the management of its affairs should be guided by higher considerations than those of party-interest, because it is not in Ireland only that the bad effects of the pernicious influence I have attempted to describe are to be observed. They may be seen only too plainly in every branch of public affairs, and I believe that the primary cause of the evil is to be found in a change for the worse in the character of the House of Commons. That there has been such a change in the House which once held so proud a position in the

estimation of the world can hardly be doubted by any one who knows what is now thought of it, and who has watched with even a very moderate amount of attention what I must call the humiliating spectacle of its proceedings for several sessions. What is the nature of the change that has taken place, how it has been brought about, and what are likely to be its effects on the future welfare of the nation, would afford an interesting subject for inquiry; but it is one into which I will not now enter. Perhaps on some future occasion it may be in my power to return to it; for the present it is enough that I should have explained, however imperfectly, my opinion as to what has been going on during the last few years in Ireland.

GREY.

THE JEWS AND THE MALICIOUS CHARGE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE.¹

I. THE TRIAL AT TISZA-ESZLAR.

THE recent trial of fifteen Jews on the charge of having murdered a Christian girl to obtain her blood for purposes connected with the Jewish ritual has deservedly attracted the attention of the whole civilised world. The place where the crime was said to have been committed is a village in Hungary called Tisza-Eszlar, about three hours' drive from Nyiregyhaza, a town situated in the northern part of the great plain watered by the Theiss. The portion of that plain which lies between the Theiss and the Danube is often termed the Mesopotamia of Europe. The region is unromantic, being a level district of enormous extent, almost destitute of trees, but abounding in thickets of dwarf bushes. The mountains of the Carpathian range, which are visible in the dim distance, form almost the only feature in the landscape of Tisza-Eszlar upon which the eye can rest with pleasure.

¹ *Esther Solymosi, oder der jüdisch-rituelle Jungfrauen-Mord.* Von Georg v. Marczianyi. Berlin: bei M. Schulze, 1882.

Esther Solymosi, Der Prozess von Tisza-Eszlar. Nebst den Portraits sämtlicher Angeklagter, sowie der Esther Solymosi und des Moritz Schauf, und den Abbildungen der Synagoge und Wohnung des Tempeldieners. 2te Auflage. Berlin: M. Schulze, 1883.

Der Prozess von Tisza-Eszlar. Eine genaue Darstellung der Anklage, der Zeugenverhöre, der Vertheidigung und des Urtheils. Nach authentischen Berichten bearbeitet. Mit 20 Illustrationen. 3te Auflage. Wien: A. Hartleben, 1883.

Tisza-Eszlar in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Ueber die Juden im Allgemeinen. Jüdische Glaubens-Mysterien. Rituelle Mordthaten und Blutopfer. Der Tisza-Eszlarer Fall. Von Géza von Ónody, Reichstags-Abgeordneter. Autorisirte Uebersetzung aus dem Ungarischen von Georg von Marczianyi. Budapest, 1883.

Die Blutbeschuldigung gegen die Juden. Von christlicher Seite beurtheilt. 2te Auflage. Wien: Druck u. Verlag 'Steyrermühl,' 1883.

Christliche Zeugnisse gegen die Blutbeschuldigung der Juden. Berlin: Walter und Apolant, 1882.

Rohling's Talmudjude beleuchtet. Von Franz Delitzsch. 'Falsche Wage ist nicht gut.' 7te, durch Beleuchtung der Gegenschrift Rohling's erweiterte Ausgabe. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1881.

Franz Delitzsch und die Judenfrage antwortlich beleuchtet. Von Prof. Dr. August Rohling. 'Volles Gewicht gefällt dem Herrn.' 'Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae.' Prag: Reinitzer & Co., 1881.

Meine Antworten an die Rabbiner, oder Fünf Briefe über den Talmudismus und das Blut-Ritual der Juden. Von Prof. Dr. Aug. Rohling. Vierte Auflage. Prag: Verlag der Cyrillo-Method. Buchdruckerei (J. Zeman & Co.), 1883.

Was D. Aug. Rohling beschworen hat und beschwören will. Zweite Streitschrift

Nyiregyhaza, the county town of the district, has risen within the last twenty-five years from the position of a simple market town to one of considerable importance. It contains now a population of about 30,000, and is a garrison town, with a respectable court-house, in which the recent trial was held. The houses of the town are for the most part one-storied, surrounded by gardens. Two-thirds of its population are Hungarians belonging to the Reformed Church, the remaining third being mainly Russniaks or Ruthenes, belonging either to the United Greek Church—i.e. that branch which is in union with the Church of Rome—or to the Non-United Greek Church, which is professedly under the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Jewish population here numbers about five hundred.

The population of Tisza-Eszlar consists of some 1,400 inhabitants, half of whom are members of the Reformed Church; some two hundred are Jews who have settled here within the last thirty years. The Roman Catholics are very numerous. While the Protestant pastor lives in a thatched cottage, in which one small room serves the varied purposes of parlour, study, and bedroom, the Roman Catholic priest occupies a roomy well-furnished house with a good garden.

Close to Tisza-Eszlar, and forming almost a part of it, are the two smaller villages of Ujfalu and Totfalu, the former of which comprises only thirty cottages. The three villages form together a kind of triangle, and at the point where their three roads meet stands the Jewish synagogue. The building is of the simplest architecture, scarcely better than an ordinary cottage, and distinguished therefrom only by its roof and entrance door. Close to the synagogue, and separated from it only by a narrow passage, stands the thatched cottage occupied by the caretaker of the synagogue, Joseph Scharf, one of the accused Jews. The portion of his cottage nearest to the synagogue is used as a bath-house by the Jewesses. At the back of the synagogue is a small farm-house, from which the narrow passage between the synagogue and Scharf's cottage can be clearly seen. The correspondent of the *Czas*²—a Cracow newspaper, the organ of the Polish

in Sachen des Antisemitismus. Von Franz Delitzsch. 2ter, revidirter Abdruck. Leipzig: Dörffling u. Franke, 1883.

Schachmatt den Blutlügen Iohling und Justus. Entboten von Franz Delitzsch. 2ter, revidirter Abdruck. Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1883.

Judenspiegel, oder 100 neuenthüllte, heutzutage noch geltende, den Verkehr der Juden mit den Christen betreffende Gesetze der Juden; mit einer die Entstehung und Weiter-Entwicklung der jüdischen Gesetze darstellenden, höchst interessanten Einleitung. Von Dr. Justus, speculi opifex in lumine veritatis. Dritte Auflage. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag der Bonifacius-Druckerei (J. W. Schröder), 1883.

Die Polemik und das Menschenopfer des Rabbinismus. Eine wissenschaftliche Antwort ohne Polemik für die Rabbiner und ihre Genossen. Von Prof. Dr. Aug. Rohling. Paderborn: Verlag der Bonifacius-Druckerei (J. W. Schröder), 1883.

² See the article *Der Schauerroman von Tisza-Eszlar aus dem Krakauer 'Czas'* in Professor Franz Delitzsch's *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1883, Heft 2. (Ostern). Erlangen: A. Deichert.

nobility, and a journal with strong Roman Catholic leanings—who minutely examined the place and its surroundings, observes that the spot is much exposed, and anything occurring there could be seen from the high road to Ujfalú, the mill-dam at Eszlar, and other places.

The family Solymossi consisted of a widowed mother, fifty-five years of age, a sort who was a day-labourer, and two daughters, Esther, the younger, being of the age of fourteen, and Sophie about seventeen. All were members of the Reformed Church, and lived in a small cottage in Ujfalú. At the time of Esther's mysterious disappearance, both sisters were in domestic service in the village: Sophie in the service of a Jew named Rosenberg; Esther in the house of her godfather, a peasant named Hury, who lived next door to Widow Solymossi. Esther is said to have been plain, but not uncomely, with black hair and brown eyes. Her likeness—which has appeared in many illustrated journals was made by an artist from the description given of her appearance by her friends and relatives. No photograph or likeness was made in her lifetime. According to Herr von Onody, the mother has pronounced the likeness excellent.

On Saturday the 1st of April, 1882, Esther was sent out by her mistress, Frau Hury, to Eszlar, to buy some nails and paint. On her way homeward, she met her elder sister Sophie, who accompanied her as far as a mill situated in the further end of Eszlar, on the road leading to the other two villages. There the sisters conversed for a long time. According to the depositions of several witnesses who saw them and overheard a portion of their conversation, Esther was much depressed, and was crying and complaining to her sister of the treatment she had received from Frau Hury. One witness even overheard Sophie ask her sister whether she had been beaten. Sophie, however, denied these statements. According to some, Esther was last seen between eleven and twelve o'clock in the day on the road leading to the Jewish synagogue. But one witness, Andreas Antaliczki (or Hatalovski), a carman, swore that at three o'clock on that day he distinctly heard, when passing Hury's house, the voices of Esther and her mistress quarrelling with each other. Another witness, Samuel Fränkel, stated that he met Frau Hury the same afternoon, about four o'clock, who was then looking for Esther, whom she said she had sent the second time into the village for paint, and that she was then going to see what had kept the girl so long.³

* When examined before the court, Frau Hury at first denied that she had ever scolded Esther, but she afterwards admitted that she had scolded her on the morning in question, though not severely. This witness's statements were so contradictory that both the Public Prosecutor and the counsel for the defence alike objected to her evidence being received by the court. Julie Vamosi gave evidence that she saw Esther on her way back, about one o'clock in the afternoon. Her evidence was supported by Rosa Rosenberg. The latter's evidence was suspected because she was a Jewess. If the evidence of Antaliczki and Julie Vamosi had not been counter-balanced by the statements of others, Moritz Scharf's statement would have been at

Some hundred steps further on than the mill where the girls were seen conversing together, and about the same distance from the village of Ujfalu, where Frau Hury lived, the road from Ujfalu and Eszlar crosses that leading to Totfalu. A few yards from the cross-road the wretched cottage of Joseph Scharf comes into view, and close to it, as has been stated, stood the Jewish synagogue.

One of the suggestions made by the counsel for the defence at the trial was that Frau Hury's harshness towards Esther had driven the unfortunate girl to commit suicide. No clear evidence was, however, forthcoming in support of this theory, nor did the lawyers consider it advisable to urge the point as a substantial part of the defence. It is, however, significant that Widow Solymossi admitted at the trial that some time before Frau Hury informed her of Esther's disappearance the widow herself went down to the bank of the river Theiss, which flows by Tisza-Eszlar, in order to look for her daughter. It would appear that the mother was afraid of what her daughter might do with herself. When this significant circumstance turned up in the course of the trial, the widow simply remarked: 'I did not myself know why I did so; I only felt that something had happened.'

No searching investigation seems to have been made by the police authorities in the outset as to the relations which existed at that time between the families of the Hurys and Solymossis. It would have been important to know whether Widow Solymossi had ever blamed Frau Hury as the real cause of her daughter's disappearance, or whether an estrangement had ever occurred between the two women, on this subject. No evidence on this point was adduced at the trial. During the first investigation by the magistrate, and at the final trial, both women were united in their accusation against the Jews.

Widow Solymossi fully admitted that she did not dream for some time of suspecting the Jews. The full suspicion did not suggest itself to her mind until the 10th of April, nine days after her daughter had disappeared.⁴ On the 10th of April the widow accidentally

once proved false, and the prosecution have failed in the very outset. But more than twenty days later (the trial lasted thirty-one days), Julie Vamosi, having been threatened with death by the inhabitants of Tisza-Eszlar, solemnly retracted her sworn statements, and submitted to be indicted for perjury. Julie Vamosi was severely beaten by her parents in order to make her withdraw her evidence. The mother acknowledged this fact before the court. That such a course should have been legally permitted is one of the strangest features in connection with the trial.

⁴ In his *Tisza-Eszlar in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 160, Herr von Onody mentions this incident as having occurred on the very day of Esther's disappearance. According to the account there given one would be led to imagine that Esther's disappearance was noticed almost immediately, and that the village was excited by the mother weeping for her daughter ere four hours had transpired. But this is distinctly opposed by the evidence given at the trial. In the account of the case published by M. Schulze, Berlin, which is drawn up from the most violent anti-Jewish standpoint, it is stated that this conversation with Scharf occurred 'in the first days of May'

met Joseph Scharf, who, in the course of conversation on the subject of Esther's disappearance, remarked that wicked people said that the Jews sometimes sacrificed Christian children; and he urged Widow Solymossi not to give credit to such an idea if ever it was suggested to her. The remark does not appear to have been unnatural when it is remembered that the Anti-Semitic agitation had been extensively spread in Hungary, and that such suspicions were only too commonly entertained by Christians in Eastern Europe. The widow, however, ruminated over the matter, and repeated Scharf's remark to her friends, who regarded it at once as the utterance of a man with a guilty conscience. Thus Widow Solymossi became fully persuaded that Esther must have been kidnapped by the Jews.* The idea that her daughter had committed suicide was naturally most repugnant to the mother's mind.

The suspicion that the Jews had a hand in the affair, when once ventilated, rapidly gained a footing among a people imbued with prejudices against their Jewish neighbours. Every circumstance was now looked upon with suspicion. Report soon spread the story that Samuel, the youngest child of Joseph Scharf, a boy six years old, when quarrelling with other children of the village, had threatened them with a fate like that of Esther. Such a threat from so young a child was no doubt extraordinary. A woman swore on the trial that she heard the child tell his play-fellows that his father had murdered Esther. This witness, however, admitted under cross-examination with considerable reluctance that she herself had openly said on that occasion that the time would soon come when the Jews would be driven out of Hungary.

On the 10th of May Herr Joseph Bary, a magistrate from Nyiregyhaza, appeared on the scene. He occupied the post of Untersuchungsrichter, or Judge of Examination.⁵ Herr Bary appears to have shared the common prejudices against the Jewish race. His antipathy had been increased by the perusal of such works as Professor Rohling's *Talmudjude*, and he began the investigation into the cause of Esther's disappearance with the strong belief in his mind that she must have been sacrificed by the Jews. His eagerness to obtain proofs of this supposed fact led him beyond all bounds. The

(see p. 17 of that pamphlet). It ought, however, to be observed that Herr von Onody's book was published in Hungarian before the trial, and the German translation of it by Marcziányi seems to have been published ere the trial was concluded, for the preface bears the date June 12, 1883, seven days before the court at Nyiregyhaza began its sittings. The decision of the court was not given until the 3rd of August. The publication of such a work, as well as of many other pamphlets avowedly bearing on the case, and intended to influence the court in its decision, would never have been permitted in our country.

* An 'Untersuchungsrichter' is not, however, what would be termed a judge in Germany or England, but occupies a position similar in some respects to that of a justice of the peace, and in others to that of a district-inspector of police. Herr von Onody describes Herr Bary as the 'Notary of the Nyiregyhaza Court.'

child Samuel was at once brought before him, examined by him in private, and a memorandum made of the boy's statements. This memorandum or protocol contained on its very face the proof of the animus under which it was drawn up. Nicknames occur in it which could not have been used by a Jewish boy. Consequently, when the case came up for trial, the counsel for the defence had no difficulty in getting it set aside as worthless evidence, while at the same time they maintained that the protocol in question was of the highest importance as affording distinct proof that the official memoranda in the case were concocted by persons imbued with the strongest anti-Jewish prejudices.⁶

The investigation was not left, however, in the hands of the local magistrates. The attention of the public was drawn to the case by Herr Géza von Onody, a Deputy of the Hungarian Reichstag. The credulity of this gentleman with respect to any tale unfavourable to the Jewish race may be seen by a perusal of his work, *Tisza-Eszlar in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. The monstrous fable related by Apion in order to justify the profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes has found believers in Hungary in the nineteenth century.⁷ 'On the 23rd of May, Herr von Onody brought the case of Esther Solymossi before the Hungarian Parliament, and

* The first version of the story told by little Samuel was that when Esther entered the house of the Scharfs 'a great Bacsí' (or Schächterbacsí, *Butcher Bacsí*) cut off her head, and that he (little Samuel), along with his brother Moritz, helped to collect her blood in a plate. The absurdity of this story is clear, and it bears all the appearance of having been first communicated to the child, and then related by him. [It is utterly at variance with the confession of Moritz, his brother, who ultimately was the chief witness against the accused Jews, as well as with the story said to have been afterwards told by Samuel himself. According to the protocol produced at the trial, Samuel said that his father had stuffed a white rag into Esther's mouth, she was then washed in a trough (*trog*), and a big Jew with a long knife cut her throat, so that the head of Esther fell down. Moritz kept the head of Esther as they were carrying out the corpse, &c. The child's evidence must have been seriously tampered with, and the child have been 'coached up' by some interested person. The child was not produced at the trial, but several witnesses were examined as to what he said.]

⁷ The story is given in full by Josephus (*Contra Apion*. ii. 8). It is referred to as an historical fact in pp. 68, 69 of von Onody's work, and was dwelt on before the court at Nyiregyhaza by Advocat v. Szalay in his speech on behalf of Widow Solymossi. The story relates how a Greek foreigner was fattened every year in the Temple by the Jews on all manner of delicacies, and was afterwards sacrificed according to the Law. The entrails of this victim were, according to Apion, then eaten by the Jews, and a solemn oath then taken of perpetual hostility to the Greek nation. The story has always been regarded by sober historians as on a par with the other tale of Apion's, mentioned by Josephus in his former chapter—namely, that about the Jews worshipping an ass's head, and of Antiochus Epiphanes finding in the Holy of Holies an ass's head made of gold and worth a great deal of money. Compare the statement of Tacitus on the latter point in his *Hist.* v. 3. Similar charges were made against the early Christians. They, too, were accused of worshipping an ass's head (see Tertullian, *Apol.* xvi., and *Ad Nationes*, xi.), and also of being guilty of human sacrifices. (See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* II. cap. xii.; *Dial. cum Tryph.* cap. x.; Athenag. *περὶ* cap. iii. Other authorities on this point are cited by Strack in his valuable paper on *Tisza-Eszlar, oder gebrauchten die Juden Christenblut?* referred to at the close of our article, p. 778.

maintained that she must have been murdered for purposes connected with the Jewish ritual. On the day following, Deputy Istoczy, the founder of the Anti-Semitic clubs in Hungary, put a question in the Reichstag to the Hungarian Prime Minister as to the state of the judicial investigation into the case. Herr Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister, and Herr Pauler, Minister of Justice, assured the Deputy in reply that his interrogation and Herr von Onody's speech delivered the day before was the first information they had received on the subject, but that the Government would not fail to make all due inquiry into the matter, and see that it was properly investigated by the regular courts of the kingdom. These speeches in the Hungarian Reichstag gave general notoriety to the accusation against the Jews, and stirred up the officials concerned in its investigation to fresh exertions in order to discover the supposed delinquents.

Herr Bary at once placed Joseph Scharf and other Jews whom he suspected of having had a hand in the crime under the surveillance of the police. Joseph Scharf denied on this occasion all knowledge of the matter. So did his elder son, Moritz, a boy of fourteen years of age, who affirmed most positively that he knew nothing about the girl. Moritz was at once taken into custody, and removed from his parents' cottage. Police-Commissary Recsky (also called Bandi), however, brought the boy back the same night to the cottage, and took him to all the places which were supposed to be in any way connected with the crime. The boy was then brought off to Nagy-falu and placed under the care of one Koloman Peczely, a clerk in Herr Bary's bureau. The next day Moritz made what was called a full confession of the crime; and Joseph Scharf and his wife, butcher Schwarz, and two other Jewish butchers were arrested on the charge of being accomplices in the murder of Esther Sofymossi.

The story told by Moritz was as follows:—As Esther was passing by the synagogue about twelve o'clock noon, Joseph Scharf called her into his cottage under the pretext of getting her to put away the candlesticks, which work he, as a strict Jew, could not perform on that day, for it was the Jewish Sabbath. Esther was afterwards induced to enter the synagogue, when she was thrown down and gagged. She was then stripped of almost all her clothing, her hands were bound, and her throat cut with a butcher's knife by Solomon Schwarz, the butcher to the Jewish community of Tisza-Eszlar.⁸ Her

⁸ According to the more sensational account given in the report of the trial published by M. Schulze, p. 19, when Esther entered the cottage she was seized by three Jews, thrown down on the ground, and her hands secured. Frau Scharf then gagged the girl's mouth, while the other Jews stripped her almost naked and carried her downstairs to the underground bath for the purification of the Jewish women. There she was washed by Frau Scharf, assisted by a Jewish beggar named Hermann Wollner. Next she was wrapped up in a cloth, and brought over to the synagogue in the evening, where the sacrifice was accomplished. These further atrocious details are not contained in the several protocols of Moritz Scharf, published at the end of Marozsanyi's translation of von Onody's work.

blood was caught in plates provided for the purpose, and was afterwards poured into a larger vessel. When the first bleeding was over, the girl was held with her head downwards, in order to hasten the flow of blood. The sacrifice occupied three-quarters of an hour, and all was over before the midday meal, when Moritz, who had been all the time looking on at the murder, having watched the operation through the keyhole of the synagogue door, sat down to dinner along with his father and mother. He related to his parents before dinner the fact of the murder of the girl, and his mother charged him not to mention the matter to any one. In his 'confessions' he maintained that his father was not in the synagogue at the time, but that his father told him all that was done previous to the actual murder. At one o'clock he was sent out to fasten the synagogue door. He then looked in, but could discover no trace of blood, nor did he see the corpse of the girl. He stated that most probably the corpse had been hidden away somewhere, and that it was taken away from the house at night through a window after he had gone to bed. But these statements were confessedly only surmises of his own.

It was afterwards proved by experiment on the spot, made in the presence of the judges, lawyers, and some representatives of the press, that Moritz might, by looking through the keyhole, possibly have seen a portion of what went on in the synagogue. But it was also proved that he could not from thence have seen all the persons named by him in his depositions. Moreover, the position of a person looking through the keyhole would have been so painful to bear that Moritz could scarcely have continued there for so long a time. When the experiment was made before the Judges, Moritz was forced to look through the keyhole, but was so exhausted after a very short period that the Judges, who had originally intended to have kept him there for the full time, permitted the boy to retire. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the synagogue was wrecked before the trial took place, and those who maintain that Moritz's story is correct argue that it is quite possible that the door may not have been replaced exactly in the same position as on the 1st of April 1882.

The statements made by Moritz on the trial were in many points absurd and contradictory. He described the girl's blood as flowing 'very slowly in a small stream' from the wound in her throat, which the medical authorities declared to be impossible under the circumstances. He said that since his arrest he had heard indirectly through 'Catholic clergymen,' that the Jews had laws which demanded the sacrifice of Christian girls. He stated that his father, Joseph Scharf, related to him at the mid-day meal all that was done to Esther before she was put to death. He affirmed that he was not shocked when he saw the murder through the keyhole, and said he was afraid to call out for help. When asked what led him to look through the keyhole, he said he heard cries and went to see what was going on.

One of the most striking incidents of this trial, which abounds in sensational passages, occurred when Moritz was confronted with his parents. He stamped and screamed at them, calling them liars. He said he would be a Jew no longer. The mother affirmed that the boy was much addicted to lying. She said he appeared to be shocked when he heard for the first time the report of the murder of Esther. On the day on which he was carried off by the police he had a quarrel with his mother, and when she punished him he flung a knife at her and cut her. The boy admitted to the court that he had been obstinate, and that he had been often punished. He positively denied, however, that he had ever thrown a knife at his mother.

It was elicited in the course of the trial that Herr Bary repeatedly promised Moritz that nothing would occur to his parents, even if inculpated by him. Also, that Moritz had received money from time to time from a certain high official; that he was informed that the Minister of the Interior would provide for him after the trial was over. Moritz stated that he himself read a decree to that effect in the newspapers, and had found the decree in the Archives, where he had been permitted to look over papers. The President of the court denied the existence of such a decree. Moritz also admitted having called out to his father, some days after the asserted murder, 'The girl is come back.'

Witnesses were brought before the court to prove that the boy's evidence had been seriously tampered with; that he had refused at first to confess; that he was then taken away somewhere, and brought back afterwards 'bent down and broken.' Police-detective Barcza, who was employed in the case, produced a paper at the trial on which the very questions were written down which Moritz was asked before the court. He swore that those questions had been put to Moritz in private; that Moritz often answered them in a different way from what it was desired he should, and that Prison-warder Henter then corrected his answers. At this private examination (which took place weeks after his arrest), Moritz was wholly unable to describe the clothes worn by Esther on the 1st of April, but Henter supplied him with the necessary details, which were duly inserted in his 'confession.' Barcza swore that at the close of this examination he turned round to Moritz and said, 'Moritz, speak the truth;' to which the boy replied, 'If I dare speak the truth I have seen nothing at all.' The same witness affirmed that Moritz also told Herr Bary that he had really seen nothing. Warder Henter interrupted Barcza at this point of his evidence with the remark that 'he [Moritz] took back that statement the next day!' It is worthy of note that Moritz, when confronted with Barcza, confirmed the evidence of the latter in the most essential particulars.

The evidence of Moritz Scharf was the only direct evidence which could be produced against the accused. Its utter worthlessness was

proved by the many strange circumstances connected therewith. It was conclusively shown that Henter had used threats of violence to the boy; that Peczely, to whose care he had been committed, had 'coached him up' for the occasion. The latter official was also proved to have maltreated witnesses in a gross manner; to have tampered seriously with the official protocols; and, moreover, had himself undergone fifteen years' imprisonment with hard labour for a murder committed by him in company with others. He was proved to have got into the public service by deception.

Another remarkable circumstance, however, occurred in connection with the case, which considerably complicated the whole affair. On the morning of the 18th of June, two months and a half after Esther's disappearance, the corpse of a girl was discovered by two raftsmen floating in the Theiss, between Tisza-Lök and Tisza-Dada. The rumour soon spread itself abroad that the body of Esther was found at last. No marks of violence of any kind were discovered upon the corpse, and it was plain, if this were the corpse of Esther, the whole story of a 'ritual murder' having been committed by the Jews would at once be proved an invention. The clothes found upon the body were exactly similar to those which Widow Solymossi had stated her daughter had worn on the fatal 1st of April; a little parcel with colouring matter was also found upon the corpse.

Herr Bary was soon on the spot. By his directions the clothes were taken off the body, and Widow Solymossi and her sister with other friends were then permitted to view it. The Jews were, however, carefully excluded from being present on the occasion. The mother and aunt, it appears, failed to recognise the body as that of Esther, though they at once acknowledged that the clothes were hers. Several of the friends, however, recognised the corpse as that of Esther; others maintained that it could not be the body of Esther, assigning as a reason that Esther's eyes were brown, and that the eyes of the corpse found in the river were blue.

Herr Bary, however, immediately suspected that the whole matter had been artfully planned by the Jews in order to relieve themselves of the charge of a 'ritual murder.' If the body was not that of Esther, while the clothes were hers, it was only too evident that the Jews had made away with Esther, and had invented this plan of concealing their crime.

Rosenberg, the Jew in whose house Esther's sister Sophie had been in service, had, in expressing his sympathy with Widow Solymossi, unfortunately given utterance to the conviction that Esther would soon be discovered. These words were now looked upon with suspicion, and interpreted as an indication of his complicity in the fraud. He was, therefore, at once arrested by orders of Herr Bary, as also were the raftsmen who had been so unlucky as to find the corpse. The latter were tortured in various ways in order to induce them to give

the evidence which was desired, and possibly believed to be true. Some were induced to make 'confessions' under the promise of being liberated, and several of these 'confessions,' like those of Moritz Scharf, were more or less seriously tampered with. A plausible story was thus made out, on the strength of which some five additional Jews were put on their trial. But the whole mass of evidence against these Jews broke down hopelessly when investigated before the Court at Nyiregyhaza, while certain officials were seriously compromised by the revelations then made to the Court. . . .

The medical men who made the first *post-mortem* examination belonged to Tisza-Eszlar. Dr. Kiss pronounced the corpse to be that of a girl of about fourteen years of age. Subsequently after consultation with Dr. Horvath and Dr. Cornel Traytler, a dental surgeon, gentlemen who were reasonably suspected of being favourable to Anti-Semitic views, Dr. Kiss was led to alter his opinion, and these three medical men pronounced the body that of a woman between eighteen and twenty years of age. In the opinion therefore of these doctors the corpse was certainly not that of Esther. The corpse was completely deprived of hair. This the doctors maintained had been shaved off. An apothecary, Zukanyi, with others recognised the body as that of Esther from the mark of a wound on one of her feet made by the hoof of a cow. But this mark, though pointed out to the medical men, was considered by them of no importance. An important argument had been derived from the circumstance that, when some witnesses viewed the body, the piece of cloth containing paint or colouring matter had been tied to the wrist by a cord. Zukanyi affirmed that this was not fastened to the wrist at all when the corpse was first discovered. It is curious to note that the eyes of the corpse were declared on medical authority to be brown, though many of the witnesses affirmed that they were blue.

It was afterwards considered necessary that the corpse found in the Theiss should be re-examined by some more competent medical authorities. It was accordingly exhumed and examined by three professors belonging to the Medical Faculty of the University of Pesth (Budapest)—namely Dr. Bélky, Dr. Mihalkovics and Dr. Scheuthauer. These experts arrived at very different conclusions from the other medical men. They unanimously declared from an examination of the remains that the person must have been a girl of between fourteen and seventeen years of age, and could not possibly have been older. They explained the loss of the hair as having arisen in a natural way from long submersion in the water, the corpse having been caught and detained in its passage down the river by having met with some impediment; the hair, they maintained, had not been shaven off, but was broken off from the roots. They discovered, too, traces of the scar on the foot, which they said might have been caused by a cow's hoof. They, moreover, affirmed that it

was a common matter for persons to be unable to recognise the bodies of their friends even under more favourable circumstances. When confronted with the Tisza-Eszlar doctors, the Budapest professors declared that the medical opinions expressed by the former were 'unscientific, unfounded, and impossible.' Professor Scheuthauer stated that the views expressed by Dr. Traytler, the dentist, were such as only might have been expected from 'a barber,' and that if he had given such answers as a medical student, he (the Professor) would not have allowed him his examination.

The judges on the bench at the trial at Nyiregyhaza were Herr Franz Kornis, President of the Tribunal, who in many respects showed himself prejudiced against the accused. He was assisted by three other judges, Herren Russu, Gruden, and Simon. Herr Gruden was taken ill on the seventeenth day of the trial, and Herr Feherbarna took his place for the remainder of the trial. The trial commenced on the 19th of June, and lasted till the 3rd of August, the court having sat during this period for thirty-one days. Herr Szeiffert was the Public Prosecutor, and conducted the prosecution in a most equitable manner. Inasmuch, however, as he opposed the violent opinions of the Anti-Semitic party, he was roundly abused by that portion of the press which clamoured for the condemnation of the accused Jews. During the progress of the trial he was insulted in the open streets, and violently threatened by Herr Deputy von Onody, and had to seek the protection of the court. On the side of the defence there was a brilliant array of lawyers. These were Dr. Funtak, Dr. Friedmann, Dr. Szekely, Dr. Heumann, and Dr. Eötvös. The last-named seems to have been the leading counsel. Advocat Carl von Szalay appeared as counsel specially retained on behalf of the Widow Solymossi. This lawyer was not permitted to interfere in the trial, but was allowed to address the court at its close, before the lawyers for the defence made their speeches. His speech, which occupies more than eight closely-printed pages of M. Schulze's pamphlet, was full of the most virulent attacks on the Jewish race, but contained an able summing up of the evidence adduced on behalf of the prosecution. The Public Prosecutor, who spoke first, considered it his duty honestly to confess that the prosecution had broken down on all points, and expressed his belief that all the accused deserved to be honourably acquitted of the charges laid against them. After the other lawyers for the defence had spoken, Dr. Eötvös made a most brilliant closing oration, and the court on the following day gave their unanimous decision, according to which all the prisoners were declared not guilty.

II. HUMAN SACRIFICES AND THE JEWISH RITUAL.

In this second portion of our article we propose briefly to examine the charge so often preferred against the Jewish people of using human blood in their religious ritual. The charge has, indeed, in modern times generally been regarded by enlightened public opinion in the most civilised parts of Europe as a foul slander, as one of the base falsehoods preferred against the Jewish people during the Middle Ages, deliberately invented, or, if not invented, maliciously made use of for the purpose of inflaming the popular indignation against the Jewish people in order the more easily to seize hold of the wealth and property of that hated race, or to get rid of debts superinduced by wanton extravagance. But the charge has been renewed from time to time, and men with the reputation of scholarship have ventured to maintain that the accusation is based on facts.

Shortly after the disappearance of Father Thomas (a Roman Catholic Capuchin friar and physician from Sardinia) at Damascus in February 1840—a murder generally asserted to have been the work of the Jews of that city, though the accused Jews were ultimately set at liberty by Mohammed Ali, Khedive of Egypt—Dr. F. W. Ghillany, Professor and City Librarian in Nürnberg, published a strangely ingenious but most misleading work on *The Human Sacrifices of the Ancient Hebrews*,⁹ in which he sought to maintain that human sacrifices were common among the ancient Israelites, and in the preface to which book he expressed the belief that the remains of such an ancient practice might possibly be found to linger on even to modern times.

The extravagant opinions of Ghillany and of Daumer found few defenders, and their works have sunk almost into oblivion. Daumer's work on *Fire and Moloch Worship*¹⁰ appeared after Ghillany's treatise saw the light. The latter scholar sought to uphold the monstrous thesis that the worship of Moloch was really the orthodox religion of the Jewish nation. The standpoint from which both works were written was a denial of all supernatural inspiration. Both writers

⁹ *Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung.* Nürnberg: bei Johann Leonhard Schrag, 1842.

¹⁰ G. Fr. Daumer, *Der Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer als urväterlicher, legaler, orthodoxer Cultus der Nation historisch-kritisch nachgewiesen.* Braunschweig: 1842. Compare his work, *Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Alterthums*, Hamburg, 1847, in two volumes, where he affirms and endeavours to demonstrate that the Christians of the first centuries, and even down to the Middle Ages, used to offer sacrifices of men, specially, however, of children. In other words, Daumer sought to establish the justice of the charge brought against the Christians by their heathen opponents—namely, that the Christians were guilty of *θυσία ἀνθρώπων*. Daumer afterwards acknowledged the madness of holding such opinions, and died a Roman Catholic noted for his bigotry. His case was a curious instance of the grossest infidelity terminating in the most abject superstition.

refused to place credence in the plainest statements of the Old Testament Scriptures. The denunciations to be found in the law and the prophets against the abominable rite of human sacrifice were explained by them as having been introduced into the Jewish Scriptures by the party of reform which sprang up after the Babylonish captivity of the nation. On such principles Ghillany found little difficulty in maintaining that Moses offered up his own son in sacrifice, that all the first-born male infants of the Israelites were commanded by him to be sacrificed to Jehovah, and that the pious worshippers partook of their flesh; that the three thousand men put to the sword by the Levites (Ex. xxxii. 26-28), on account of the worship of the golden calf, were in reality a great human sacrifice in honour of the giving of the Law, more awful in its character than any of the 'customs' of the African kingdom of Dahomey; that the death of Nadab and Abihu, consumed by fire because they offered 'strange fire' before the Lord (Lev. x. 1-2), was nothing else than a sacrifice of the same kind; that, indeed, Aaron at last offered up himself a sacrifice for the people on Mount Hor; and Moses later followed his brother's example—immolating himself on Mount Nebo in order to secure the passage of the Israelites over Jordan!

After such an exhibition of perverse interpretation one need not be surprised to be informed by this authority that in the time when the first temple was still standing human victims were sacrificed at the Passover feast for each section of the Jewish people, and that the blood of the victims was mixed up with the bread, in place of leaven, peculiar expiatory virtue being attached to the partaking of such bread; that the bodies of the victims were afterwards roasted with fire, each of the Jews present at the feast partaking of small morsels of the flesh in order to secure the pardon of their sins!

Such were some of the monstrous statements which were put forth as the results of a critical investigation of the Old Testament Scriptures. One thing, however, may be said in extenuation of the folly and guilt of writing and publishing such a work. However disposed Professor Ghillany was, on this theory, to consider it probable that the practice of human sacrifice was not utterly extinct among the Jews, he did not venture in his work to cite any proofs from the Jewish literature of post-Biblical times in which such cannibal practices were taught or commended.¹¹

¹¹ We might refer the English reader who desires further to investigate this subject to the valuable prolegomena of Dr. M. M. Kalisch, prefixed to the first volume of his *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Book of Leviticus* (London: Longmans, 1867), premising, however, that we do not coincide with all the conclusions that the eminent Jewish scholar has arrived at. While disposed to regard the fulfilment of Jephthah's vow as an instance of human sacrifice, committed in accommodation to Canaanitish heathenism, we deny that the act of David in hanging up the seven sons of Saul before the Lord (2 Sam. xxi.) has been rightly regarded by Kalisch as a case of human sacrifice. In the latter instance David, from want of inquiring further of the Lord in what manner he ought to avenge the massacre of the

The publication of Professor Rohling's *Talmudjude*, the sixth edition of which appeared in 1878, marks a decided step in advance in the history of such scandalous charges against the Jews. At the time Professor Rohling published that work he was not, however, inclined to go quite so far as to assert that the Jews were guilty of cannibalism. The accusations made in it against the Jewish nation are mainly drawn from the work of Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, Professor at Heidelberg, entitled *Entdecktes Judenthum*, first published at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1700 in two parts, each over one thousand pages small quarto. The first edition of that great work, however, is said to have been confiscated by the influence of the Jewish community at Frankfurt. Eisenmenger, whose knowledge of Jewish literature was most extensive, professed to have been urged by the highest motives in the publication of this work. There is, however, an ugly story told that the Jews offered to compensate him for the confiscation of the work if he would consent never to republish it, and that the negotiation only failed because, while they offered him 12,000 gulden, he demanded 30,000. Some copies of Eisenmenger's book got abroad in spite of all the care taken by the authorities, and the result was that the second edition of the work, in consequence of the powerful intercession of several universities, was published after the death of its author by permission of King Frederick I. of Prussia in 1711. Eisenmenger's book was written in the bitterest controversial spirit, and has since formed the repertorium from whence Christian controversialists, malevolently affected towards the Jewish people, have usually drawn their materials. Rohling has made some curious mistakes founded on a cursory reading of Eisenmenger, which have been ably exposed by Professor Franz Delitzsch in his pamphlets, the titles of which are given at the heading of this article. There are cases in which Eisenmenger has mistaken the meaning of the Jewish writings cited by him, and Rohling has fallen into the snare. Eisenmenger's book is by no means a safe guide. Though disposed, however, to press every weapon possible into service in his powerful onslaught on Jews and Judaism, and though he sought to dissuade Christians,

Gibeonites, which had defiled the land with blood, committed himself two distinct offences against the Mosaic law, (1) in putting the children to death for the sins of their fathers (Deut. xxiv. 16), and (2) by permitting the bodies of the persons hanged to remain overnight on the trees on which they were executed (Deut. xxi. 22, 23). The conduct of Joshua in similar cases (Josh. ix. 29, x. 26, 27, &c.) proves that the latter law was in force from the earliest time when Israel became a nation. The sacred writer, after mentioning the manner in which David strove to make some amends for his rashness, observes: 'and after that, God was intreated for the land' (2 Sam. xxi. 14). The remark is significant. The bloody act done by Saul upon the Gibeonites required some display of punitive justice, but David in giving up the sons of Saul to their vengeance also committed a transgression. The demand on the part of the Gibeonites might admit of extenuation, but David's conduct is not thereby justified. That conduct, however, is not fairly ascribable to any desire on David's part to rid himself of disagreeable rivals to the throne.

under all sorts of imaginary fears, from having recourse to Jewish physicians, whose skill was then in high repute, Eisenmenger, it ought to be mentioned to his honour, urged most strongly the inutility and wickedness of persecuting the Jewish race. Willing as he was to believe that the Jews were in the habit of murdering Christians out of hatred to Christ's religion, he rejected most distinctly the charges brought against the nation of 'their women making use, in cases of difficult labour, of the blood of Christians, and the still more abominable charge of using the blood of Christians in the preparation of the Passover cakes and mixing it with the wine used at that festival.

Dr. August Rohling, Professor of Hebrew Antiquities and of the Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Theological Faculty of the Imperial and Royal University of Prague, a Roman Catholic theologian of some position, has been bold enough to maintain that the custom alluded to has been, and still is, in existence among the Jews. He maintains (1) that the testimony of history is quite conclusive on the matter; (2) that the practice of shedding the blood of Christian virgins and of mixing up the same with the Passover bread has often been had recourse to, and that it rests upon a secret teaching on the subject handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation; (3) that passages can be adduced from Jewish writings of authority decisively proving the existence of the custom.

Not that Professor Rohling ventured to make these charges at once. His accusations against the Jews have gradually increased in virulence. The history of his charges is as follows:—In the summer of 1881, at the request of the Anti-Semitic agitators, Professor Rohling made a solemn deposition before the Supreme Court of Prague, to the effect that he could prove from printed works that the Jews regarded Christians as idolaters, and were wont to term them 'dogs,' 'asses,' 'swine,' &c.; that a Talmudic Jew was bound by his religious principles to seek even by means of lying and treachery to effect the moral and physical ruin of those who are not Jews. Terrible as were these charges, the exaggerated character of which Professor Delitzsch has ably pointed out in his *Rohling's Talmudjude beleuchtet* and other publications, Dr. Rohling did not venture in that deposition to accuse the Jews as guilty of human sacrifices. In 1882, however, he further offered to depose on oath that the murder of Christians for ritual purposes was a doctrine secretly taught among the Jews.

In his *Antworten an die Rabbiner*, which consists of letters published in the close of 1882 and early in January of the present year, Dr. Rohling maintained that the Talmud contains nothing certain respecting human sacrifices (see his note on p. 11). But he professed still his readiness to depose on oath that the point was 'taught by the Rabbinical religion.' 'The proof of this assertion,' he remarks,

'principally rests upon the facts of history,'¹² inasmuch as the Western Jews have so arranged the texts of their books which are accessible to Christian Hebrews that no stringent argument can be procured from that source. If the higher authorities would permit me to spend a few years in the East, I verily believe that I could also discover texts of this kind.' This last statement is peculiarly naïve.

Another assailant, however, soon appeared on the stage. A convert from Judaism to the Roman Church published a pamphlet under the *nom de plume* of 'Dr. Justus,' designated *Juden'spiegel*, or the *Mirror of the Jews*. The first edition of this pamphlet contained no charge of 'ritual murder;' but the second edition, published early this year, contained an appendix, which also appears in the third edition, entitled 'Is the murder of a Christian for ritual purposes allowed or not by the Jews?' Dr. Justus here for the first time ventured to cite chapter and verse from 'the books of the Kabbalah' in support of this terrible accusation, and adduced a passage to that effect from what he termed the 'Sepher Halkuthem' of Jerusalem, page 156, which passage, if the citation made therefrom was correct, would have been amply sufficient to substantiate the odious charge.

Rohling eagerly availed himself of Justus's discovery. In a letter to Herr von Onody dated June 19, 1883 (reprinted in Delitzsch's *Schachmatt*, p. 22), Rohling reiterated the statement that he 'did not find in the Talmud, as far as it lies before us in print, any proof of ritual murder,' but he stated that a book had since come into his possession printed under the auspices of Sir Moses Montefiore so late as the year 1868,¹³ which contains a direct commendation of such murder. The work in question is that referred to by 'Dr. Justus.'

It is evident, therefore, that Dr. Rohling had not six months ago made this discovery. The 'heifer' with which he has 'plowed'

¹² Upwards of fifty closely printed pages of this work are occupied with reciting 'historical' proofs down to the case of Father Thomas at Damascus. In his account given of the latter case, Rohling is guilty of gross suppression of facts. One would never learn from it that the most important witnesses, whose evidence would have cleared the Jews in the very outset, were tortured to death before the public trial took place. See Dr. L. Loewe's Translation of Levinsohn's *Ef's Dammim*, or *Conversations at Jerusalem, on the malicious charge of using Christian blood* (Longmans, Green, and Longman, 1841).

¹³ On this point it may be well to quote a passage from a letter of Dr. L. Loewe, which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of July 12, 1883: 'With regard to the statement of Dr. Rohling that the mysterious book had been printed under the auspices of Sir Moses, I have to explain that forty years ago, with the view of encouraging industry in the Holy Land, he presented a person of the name of Israel Back with an English printing-press, and the recipient, in token of deep gratitude to the donor, named it *Másáat Moshe ve-Yehoodit*, a *present of Moses and Judith*. Since that time all the books printed by the use of that press bear that name on the title-page. Sir Moses himself has not the remotest idea of the printing of that book, nor has he ever heard of its existence; but it pleased Dr. Rohling, and he thought it would answer his purpose exceedingly well, to interpret these words by "under the auspices of Sir Moses Montefiore."'

this field (Judges xiv. 18), and by whose aid he has unearthed this 'pearl' of evidence, can scarcely be any other than the anonymous Jewish convert. Relying on 'the staff of this 'broken reed,' which has verily pierced the hand of him who has used it (Isaiah xxxvi. 6), Rohling has ventured to engage in combat with the venerable Leipzig Professor who for, nearly fifty years has made post-Biblical Jewish literature one of the subjects of his special study.¹⁴ Had the Talmud contained one single passage in which such a practice was commended, had the Sohar, or any later Kabbalistic works, really contained any such directions, as is now for the first time pretended, the great Protestant controversialists like the Buxtorfs, Wagenseil, or Eisenmenger, or great Kabbalistic scholars of the Roman Catholic Church, like the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, would certainly long ago have brought such passages to the light of day.

It is not surprising that the *Antworten an die Rabbiner* should have been forbidden in the kingdom of Bohemia, probably on account of its inflammatory contents.¹⁵ In it Professor Rohling refers in terms of highest approbation to the pamphlet of Dr. Justus, and maintains that 'the laws of the Jews' are correctly set forth in that wretched publication. He remarks: 'Dr. Justus is not identical with me, but his cause is my cause. The texts which he quotes are taken direct from the originals.' The crowning discovery, however, of Professor Rohling is contained in a letter published in the *West-ungarischer Grenzboten* of the 2nd of July, 1883. He there endorses as correct a translation of a passage professedly taken from the Book of Sohar, known to be a great authority among a certain class of Jews, especially those known as Chasidim, in which particular directions are given as to the manner in which a Christian virgin ought to be put to death, and her blood used for religious purposes.

The following are the passages on which Dr. Justus and Professor

¹⁴ However bitterly Rohling may speak of Delitzsch in his later pamphlets, he was once willing to learn from him on matters of Biblical criticism. In his first reply, *Franz Delitzsch und die Judenfrage*, he speaks of him with admiration. 'Delitzsch,' he says, 'I both honour and love. For he has, during many years of a life already long, borne labour and toil with patience, he has become by his talents and diligence a spiritual power, and has performed many splendid services to the truth by his restless literary activity. He is in his way a second Tertullian; his words shine forth like the lightning; his readiness for combat is unrivalled. And what makes him so particularly lovable? He does not conceal the fact that he knows Jesus Christ, our hope and our life; and in his heart the call is loud: "To Rome, to Rome, to Christ's Representative!" He speaks, indeed, much against Rome; still the manner in which he says it, proves what is going on within him; wherefore I hope that the voice may yet reach him *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν* (Acts xxvi. 14). God grant that this treatise may contribute to make him and others abandon the war against the Rock of Peter, which contains in itself the saving water of the Redeemer.' We may here observe that we have intentionally abstained in this article from noticing the bitter assaults of Rohling on Protestants and Protestantism, which are contained even in his treatises against the Jews, as such attacks have no direct bearing on the subject before us.

¹⁵ See this fact referred to in Rohling's *Polemik und das Menschenopfer*, p. 8.

Rohling rely as evidence for this barbarous practice being in existence among the Jews.

The first is the passage from the *Sepher Halkuthem*, p. 156, translated as follows by Dr. Justus in his *Judenspiegel*, p. 94, in which, according to that writer, the blood of virgins not belonging to the Jewish race is declared to be peculiarly acceptable in the sight of God:—

It is written in the Holy Scripture [Prov. xxx. 19], 'the way of a man with a maid,' &c. (Three things are then mentioned in the Bible of which it is said, 'three things are too wonderful for me, and the fourth'—in the following verse this fourth is described as 'the way of a man with a maid'—'I understand not.') What is here the meaning of the Holy Scripture? The sense, put in the fewest words, is: It is wonderful that the virgin's blood of the unclean, of the Klipoth (those who are not Jewesses) is, however, to Heaven an offering of a sweet savour. Yes, to shed non-Jewish virgin's blood is as holy an offering as the best spices, and a means to reconcile God with oneself, and to draw down upon oneself favour. This is the meaning, therefore, of the Holy Scripture: It is wonderful that the virgin [is] personally unclean and a Klipa (not a Jewess), and yet the shedding of her blood is so precious an offering.

The passage is professedly quoted from the Jerusalem edition. Perhaps it was in reference to this fact that Professor Rohling remarks: 'If the authorities in power would render it possible for me to spend some years in the East, I believe that I could also discover texts of this import.'

The *Sepher Halikkutim* which Dr. Justus refers to in 'Polish jargon' as the 'Sepher Halkuthem' is a collection of single texts of the Old Testament, with remarks thereon drawn up by Chayim Vital, a pupil of the distinguished Kabbalist Isaak Luria, and editions of it have been published, as Delitzsch observes, in Zolkiew, Wilna, and Jerusalem. The translation of the passage given by Justus and endorsed by Rohling is simply a gigantic falsehood. Professor Franz Delitzsch has given the original of the passage on p. 30 of his *Schachmatt den Blutlügern*. If the learned Professor of Leipzig has used strong language in this pamphlet, it is because circumstances have fully justified its use, as the falsehoods of Justus and Rohling have inflamed the feelings of the people against the Jews and have led to scenes of murder and outrage.

To understand the passage fully, it is necessary to have some idea of the Kabbalistic philosophy or theosophy, which has often found warm admirers among the theologians of Christendom. The English reader desirous of obtaining a general idea of the chief points of that strange system of Jewish mysticism could not do better than peruse the pages of Dr. Christian D. Ginsburg's interesting though brief essay, *The Kabbalah, its Doctrines, Development, and Literature*.¹⁶ There he will see the Kabbalistic doctrine regarding the

¹⁶ London: Longmans, 1865.

Sephiroth, 'principles,' 'intelligences,' or 'emanations' (the exact meaning of that technical word need not here be discussed), which is in many points akin to the Gnostic teachings on similar subjects. According to Kabbalistic doctrine the lower world has been created after the pattern of things above, even as the Tabernacle of Moses was formed after the pattern of that seen on Mount Sinai; thus the things on earth have their counterparts in the things in heaven.

With this general remark we turn to the passage from the *Sepher Halikkutim* which is given and translated in full by Delitzsch. We have taken the liberty of curtailing the passage, and of slightly modifying Delitzsch's rendering, though not departing substantially from it in any particular, and have added a few notes within brackets to make the passage more generally intelligible:—

Three things are wonderful to me, &c. The first is this: Why is the appearance of the eagle, although it is unclean, attached to the Chariot [the Jews style the vision given in Ezekiel i. the vision of 'the chariot'; see Ezekiel i. 10, &c.] and mentioned in the sephira of Beauty, which is called 'heaven'? This is that which is meant by the words 'the way of an eagle in the heaven' [our Authorised Version renders 'in the air']. And the second is 'the way of the serpent upon the rock, as it gives thus a support for the unclean serpent in (the sephira) of the Kingdom [the tenth sephira, which represents the harmony of the archetypal man; see Ginsburg, p. 16, and his pictorial illustration of the ten sephiroth], which is termed 'rock' [as that which is the foundation of all]? The third is 'the way of the ship in the heart of the sea,' for 'oniya' [the word for 'a ship'] signifies the evil maid who always howls, with a secret reference to 'taaniya waaniya' ['mourning and lamentation,' Lam. ii. 5, Isa. xxix. 2]. How can she [the evil maid, or sensuality which is never satisfied] drive away her mistress, and enter by force the heart of the sea, that is, into the congregation of Israel, which is termed 'sea'? It therefore follows that all his wondering [i.e. of the author of Prov. xxx.] is how there is an opening and way for the things which are outside [to intrude] into the glory. So far of another [hand] down of the doctrines of the Master].

So far there is no reference in the remarks of Vital to deeds of blood, but that Kabbalistic writer explains the text in the Book of Proverbs mystically as referring to the entrance of evil powers into the holy worlds which emanated from the Supreme Being, the Endless One.

But Vital proceeds further:—

Samuel [the son of Chayim Vital] says. According to this verse where it says further, 'and four things I know not,' this means that there is yet a fourth object of wonder, namely, 'the way of a man with a maid,' and the meaning is not that over and above the three [wonderful things] there are four others, for no mention is made of them [i.e. of four others besides the three mentioned]. And I have found an explanation of the fourth, which is [here] mentioned, in the manuscripts of the Master (may his memory be blessed!), and I will here write it down and briefly explain it. The matter is that it appeared wonderful to him [the original writer] how the blood of virginity [the directions of the Mosaic law concerning which token or sign of purity are laid down in Deut. xxii. 13-21] can be in the higher world, since all things which are corrupted below are also notched in a similar manner above [in that higher sphere where the archetypes exist of the things

below. In other words, the archetypes above exhibit traces of any injury which may happen to their corresponding forms in the lower sphere], and afterwards [it appeared wonderful to him] that the crowned bride is a virgin who has not yet known a man, should belong (far be it!) to the shells [or husks, the Kelippoth, i.e. to the impure or demoniacal world; see Ginsburg's *Kabbalah*, pp. 25, 28]. And not only that, but since the union [i.e. of the sephira of Justice and that of Mercy]¹⁷ is brought about only by means of the quieting of judgment, and by compassion gaining the upper hand, whence should the redness of the blood [*primæ noctis*], which although it is clean [in contrast to that spoken of in *Leviticus* xv. 19-24], still indicates [or betokens] judgment, get there [namely, to the heavenly sphere]? This is a difficult question, and it is of the same kind as that which I have explained concerning the way of the eagle in the heaven, and the way of the ship in the heart of the sea, and the way of the serpent upon the rock; and there is yet another way [of explaining the passage], but this may now suffice. . .

We have nothing whatever here to do with the correctness or incorrectness of this strange Kabbalistic interpretation of the passage in the Book of Proverbs, and it would require more extensive comments in order fully to explain the several details of this interpretation. One point, however, is certain, that the Kabbalistic interpreter never had the slightest intention of speaking of any shedding of the blood of virgins in sacrifice, nor does he allude in the most remote manner to non-Jewesses. The masculine plural form used in the passage (*bethûlim*) always signifies 'virginity' and not 'virgins,' in which signification the regular feminine plural form *bethûloth* is always employed. This usage is characteristic not only of the language of the Old Testament Scriptures, but also of that of the Talmud. See, on the use of the plural in such a signification, Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebräische Gram.* § 108. 2. a, and Böttcher's *Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache*, § 689, B., as also the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius or Fürst. We can only account for so gross a blunder of translation on the supposition that the mistake originated in the ignorance of 'Dr. Justus,' who was originally a Polish Jew, but is now an ardent convert to the Romish Church, and, like many Polish Jews, is evidently very imperfectly acquainted with the critical niceties of the Hebrew language, and certainly unacquainted with

¹⁷ The Kabbalistic Sephiroth are first divided into six principles mutually antagonistic, represented as masculine and feminine. The masculine Sephiroth are Wisdom, Mercy, and Firmness (חכמה); the feminine are Intelligence, Justice, and Splendour. These six are united with each other by three unifying principles, designated as the Crown, Beauty, and Foundation—thus making nine in number. From the ninth proceeds the tenth sephira, or the Kingdom which unites all in one harmonious whole. All are regarded as emanations from the Supreme Being or the Endless One. The masculine sephira of Mercy on the right hand corresponds to the feminine sephira of Justice on the left, and the sixth sephira, that of Beauty, unites these two. From this union (יין) proceeds the sensuous world to which marriage belongs. But even these things which are sensuous and earthly have, according to this philosophical system, their counterparts in the heavenly sphere. Justus, in his pamphlet, p. 95, evidently understood the word translated 'union' to be used in the sense of 'reconciliation,' which is utterly false. Rohling, in his *Polemik*, p. 58, while avoiding in words this error, endeavours by a display of ingenuity to attach substantially the same signification to the expression.

the Kabbalistic philosophy. Utterly misconceiving the meaning of 'Kelippoth,' which never occurs in the sense he assigns to it, and blinded by partisanship, this Jewish convert forced upon the passage a sense it cannot bear. Professor Rohling, in a zeal for God which is certainly not according to knowledge, appears at first without due examination to have accepted Justus's interpretation. But it is unintelligible how any man with any pretensions to Hebrew scholarship could, after his gross blunders of translation had been thoroughly exposed by such an authority as Professor Franz Delitzsch of Leipzig, yet persevere in affirming as a truth what he must know to be false. The case is not one in which an honest difference of opinion is conceivable as to the correct translation of the Hebrew. Every tyro in Talmudic or Rabbinical Hebrew can clearly see from an examination of the original text as given in Delitzsch's pamphlet, that the passage appealed to has been grossly mistranslated by Justus and Rohling, and that the interpretation they have put upon its terms is absolutely impossible.

We do not charge Rohling with being absolutely ignorant of Hebrew. He is the author of a respectable *Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*,¹⁸ which, though disfigured by its unnecessary and violent attacks on Protestant commentators, owes no little of its value to the use made in it of the work of Delitzsch on the same portion of the Old Testament. But he is fairly chargeable with having made blunders through rashness and want of accuracy. Under the influence of a fanatical hatred against the Jews as opponents of Christianity, and of feelings of indignation against the scurrilous attacks on Christ which have appeared in the Jewish press,¹⁹ Rohling appears to have eagerly grasped at the first weapons handed to him by a half-educated convert, and, rather than admit his mistakes, has had the audacity to maintain the correctness of interpretations which are most palpably untrue. His final reply to Professor Delitzsch, *Die Polemik und das Menschenopfer*, is not lacking in ingenuity. It will convince no Hebrew scholar, but it will deceive numbers of persons unacquainted with that language. It will again and again be appealed to by popular demagogues like Herr von Onody. It will stir up the flaming passions of ignorant Christians against the Jews, it will embitter the hostility of Jews against all that is Christian. And all this has been done in the name of the meek and loving Redeemer! Would that—for the sake of the innocent human beings, whose houses may be rifled, whose persons may be ill-treated, whose wives and daughters may be outraged, under the influence of such false accusations,—the autho-

¹⁸ *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*. Uebersetzt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. August Rohling. Mit Erlaubniss der Obern. Mainz. 1879.

¹⁹ See the important article in Professor Franz Delitzsch's *Saat auf Hoffnung*, XIX Jahrg. 2tes Heft (Ostern, 1882), entitled *Christentum und jüdische Presse, Selbsterlebtes von F. D.*

rites of the Church of Rome, whose 'permission,' it seems, had to be sought ere a *Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* could be issued, would suppress these inflammatory publications of a writer who is under their control, and is one of their professors of theology!

It is only necessary here to observe, in reply to the further observations of Dr. Rohling, that no reference whatever is made in the passage of Vital before quoted to non-Jewish virgins. As, however, under the term Kelippoth, all the gross forms of the material world are included, it is easy to understand how 'the souls of the wicked' are regarded by Kabbalists as belonging to that category, which includes also the evil angels, in whom 'darkness and impurity have the upper hand. All such are 'termed death and the shadow of death.' But to conclude from such statements that Christians, and, as 'Dr. Justus' would have it, Christian virgins, are specially designated by 'Kelippoth,'²¹ and that 'the crowned virgin' of the passage is a Christian maiden, is a monstrous perversion of truth. The very expression 'crowned virgin' proves that the allusion there made is to a Jewish bride.

According to the *West-ungarischer Grenzbote* of the 2nd of July of this year, Professor Rohling communicated to the court before which the unfortunate Jews of Tisza-Eszlar were tried for the murder of Esther Solymossi, the second passage professedly taken from the *Sohar*, vol. ii. p. 119 a, in which, according to his interpretation, full directions are given as to the mode in which Christian virgins ought to be solemnly sacrificed. In a letter dated Prague, July 1, Professor Rohling stated that he was prepared to swear that the following special directions, among others, are there given as to the manner in which the rite is to be performed.

(1) Such a sacrifice must be performed in the presence of Jews, inasmuch as a sacred sacrifice is not to be offered up in secret. (2) Ere the sacrifice begins, the Jews present are to repeat a form of confession of sin, in order that their hearts may be purified from all sense of sin, and thus they may worthily present themselves at the holy sacrifice. (3) The knife with which the sacrifice is to be performed is to be tested twelve times by passing one's nail over its edge, to see whether it is perfectly free from all notches. (4) The girl to be sacrificed must have her mouth gagged, in order that she may not be able to scream, but die as an animal dies, without uttering any sound. (5) The girl is to be put to death with the knife in such a manner that all her blood shall flow out, so that the corpse may be absolutely devoid of colour. (6) After the sacrifice has been finished, the slayer, who in performing this solemn rite discharges the

²¹ This was evidently Justus' way of explaining the feminine plural Kelippoth, for he translates in the same page 'Klipa' in the singular as Nichtjüdin, a non-Jewess, which is a blunder.

functions of a high priest, is to repeat the closing prayer, in which he makes a vow before God that every day, when it is possible for him to do so, he will offer such a sacrifice.

The edition of the *Sohar* from which these atrocious directions are professedly taken is that published at Przemyśl in Galicia in 1880.

Is it at all surprising, when such statements are solemnly made by a scholar and professor, that the common people in Hungary and other parts of the Austrian Empire should have been only too ready to give full credence to the monstrous story told by Moritz Scharf with respect to the murder of Esther Solymossi in the synagogue of Tisza-Eszlar?

The whole citation, however, turns out to be a gross falsification, for which not even such a poor excuse can be pleaded as we have ventured to suggest is possible in the first instance in order to explain the mistranslation of the passage in the *Sepher Halikkutim*. No wonder that Professor Franz Delitzsch should be driven to exclaim in righteous indignation that such lying can only be accounted for on the supposition of 'moral insanity,' or even demoniacal possession. With him, we deeply feel the terrible injury done to the honour of Christ, and to the holy cause of Christianity, by such cruel and inexcusable falsehoods.

The passage of the *Book of Sohar* referred to by Rohling is given in full by Delitzsch,²² together with a translation and brief explanation. Rohling has not ventured to dispute the correctness of the extract. It does contain an allusion to sacrifices, and mention is made of the sacrificial knife whose edge has to be tested twelve times to secure its freedom from all notches. But how different is the real meaning of the passage from that assigned to it by Professor Rohling! We can here translate only the most important portion. Those who wish to investigate the subject fully can easily obtain the pamphlet of Professor Delitzsch.

Their death [that is, the death which persons, who are ignorant and opposed to the law of God, suffer as a penalty for their sin] is a public death—death, namely, in the sense of poverty [the Talmud, in *Nedarim*, 7 b, compares poverty to death]. This their death of poverty shall be no concealed death, to be covered up like the blood of the birds [Lev. xvii. 13], but a public death before the eyes of the people. For the poor man is likened to a dead man. There is, however, a poverty concealed from men, and a poverty in the sight of all men, just as they pour out the blood of the animal before the face of all men; for as their blood is poured out, so the blood of the poor disappears from the countenance before the eyes of men, and they become white as dead persons. But if they return penitently, and open not their mouths in unseemly words against God, their death is then more mute than that of a beast, which is dead and without voice or word. Their confession of sin is: 'I have no mouth to defend myself, and no forehead to lift up my head;' they confess and praise daily the unity of the Holy One (blessed be He!), in order that they may die with 'one' [that is, in the act of repeating the well-known formula given Deut. vi. 4, which in the Hebrew closes with the word 'one' ('*echad*')].

²² On pp. 39–41 of his *Schachmatt*.

R. Akiba is said to have died while repeating these words, in the midst of the most cruel torture (see *Berachoth*, 61b),—a representation [*i.e.* their death in that case is an image or representation] of the animal [which goes forth to its death] with a knife tested twelve times [in order to see that its edge has no notches], and with a knife which makes 'echad' [that is, 12 and 1 are 13, which is the numerical value of the Hebrew letters which compose the numeral 'echad;'] the typical believer meets the sword of death with calmness, and dies with the last word of the Jewish confession of faith upon his lips, and therefore such a death is likened to a sacrifice]. .

Whatever views may be held as to the mystic doctrine here taught in the *Book of Sohar*, not a word is spoken therein of any sacrifice of virgins.²³ It is utterly in vain that Prof. Rohling has attempted in his *Polemik* to justify this interpretation of its terms. Some of his remarks would lead us to surmise that Rohling is ignorant of, or forgetful of, some of the peculiarities of Hebrew syntax. But it is impossible here to pursue the matter into its details. But in reading such publications one can scarcely help thinking of the remarkable denunciation recorded in the Old Testament history, in which Micaiah the son of Imlah warned the king of Israel against the false prophets who encouraged that king to go to war against Syria and predicted the success of the expedition: 'Behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets' (1 Kings xxii.). That 'lying spirit' has in very deed entered into 'Dr. Justus' and Professor Rohling.

We cannot within the limits assigned to this article refer to all the remarkable pamphlets whose titles we have given at its commencement. The two collections of testimonies acquitting the Jews of this foul and cruel charge are most important. The Berlin pamphlet entitled *Christliche Zeugnisse*, and edited, we believe, by a Jewish scholar, Dr. M. Lazarus, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin, and the fuller pamphlet published in Vienna under the title *Die Blutbeschuldigung gegen die Juden, von christlicher Seite beurtheilt*, are both most timely and valuable. The decrees of Innocent IV., Gregory X., Pius VI., and many other opinions of kings and others set forth in the second pamphlet, are most interesting. Most important is the solemn opinion given on the subject by the Theological Faculty of the University of Leipzig in 1714 in answer to the inquiries of Friedrich August, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, a monarch most hostilely disposed to the Jewish people. Professor Rohling, in his *Antworten*, has had recourse to 'special pleading' in attempting to meet the charge of opposing Papal decrees. One is perfectly aware how inconsistent the Church

²³ On some of the remarkable doctrines taught in the *Book of Sohar* I would call attention to a very able pamphlet entitled *Auszüge aus dem Buche Sohar mit deutscher Uebersetzung* (3te verbesserte Ausgabe. Berlin: Ph. G. Löw, 1857). Its author is the eminent Jewish Christian, Dr. J. H. Biesenthal, one of the highest authorities in Rabbinical matters.

of Rome has been in her dealings in this matter, and how often she has cruelly oppressed the Jewish race. But we cannot here enter into that question. We would, however, call special attention to the elaborate opinion of Professor Dr. Hermann L. Strack, of Berlin, in favour of the Jews (which is contained in both pamphlets), in which he points out the absurdity of the charge of using human blood as being utterly opposed to all the directions of the Mosaic law. He refers to the extreme care taken by the Jews even in the Middle Ages to abstain from anything with blood in it, and among other facts to the curious directions given with regard to the minute atoms of blood sometimes found in eggs, which were ordered to be carefully shunned by pious Jews, as well as to the directions given as to what to do when, in the act of eating, the gums might accidentally bleed. Professor Strack also points out that the accusations of this kind brought against the Jews were originally preferred also against the Christians by their pagan assailants. The opinions in these pamphlets of Professor Nöldecke of Strasburg, Professor Merx of Heidelberg, Professor Stade of Giessen, Professor Siegfried of Jena, all Hebrew scholars of the highest eminence, and men not likely to be influenced by any theological prepossessions on the subject, ought to be sufficient in the eyes of all rational men to clear the Jewish nation from this odious charge. The theological faculties of Amsterdam and of Leyden have also given strong opinions in favour of the Jews. The only strange thing about the matter is that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era the charge—which, like that of witchcraft, ought long since to have been thrown into the lumber-room of exploded opinions—should still be believed in by many persons, and that a Roman Catholic Professor in Prague and a Roman Catholic religious order in Paderborn in Westphalia should have lent all their influence and support to the circulation of so vile a calumny against the Jewish nation.

CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT.

*AN ACADEMY OF LITERATURE FOR
GREAT BRITAIN.*

In the year 1835 a project of a literary institute was under the consideration of Sir Robert Peel's Government, then tottering to its fall. The reasons which recommended it to their consideration, if valid then, can scarcely be regarded as less so now, and it may not be inopportune to take a review of them and see what they are worth. The project had its origin in a correspondence of an earlier date under another Government, when Lord Brougham, then Lord Chancellor, applied to Southey for his opinion and advice on the question by what means, or whether by any, the Government could give encouragement to literature. Southey had sent me a copy of the correspondence, and after the change of Government I showed it to Lord Aberdeen, and he to Sir R. Peel. They took up the subject, and I was asked to consider whether something could not be done in the direction to which Southey had pointed.

I accordingly produced a scheme, founded partly upon one of which Southey's letter had given a sketch, partly upon the model of the French Institute, and partly upon notions of my own. It was regarded with some favour. 'Lord Aberdeen,' I wrote to a friend, 'thought it would be as likely to succeed as any other measure they might bring forward; but (speaking the day after the division on the Speakership) he added, that he did not know what the measure was in which they were not likely to be defeated. However, he said, Peel would keep it by him in case of the times affording an opportunity.'

The memorandum which follows is dated February, 1835; the Government lasted, I think, only till the April following; and all that Sir Robert could do was to appropriate to literature the annual 1,200*l.* already on the Civil List for pensions to be granted by the Crown. I was asked to suggest the names of literary men to whom pensions should be offered.

Southey was, of course, the one who stood first; but, oddly enough, a personal friend of his own in the Cabinet raised the question whether the grant of a pension to him would not expose the Government to violent attacks in the House of Commons. On learning this I had recourse to Mr. Spring Rice, who assured me that not only he would not oppose such a grant, but he 'would fight for it if it were against all the devils in the Dom-Daniel caverns;' and he added that he could answer for his party in the House being with him. Sir Robert Peel, being in constant expectation of the fall of his Government, reserved any announcement of the pension till its last days, and, in the meantime, wrote to Mr. Southey, to offer him a baronetcy, and to ask in what way he could assist him, and was answered in the admirable and touching letter now published in *Southey's Life and Correspondence*, wherein he explains his pecuniary circumstances, and how utterly unbecoming it would be in him to accept the baronetcy, and adverting to the shock he had sustained by the insanity of his wife, forebodes the loss of his own faculties, hitherto almost the sole support of his family, and intimates that a pension would be the only way of helping him; and that though, as he conceived, this way could not be thought of, under present circumstances, as a boon to himself individually, yet it might perhaps be practicable as part of a general plan for the encouragement of literature.

The pension, however, had already been resolved upon and the warrant signed. The amount was 300*l.* per annum. In the course of a year or two Southey's forebodings came true; a softening of the brain crept upon him; and in 1839 his decaying powers sank into total imbecility. From that time to his death in 1843 the pension afforded the family a chief means of support.

HENRY TAYLOR.

Memorandum on the Means through which the Government might be enabled to promote the Interests of Science and Literature.

ANNEXED to this paper there will be found—first, a copy of a letter addressed by Lord Chancellor Brougham in January, 1831, to Mr. Southey, asking his opinion in what way the interests of literature could be promoted by the Government; and second, a copy of Mr. Southey's answer, dated February 1, 1831.

In the latter document the following passage occurs :—

When better times shall arrive (whoever may live to see them) it will be worthy the consideration of any Government whether the institution of an academy, with salaries for its members (in the nature of literary or lay benefices), might not be the means of retaining in *its* interests, as connected with their own, a certain number of influential men of letters who should hold those benefices, and a much greater number of aspirants who would look to them in their turn. A yearly grant of 10,000*l.* would endow ten such appointments of 500*l.* each for the elder class, and twenty-five of 200*l.* for younger men; these latter eligible of course, and preferably, but not necessarily, to be elected to the higher benefices as those fell vacant, and as they should have approved themselves.

The good proposed by this, as a political measure, is not that of retaining such persons to act as pamphleteers and journalists, but that of preventing them from becoming such in hostility to the established order of things, and of giving men of letters, as a class, something to look for beyond the precarious gains of literature; thereby inducing in them a desire to support the existing institutions of their country, on the stability of which their own welfare would depend.

In a further passage of the same letter, Mr. Southey, questioning apparently the probability of any such design being undertaken by the then Government, under the critical circumstances of the country at that time, proceeds as follows :—

I do not enter into any details of the proposed institution, for that would be to think of fitting up a castle in the air. Nor is it worth while to examine how far such an institution might be perverted. Abuses there would be, as in the disposal of all preferments, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; but there would be a more obvious check upon them, and when they occurred they would be less injurious in their consequences than they are in the State, the army and navy, or the Church.

The object of the following paper is to supply some of the details which were thus pretermitted, and to canvass the objections to the scheme which Mr. Southey did not think it worth while to examine more minutely in his letter to Lord Brougham.

As a necessary introduction to the subject, I propose in the first place to make some remarks upon the injuries to which literature is exposed from the circumstances of the times acting upon literary men; and furthermore the injuries which are thrown back upon society, not only by the corruption of literature, but by the personal perversion of the men through whom it is corrupted. It will then be my object to show how the circumstances of the times, which have brought with them these evils, do nevertheless yield certain facilities for applying remedies to them, the general nature of which remedies I will endeavour to indicate. And lastly, taking in their full scope and magnitude, and without any attempt to extenuate them, the difficulties incident to the adoption of the remedial measures, I will endeavour to show that there are methods of meeting them, and to point out the methods which appear to be most eligible, not losing sight, under this head, of the effects in reference to the immediate interests of the existing Government.

First, then, of the evils accruing to literature from the present state of society; a topic so familiar, that I shall only stop to indicate those particulars which more immediately suggest the necessity of the remedies which I am afterwards to propose.

The increase of wealth and the extension of education have been adverse in more ways than one to studious reading and sound learning. They have produced what may be not unfitly called a reading populace—a multitude of readers, who, standing in point of taste and information midway between the learned and the illiterate classes, constitute the great body of customers for books. There has ensued upon them also an increase of general activity throughout society, pervading not only the classes of men of business, but those which formerly supplied the men of leisure; for the cultivation of the arts of society and the pursuit of success in that line have taken the character of an active and engrossing career. With this universal increase of activity, there have arisen more social and gregarious modes of life and a greater frequentation of towns; insomuch that a life of rural or scholastic seclusion has come to be a thing almost unknown to the gentry of England. Under these circumstances, whilst it may be admitted that a part of the prevailing activity goes to reading, both among men of business and men of pleasure, it is more material to observe that their reading is merely subsidiary to their other objects, and their knowledge is not acquired for its own sake, and is acquired under the excitement of unquiet occupation in other ways. They are therefore light, discursive, and hasty readers. To the same sort of readers a large accession has accrued from another cause. In this active and locomotive state of society, in which the objects and distractions of men are so much multiplied, leisure comes to be the portion of women. Education has spread amongst them as much as amongst men, whilst it is only in a limited and metropolitan class that a corresponding addition (that is, *as great* an addition) has been made to their active pursuit of pleasure; and thus, of the reading populace, women may be believed to be the majority, and as they are almost always rapid readers, they will probably exceed the men still more in the quantity that they read than in the number of them that give themselves to reading and the time which they can devote to it. Moreover, what they read they will talk of, and of the subjects of their conversation men who wish to converse with them will find it inconvenient to be ignorant; and in this way the reading of women has a very important influence over that of men.

These circumstances I think mainly, and doubtless many others collaterally, have brought the market for books to what it is at present. In the literary trade, as in every other, the surest way of making money is to get some advantage over competitors in producing the sort of article of which the populace are the pur-

chasers. This, therefore, is the object at which authors who write chiefly for money are incessantly aiming; and even those who have the greatest talents and worthiest aims must, if their circumstances be such as to make immediate gains indispensable to them, employ the best part of their time in producing such writings as can be read idly and rapidly, at snatches of time, by men of business, men of pleasure, women, and those who are in search of facilities for conversing with women. The competitors for this custom are of course numerous, and as their literary qualifications fit them equally for periodical writing and for the writing of ephemeral books, they combine both branches of literary business, and secure to their books a class-interest in works of periodical criticism and in newspapers.

Thus the gains of literature are chiefly enjoyed by this class of writers; the patronage vested in journals, magazines, and newspapers, is placed in a great degree at their command, and they who enter upon literary life without any other means of livelihood find it absolutely necessary to enroll themselves in the corps of journalists quarterly, monthly, weekly, or daily, and adopt this mode of writing at least as a subsidiary, if not as a principal, branch of their business; and in this journalism lies the great operating cause of the debasement of literature and literary men in these latter times. There is not perhaps any other craft or lawful occupation in life that is so essentially illiberal—so much calculated to injure the moral dispositions and debilitate the understanding. Men so employing themselves can exercise under hardly any responsibility a greater power of inflicting pain and injury than can easily be possessed by any other class of obscure and indigent men; and they are beset by temptations to the abuse of this power, arising not only from the love which belongs to human nature of producing effect and sensation for its own sake, but from the necessity of giving relief to the inherent insignificance of the topics which they are called upon to treat. No one can look into the productions of this hand-to-mouth literature without seeing manifest signs of intellects broken up for unmeritorious uses—talent without knowledge, or knowledge without wisdom—got up on the spur of the moment to be applied to some immediate purpose—spent, not hoarded—and which, as not entering into any earnest and systematic design for self-improvement and the enlargement and cultivation of the mind, does in fact effect nothing for him who acquires it beyond the gratification of his vanity and the addition which it brings to his pecuniary resources.

The circumstances of the times, to which these evils are incident, have, however, evolved along with them some facilities for the adoption of remedial measures. The multiplication of readers, whilst debasing the material of literature, has exalted the importance of it in public estimation. Even those who indulge in light reading and shrink

from laborious study have, or think it for their credit to affect, a reverence for what is erudite and solid in literature. Perhaps also the accession of power to the people has led to the same result, because it tends to exalt the importance of any object which is regarded as national. Whether owing to these or any other causes, I believe that it is sufficiently apparent to those who are acquainted with the temper of the House of Commons, that nothing is received with more general approbation by that body than any reasonable measure which has in view the advancement of science and the arts or of literature. The universal acclamation with which the mention of Mr. Dalton's pension was attended in a recent Session of Parliament, and the ease with which the vote for the purchase of the two Correggios was carried, may be adduced as striking proofs of this disposition on the part of the House of Commons. It may be believed, therefore, that no serious difficulty would be met with in obtaining the consent of Parliament to a grant of money in aid of science and letters, if the Government should find that a plan of appropriation could be devised which would present a fair and reasonable prospect of really accomplishing the objects in view.

Mr. Southey's outline of a Pensioned Academy appears to have something not unlike a precedent in the French Institute. That establishment consists of four Academies, the members and secretaries of which are pensioned by the State: 1st. An Academy of Physical and Mathematical Science. 2nd. An Academy of Moral and Political Science. 3rd. The 'Académie Française,' which is devoted to general literature. 4th. The 'Académie des Inscriptions,' which is classical and antiquarian.¹ These bodies are self-elected, a vacancy in any of them being filled up as soon as it occurs, by a vote of the majority of the members of that Academy. The design of the Institute at its first foundation by Louis XIII. was to collect together the most eminent men of each branch for purposes of mutual intercourse and co-operation in the promotion of their respective sciences. They granted prizes for publications which they deemed worthy of that encouragement, and when any discovery in science was submitted to them they appointed a committee, which drew up and published a report upon it. The general opinion seems to be that the 1st and 2nd of the Academies—those for physical and mathematical, and for moral and political science—have worked well, though of the second there has not been so satisfactory an experience as of the first, in latter times; for it was abolished (for obvious reasons) by Buonaparte, and has only recently been restored. As to the Academies for general literature and antiquities, their opera-

¹ In the French Budget of 1833 the total expense is stated to be 425,000 fr., viz.:—Dépenses communes aux quatre Académies, 40,000 fr.; Académie Française, 81,000 fr.; Académie des Inscriptions, 98,000 fr.; Académie des Sciences, 124,000 fr.; Académie des Beaux-Arts, 82,000 fr.

tions are said to have been a good deal disturbed by factious divisions amongst themselves; but the publications of the Académie des Inscriptions have certainly obtained a very high reputation, and have contributed most efficiently to the materials of ancient history.

If an institution similar in every particular to this were now to be founded in this country, it might assist in the promotion of the same objects which have been aimed at and partially accomplished by its prototype; but those objects have been attempted in a similar manner and with some success by some of our scientific and literary institutions already in existence, and the objects which seem now to be most essential are not precisely the same, and do not seem to be attainable by means of an establishment similar in all respects to the French Institute. For whilst that Institute had in view the association for literary and scientific purposes of men already of the first eminence, the great want of society at this day would seem to be some establishment which should rescue from what may be called literary degradation men who would have a fair chance to be eminent if they were not indigent, and if the state of the market did not compel indigent men to misemploy their talents. At present and in this country, when men have once attained great eminence, the difficulties of their career are over for the most part, and they are to a considerable extent sure of their encouragement and their reward. It would doubtless be desirable that such men should enjoy still greater advantages than they do, and that after their reputation is established they should be enabled to write without reference to the market, and in the decline of life to remit their labours; and the difficulty of conferring these advantages could hardly perhaps be very great, because the claims of such men would be readily acknowledged by the public. But the case of men whose reputation is not so far matured, or whose peculiar pursuit and vocation in literature, although high and worthy, excludes them from a popular reputation, appears at once to be of more urgent importance and to be met by considerations of more serious difficulty.

The great desideratum is, of course, some scheme of selection which shall afford, and shall also be publicly acknowledged to afford, an adequate security that the choice of pensioners shall fall upon the men whose labours may most fairly be expected to yield fruits of real public importance. The difficulty of devising such a security, though doubtless of no small magnitude, appears, however, to have been much diminished by the changes which have taken place in society in the last few years. Public opinion has acquired a degree of influence in matters of patronage which has not only brought about a much purer administration of it, but has also perhaps done something to inspire more confidence on the part of the public in the due disposal of it where nothing is known to the contrary. It seems to

be generally acknowledged also that, whatever individual abuses may occur from time to time, the Crown is in these times of all patrons the least generally corrupt, because the Government has now a deeper interest than any other party can have in making good appointments.

Still the difficulties are sufficiently apparent to suggest the expediency of proceeding tentatively in the first instance, and devising an institution which, being of no great magnitude in itself, would, if unsuccessful, involve no very formidable evils of failure; but which if the experiment should succeed, might, as embodying a principle, prove the *punctum saliens* of a more extensive system.

With this view, and having regard to the objects and considerations which have been previously adverted to, the following basis of a British Institute is submitted.

1. I should propose that the Institute should imitate that of France, in being divided into four academies; one for physical and mathematical science, a second for moral and political, a third for general literature, and a fourth for classical and antiquarian learning.

2. I would propose that each academy should consist of a number of members not exceeding eight, one of whom should be termed its president, and of a number of honorary members not exceeding four.

3. That each of the eight members being (and for so long as he should be) under the age of thirty years, should enjoy a pension of 200*l.*; and that each member being (or so soon as he should come to be) older, should enjoy a pension of 500*l.*; and that in the case of the president the pension should be 800*l.*

4. That the honorary members should be upon the same footing with the others, except only in the particulars of not receiving pensions, and not being liable to be called upon for the services hereinafter described.

5. That it shall be incumbent upon any one of the academies to devolve upon any one of its members not being honorary, or upon any one of its honorary members volunteering such service (the particular member to be appointed in each case by a vote of the majority), the duty of reporting upon any question connected with the advancement of literature and science and the education of the people which shall be referred to it for that purpose by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

6. That all questions brought before any of the academies shall be determined by the votes of the majority of the members of such academy, and that when the numbers shall be equally divided the president shall have a casting vote.

7. That the tenure of an academician, whether a member or a president, shall be during good behaviour; and a forfeiture of such

tenure shall be adjudged by his Majesty through the Secretary of State for the Home Department, upon an address signed by not less than three-fourths of the members of the Institute, or four academies collectively.

8. That the mode of instituting the academies at first, and of filling up vacancies afterwards, shall be as follows:—All the members to be appointed by the Crown on the first institution. When the first vacancy shall occur in any academy, three candidates shall be presented to the Crown by that academy of whom the Crown shall select one to fill the vacancy. When the second vacancy shall occur, three members shall be presented to the academy by the Crown, of whom the academy shall select one to fill the vacancy; and so of all succeeding vacancies, the Crown presenting to the academy and the academy to the Crown alternately. But the presidents shall be always chosen by the Crown out of the eight members.

9. That the following shall be the necessary qualifications of a candidate: (1) To have already made himself known by some one or more valuable discovery or solid work in that province of science or literature wherein the academical vacancy in question has occurred. (2) Not to be the editor of any species of journal, unless purely scientific. (3) Not to be in clerical orders.

10. That the Institute, in respect of matters affecting the academies collectively, and each academy in respect of matters affecting its own members, shall have power by a majority of votes to make rules and regulations, which shall be reported by the president of the academy in the latter case, and by the senior of the four presidents in the former case, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and if his Majesty's disapproval shall be by him signified, the rule shall be of no effect.

These ten proposals, forming the projected basis of the Institution, I proceed to vindicate, *seriatim*.

1. As to the four academical compartments upon the French model. The respective provinces of knowledge might possibly be better separated and defined; but there is a convenience in exhibiting as much analogy to a successful and celebrated precedent as shall be compatible with the essential objects to be accomplished; and I do not perceive that any such improvements could be made in the proposed definitions as would compensate for the sacrifice of the precedent.

2. As to the numbers. The dimensions of the Institution might be dilated or contracted at will, as means should be found available, or as experience should dictate. I am of opinion that eight is the number in which men can most effectually combine for purposes of deliberating and acting. This conclusion I came to some years ago, after inquiry from men who had had experience of colonial councils variously constituted in point of number, and I have seen no reason

to depart from it since. I have therefore proposed that the academies should consist of a number *not exceeding* eight salaried members. With the four honorary members the total maximum numbers of the academies would be twelve; but even if the appointments were to be filled up to their maximum number, out of twelve members there would generally be three or four who would not attend the meetings. I have proposed that the honorary members should be to the salaried as four to eight, on the assumption that affluent writers of the intended calibre are to others in about that proportion, and that pensions should not be thrown away upon the affluent.

3. I have adopted Mr. Southey's suggestion of two degrees of pension—200*l.* and 500*l.*; and I have proposed that the distinction between them should be that of age alone, and not of merit; because distinctions of the latter kind would occasion jealousies and factions. The two rates of pension may be considered—the one as a humble competency for a single man, the other as the same sort of competency for a married man with an average family. It is also to be borne in mind as an additional reason for the two rates, that the same pension would be a very different boon to men of different ages, and consequently with different expectancies of life. The 800*l.* for the president is intended as a fitting reward and distinction for a man who is at the head of his branch of science or literature; and it is considered that the objection of jealousy will hardly apply to these single appointments, because there is almost always one man in each branch who is admitted to be unrivalled, and even if there were a question between two or more, it might be adjusted without offence by reference to comparative need.

4. The honorary members are invested with the powers and exempted from the liabilities of the others, because on the one hand it is not fitting that affluence should exclude men of literary eminence from their share in such of the academical functions as they may desire to exercise, and on the other hand they could not be expected to assume the same obligations without possessing or wanting the same recompense.

5. In assigning to the Institute such functions and duties connected with the advancement of science and literature *and of education* as the Secretary of State for the Home Department shall prescribe, I have hoped that the establishment might be made in some respects to supply a capital defect in our scheme of government—the want, namely, of a Minister of Public Instruction.² In the absence of any such Minister, the duties would seem to appertain to the Home Secretary; but as his establishment is not calculated to

² I have said that the reasons for founding a literary institute, if valid in 1835, can scarcely be regarded as less so now. But, of course, the want of a Minister of Public Instruction is no longer what it was.

assist him in the execution of them, it would seem likely to become in a very short time (as the educational question rises to the pitch of importance in public estimation which it must now very speedily attain) almost indispensable that some means should be devised for rendering the executive government competent to deal with it. The hope might be not perhaps unreasonable that the projected establishment could be made a serviceable instrument to this end. It might also assist the Government in setting on foot such literary works of national importance as Mr. Southey has adverted to; those, namely, 'which can only be performed by co-operative labour, and will never be undertaken by that spirit of trade which at present preponderates in literature.' I am aware that of the great variety of business which might be transacted with advantage in the office of a Minister of Public Instruction, if such a Minister existed, much would be of a kind for which these academies or boards would not be available. A sense of subordination and dependence, tenures at will, graduation of rank and emolument, prospect of promotion, &c, I am aware, essential to the efficient transaction of public business in many of its kinds. But in the higher kinds they are not altogether so. Publicity and good repute supply their place to some extent, and if the reports of the academies were published in a journal of their transactions these motives would be brought into play. Add to which, that amongst literary and scientific men some disinterested zeal for the promotion of letters and science might be safely calculated upon. I have proposed that the tasks imposed by the Government should be devolved upon members selected by the academies for the performance of them; but it is not a part of the design that the performance of the task should be under the supervision of, or subject to adoption or rejection by, the academy. Such a manner of proceeding would too much comminute the responsibility and credit attaching to the performance, and would also interfere with the self-dependent unity of purpose which enters so largely into efficiency in the execution of any task which has a practical object in view. The academician upon whom the task devolved would report directly to the Secretary of State therefore, and the Secretary of State would take his report for what it was worth intrinsically—not of course omitting to take into account such extrinsic sanction as might be deemed to accrue to it from the authority of his individual name, or of his appointment to the task by his co-academicians.

6 and 7. The sixth and seventh particulars of the project, respecting determination of questions by majority of votes and tenure and forfeiture of appointments, seem to require but little further exposition. As the forfeiture is to be only through ill behaviour, and as that can be judged of as well by the members of the Institute at large as by those of the particular academy to which the mis-

demeanant may belong, he is to have the advantage of being judged by the larger body, which will be less accessible to personal prejudice.

8. The methods of institution and subsequent election to vacancies present the most important and difficult questions. In the first institution the Crown is clearly the only patron that could be trusted, as being at once more aloof from personal partialities than any other patron or body of patrons that could be found, and more interested in the success and reputation of the measure. Impartiality would be so clearly the interest of the Government in originating the establishment, that I hardly think they would incur much suspicion of the contrary. But they would be beset by great difficulties of selection, and, however impartial themselves, they cannot be expected to meet with altogether impartial advisers, or to possess within themselves all the information which would be requisite to govern their choice.

Under these circumstances, the most cautious plan of proceeding would be, perhaps, to set the Institute on foot avowedly as an experiment, and to constitute at first only a skeleton or framework, partially filled up. The eminent men who have already received pensions on the ground of literary or scientific merit might be first enrolled, and to them might be added such appointments as the Government could feel secure in making; and Parliament might be applied to in the first instance for only such a sum as would suffice to endow these appointments, leaving a future application to be justified by at least an incipient experience. Perhaps it might be a popular way of applying for the money, to propose that the pensions now enjoyed as compensations for abolished sinecures or other pensions considered to have had an illegitimate origin, and which are not, under the present law, renewable, should, as they fell in, be appropriated to the endowment of the proposed academies, until the proposed number of pensioned academicians should be filled up.

So soon as the establishment should have been matured, the mixed system of election to vacancies would take effect—that is, the alternate presentation by the academy to the Crown, and by the Crown to the academy, of three candidates, from whom to choose one. The vindication of this system is, that were the Crown to choose absolutely, it would not possess the knowledge requisite to make the best choice, and were the absolute choice to be in the academy, that body would not possess the requisite freedom from personal considerations; whereas the Government and the academies would have impartiality and knowledge between them, and the mixed system would combine their advantages. The Government would check any obvious or flagrant partiality on the part of the academy when the presentation should be made by that body; for, being compelled to name three candidates, they could scarcely make them all ineligible;

and when the presentation should be made by the Crown, the Government would probably profit by previous academical presentations, as pointing out the parties who had been most frequently pronounced eligible by the academy on occasions when no partiality had been suspected. It is proposed that the presidents should always be chosen by the Crown, because, as they are to be the most eminent men in their kind, impartiality, rather than knowledge, is wanting to fix upon them. If there should happen to be more than one pre-eminent man, so that a doubt could arise as to the choice to be made, the Government would still be the best party to adjust the balance. If it were left to the academical body, two parties would be created about it, and the result would probably be a compromise in favour of inoffensive mediocrity, rejecting both the eligible men, that neither might be postponed to the other.

9. Directly connected with the system of election is the qualification of candidates. It seems absolutely necessary that no person should be considered eligible who has not written at least one solid book, or made at least one notable discovery in science. For without such open and producible manifestation of merit, the selection would be (however judicious and pure) too arbitrary to inspire confidence in its being properly made. The disqualification from being the editor of a journal is founded upon that view of the tendency of the times to pay fugitive and to starve solid literature, which has been already represented as the great evil which it is hoped that the proposed Institute would correct. To put forward this exclusion expressly as a part of the theory of the Institute, might provoke hostility from the newspaper press; but if the Government were to be guided by this principle in its choice of candidates, the academies would probably respond to it, and the exclusion might be ultimately established by a by-law of the Institute. The disqualification of clerical orders is merely founded upon a consideration of the great facilities which the Church possesses of rewarding clergymen by appointments which would afford them a sufficiency of literary leisure, independently of any assistance from the State. Should the Church be deprived of these facilities, the rule would, of course, require to be reconsidered.

10. The power to make rules and regulations subject to approval by the Secretary of State is meant to avoid the necessity of building up the details of the edifice, and thus raising too many topics for discussion when its establishment is first proposed.

Much, doubtless, might be added to this exposition of a scheme for a British Institute, were it not desirable for the purposes of the present paper to keep within the compass of half an hour's reading. Perhaps, however, I may permit myself, without exceeding the limits which the occasion imposes, to advert to some general considerations, connected chiefly with the practicability of this or some similar

scheme, which did not fall properly under any of the specific heads into which my exposition has been divided.

Upon a review, then, of the possibility of evils or abuses attending the scheme, the various opinions which would be vociferously expressed on a matter which all men who could write or speak would find to be fruitful in topics, and finally, the cavils and suspicions which it might be made the object of by political antagonists, the conclusion to which I come is, that the difficulties of the attempt will be and ought to be considered to preponderate, unless it be deemed reasonable to expect from it benefits to society the hope and contemplation of which would inspire an ardent zeal for the object, and even, it must be added, a spirit of enterprise.

But the spirit in which such an experiment should be undertaken might be, though enterprising, not the less circumspect. At the opening of the session the Government itself will be an experiment, and will not therefore consider that to be the moment for adopting any questionable proceedings which it may be possible to postpone. They will not therefore take any step in the matter which would bring it to a parliamentary issue before their own position in the House of Commons shall be ascertained. But even with a view to the immediate interests of Government, I hardly think that it could be too early understood and believed that their intention was earnestly directed to the promotion of literature and science. This might be given to be understood without disclosing any specific project so distinctly or authentically as to make it a point of attack, or an available theme for discussion by a party.

With this view, and with a further view also, that of gaining influential adherents to the project, or at least of sounding the spirit in which it would be likely to be received, a synopsis of it might be confidentially referred to a few of the most distinguished and discreet of our men of letters for their opinions. The result to be expected is, that although the project itself would not transpire, the fact that some project was under consideration would come to be known; and at the same time the Government would be enabled to estimate the degree of support which they might fairly expect for the experiment from men of letters, and the weight of the authority and sanction which they would be enabled to adduce in favour of it, if they should see reason to propound it publicly.

By this preliminary reference, or the partial publicity which would ensue, I am not aware that any material difficulty or risk would be encountered. The aspect of the scheme whilst vaguely presented, has much in it that is popular and plausible. It is when it becomes specific that it may seem upon a close examination to be vulnerable. My own persuasion is, that upon a still closer examination it would be found in a House of Commons reasonably well affected to the Government to be more than defensible.

Some further preliminary communications, and perhaps even some modifications of the measure, might be expedient with a view to conciliate the Royal Society and other long-established literary and scientific bodies, and to obviate any jealousy on their part. I abstain, however, for brevity's sake from including in the present paper a discussion of the means by which these objects might be obtained.

February 1835.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Brougham to Robert Southey, Esquire.

Althorp: January 1831.

Dear Sir,—I was prevented by various interruptions from writing to you while I was at Brougham upon a subject which greatly interests me, and I therefore seize the earliest opportunity of bringing it before you.

The Government of this country has long been exposed, I fear justly, to the charge of neglecting science and letters. I feel it an impossible thing for me, whose life has been more or less passed in these pursuits, to allow this stain to rest upon any Administration with which I am connected, and therefore that it is my duty, as far as in me lies, to turn the attention of the present Government to the best means of encouraging scientific and literary pursuits.

With this view I have applied to the two men at the head of the physical and mathematical sciences, in my opinion, and I cannot look into the department of literature without being met by your name. I may probably apply in like manner to one or two more men distinguished in the same field, but I have not as yet selected any such.

My wish is to have the benefit of your unreserved opinion upon the questions—

1st. Whether or not letters will gain by the more avowed and active encouragement of the Government?

2nd. In what way that encouragement can the most *safely* and beneficially be given to them?

Under the first head is to be considered, no doubt, the chance of doing harm, as well as the prospect of doing good. Thus it seems obvious that there is one danger to be guarded against—the undue influence of Government, capable of being perverted to political and party purposes; this includes the risk of jobs for unworthy persons, and the exclusion of men of merit. The applause of the public, it may be said, is a safe but an unbiassed reward of merit, not to be easily, at least not permanently, perverted to wrong ends. I throw out this as one consideration, showing that the case is not so clear of doubt as it at first may seem to be.

Under the second head several things present themselves for consideration. If the risk of abuse were not great, it is plain that pecuniary assistance would be the most desirable means of helping genius, because many a man of genius is forced out of the path of original inquiry and of refined taste by the necessities of his situation, and is obliged to spend his time and exhaust his talents on labour little better than mechanical. But the difficulties of arranging such aid systematically are so great, the risk of abuse so imminent, that I question if more can be done in this way than lending occasional assistance. The encouragement of societies has been already tried, not perhaps in the best way; but still a good deal has been thus attempted. These are susceptible of considerable improvement. A judicious foundation of prizes is another mode deserving consideration. The distribution of honours has been partially tried, and many have proposed a more regular admission of men of science and letters to rank, confined to their own lives in cases where hereditary honours might be burdensome to their families.

An order of merit has been proposed by some; but as all novelties in such a matter (of opinion and public feeling) are to be shunned, one of the existing orders of knighthood, as the Guelphic, has been by others suggested as free from this objection.

I throw out these things more for the purpose of bringing your mind to the details of the question than with the view of exhausting the subject.

It will afford me great satisfaction to be favoured with your opinion upon the question as fully as your leisure will permit. I shall of course keep it entirely to myself.

It may very possibly turn out that after all nothing material can be accomplished. But at any rate I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without trying all means of accomplishing an object so desirable; and my anxiety on this score must plead my excuse for troubling you with so long a letter.

I am, &c.

BROUGHAM.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Southey to Lord Brougham.

Keswick: February 1, 1831.

My Lord,—The letter which your Lordship did me the honour of addressing to me at this place, found me at Crediton in the middle of the last month, on a circuitous course homeward. It was not likely that deliberation would lead me to alter the notions which I have long entertained upon the subject that has in this most unexpected manner been brought before me, but I should have deemed it disrespectful to have answered such a communication

without allowing some days to intervene. The distance between Devonshire and Cumberland—a visit upon the way to my native city, which I had not seen for twenty years—and the engagements arising upon one's return home after an absence of unusual length, will explain, and I trust excuse, the subsequent delay.

Your first question is—Whether letters would gain by the more avowed and active encouragement of the Government?

There are literary works of national importance which can only be performed by co-operative labour, and will never be undertaken by that spirit of trade which at present preponderates in literature. The formation of an English Etymological Dictionary is one of those works; others might be mentioned; and in this way literature might gain much by receiving national encouragement, but Government would gain a great deal more by bestowing it. Revolutionary governments understand this: I should be glad if I could believe that our legitimate one would learn it before it is too late.

I am addressing one who is a statesman as well as a man of letters, and who is well aware that the time is come in which Governments can no more stand without pens to support them than without bayonets. They must soon know, if they do not already know it, that the volunteers as well as the mercenaries of both professions who are not enlisted in their service, will enlist themselves against it; and I am afraid they have a better hold upon the soldier than upon the penman, because the former has in the spirit of his profession, and in the sense of military honour, something which not unfrequently supplies the want of any higher principle, and I know not that any substitute is to be found among the gentlemen of the press.

But neediness, my Lord, makes men dangerous members of society, quite as often as affluence makes them worthless ones. I am of opinion that many persons who become bad subjects because they are necessitous—because 'the world is not their friend, nor the world's law'—might be kept virtuous (or at least withheld from mischief) by being made happy, by early encouragement, by holding out to them a reasonable hope of obtaining in good time an honourable station and a competent income, as the reward of literary pursuits when followed with ability and diligence, and recommended by good conduct.

My Lord, you are now on the Conservative side. Minor differences of opinion are infinitely insignificant at this time, when in truth there are but two parties in this kingdom—the Revolutionists and the Loyalists—those who would destroy the kingdom and those who would defend it. I can have no predilections for the present Administration; they have raised the devil who is now raging through the land, but in their present position it is their business to lay him if they can, and so far as their measures may be directed to that end,

I heartily say God speed them! If schemes like yours for the encouragement of letters have never entered into their wishes, there can be no place for them at present in their intentions. Government can have no leisure now for attending to anything but its own and our preservation, and the time seems not far distant when the cares of war and expenditure will come upon them with their all-engrossing importance. But when better times shall arrive (whoever may live to see them) it will be worthy the consideration of any Government whether the institution of an Academy, with salaries for its members (in the nature of literary or lay benefices), might not be the means of retaining in *its* interests, as connected with their own, a certain number of influential men of letters who should hold those benefices, and a much greater number of aspirants who would look to them in their turn. A yearly grant of 10,000*l.* would endow ten such appointments of 500*l.* for the elder class, and twenty-five of 200*l.* for younger men—these latter eligible of course, and preferably, but not necessarily, to be elected to the higher benefices as those fell vacant, and as they should have approved themselves.

The good proposed by this as a political measure is not that of retaining such persons to act as pamphleteers and journalists, but that of preventing them from becoming such in hostility to the established order of things, and of giving men of letters, as a class, something to look for beyond the precarious gains of literature, thereby inducing in them a desire to support the existing institutions of their country, on the stability of which their own welfare would depend.

Your Lordship's second question—In which way the encouragement of Government could most safely and beneficially be given—is, in the main, answered by what has been said upon the first. I do not enter into any details of the proposed Institution, for that would be to think of fitting up a castle in the air. Nor is it worth while to examine how far such an Institution might be perverted. Abuses there would be, as in the disposal of all preferments, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; but there would be a more obvious check upon them, and when they occurred they would be less injurious in their consequences than they are in the State, the Army and Navy, or the Church.

With regard to prizes, methinks they are better left to schools and colleges. Honours are worth something to scientific men, because they are conferred upon such men in other countries. At home there are precedents for them in Newton and Davy, and the physicians and surgeons have them. In my judgment men of letters are better without them, unless they are rich enough to bequeath to their family a good estate with the bloody hand, and sufficiently men of the world to think such distinctions appropriate. For myself, if we had a Guelphic order, I should choose to remain a Ghibelline.

I have written thus fully and frankly, not deeming that your proposal is likely to be matured and carried into effect, but in the spirit of goodwill, and as addressing one by whom there is no danger that I can be misunderstood. One thing alone I ask from the Legislature, and in the name of justice, that the injurious law of copyright should be repealed, and that the family of an author should not be deprived of their just and natural rights in his works when his permanent reputation is established. This I ask with the earnestness of a man who is conscious that he has laboured for posterity.

I remain, &c.

ROBERT SOUTHBY.

GREAT CITIES AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I.

THE census of 1881 has shown Englishmen that they are rapidly becoming a population of town-dwellers, and to a large extent inhabitants of one great city. Every seventh Briton is a cockney by residence, and only one in three lives in the country, or in country towns and villages with a population of less than 3,000. Out of a total population in England and Wales of 25,968,000, 17,285,000 live in towns, and 8,683,000 in the country. These latter figures are within 200,000 of the entire population of England and Wales at the beginning of this century. Speaking broadly, we may say that a city equal in population to 'Greater London' is annually planted on our shores; for the increase of population is 3,250,000 souls per annum, and this increase is almost entirely confined to our large towns. Do not these figures furnish matter for serious reflection? What is to be the end of this continually increasing aggregation of human beings within certain already over-populated districts in these islands? If the actual rate of increase and present economic conditions of life should continue, the population of England and Wales will have doubled itself in the year 1936, and 50,000,000 human beings will be massed within the streets and lanes of some twenty overgrown cities, at the head of which will stand a Babylon of which the world has never dreamt.

Statisticians inform us, and experience teaches us, that, other things being equal, the rate of mortality is in direct proportion to the density of population, or, in other words, the nearer people live to each other, the shorter are their lives. If this axiom be true—and I would refer any who may doubt it to the elaborate statistics on the subject drawn up by Dr. Farr, and to be found in the Supplement to the thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General for 1875—what might we reasonably suppose would be the average length of life of the inhabitants of these islands, and what their physical condition, in the same year of 1936, if between this and then no serious attempts were made to counteract the natural fatal effects on human life of density of population? Happily society is awakening to the necessity of bestirring itself in matters of public health and sanitation. In towns it is felt that the question is one of self-preservation. There

is a feeling abroad, entertained at present by a minority (a minority, however, which is rapidly growing, and which promises shortly to become a majority) that questions of health and sanitation are of more consequence than questions of local politics; and, alas! that it should have to be confessed, there are some who might be disposed to add—than questions of changes of Ministry or of ‘haute politique.’ This growing public opinion has already made itself felt. It is apparent in the frequent interpellations on matters of public health addressed to members of the Government in both Houses of Parliament; in the increased readiness of Government to legislate on the subject: witness the Factory, Public Health, Vaccination, and other Acts which have been passed with a view to improve the health of the governed; it may be seen in the quickened action of Town Corporations and Vestries (though here there is still much to be desired) when questions of sanitation are brought before them. The press—the most sensitive barometer of the general feeling—acknowledges the increased importance attached by a portion of the public to such questions by the readiness with which its columns are thrown open to the discussion of subjects relating to hygiene. The periodicals of the day are not less ready than the daily press to permit questions bearing on the health of the people to be brought to the notice of their readers. Numerous are the societies and private bodies which have arisen within the last few years for the purpose of acting as vigilance committees in the interest of the public health. Sanitary associations of all kinds have sprung up in the metropolis and our large towns, and it is pleasant to feel that their labours have not been in vain. Had Government, local bodies, and people, made no efforts to provide some antidote to the poison of density of population, the last decennial periods would have witnessed a lamentable increase in the death-rate of our large towns; but, in fact, the reverse has been the case.

According to the Registrar-General, in the last three decennials up to 1870, the mortality was at the annual rate per 1000 of 22·36 in 1841–50, 22·24 in 1851–60, and 22·51 in 1861–70, whilst between 1871–7 the mortality was at the rate of 21·64, or ·87 per 1000 less than in the ten years last quoted. ‘Thus,’ he adds, ‘we may hope that there is a reduced mortality in the last seven years, and that thus about 20,000 lives are saved annually.’ This fact is encouraging. It is to be hoped that we may learn our lesson aright, and not flatter ourselves that experience has proved the statisticians to be in error, and that in reality there are no dangers to be apprehended from density of population. The true moral, and it is an encouraging one, to be drawn from these facts is, that man has been gifted with intelligence, which, if he uses aright, will enable him to live in health and happiness under conditions of life adverse to his existence. There is no reason why cities should not be made perfectly healthy

and pleasant places of residence, and in time they probably will be ; but before that time arrives we shall have discovered that such a happy result cannot be obtained by chance, nor, indeed, without a liberal though enlightened expenditure of public money.

As long as cities were of moderate size and the mass of the inhabitants of these islands dwelt in country districts or small towns, sanitary matters might without much appreciable waste of life be left to take care of themselves, or be placed in the hands of Vestrymen, Town Councils or Corporations ; but when the time arrives (and it is rapidly approaching) that only a small minority of the population shall be residents in the country, it will become necessary to look more closely after these matters ; and when public opinion has been thoroughly aroused to the primary importance of the national health question, it will demand the enactment of stringent laws making urban authorities responsible, under heavy penalties, for the sanitary condition of the towns and cities under their charge. A Minister of Health, with a seat in the Cabinet, and a staff of scientific advisers, whose duty it shall be to plan and see carried out an organised system of sanitation for the whole of these islands, will probably be found a necessity. It will be his duty to see that the laws in respect to health are properly carried out, to prosecute public bodies, or private individuals, whose sins of omission or commission endanger the public health, and it will probably be found necessary to place in his hands powers which at the present day would be considered vexatious and inquisitorial. Interference with the liberty of the subject which in monarchical countries would lead to riots and revolts are submitted to uncomplainingly in republics. We are rapidly advancing in this country along the path of democracy, and if it could be clearly shown that it would lead to an improved condition of the public health, and a raising of the standard of the national physique amongst the poorer populations of our great cities, there are many who would be reconciled to a course which they at present regard as full of danger. 'Grandmotherly' legislation, as it would now be termed, would then probably follow the whole course of the life of the citizen from the cradle to the grave. The State would see that a sufficient number of 'Maternity' hospitals were provided for the wives of working-men, where they would be allowed to remain until they had thoroughly recovered their strength, and could return to their work and homes ; public crèches could be established where for a small fee working-women could leave their children, in confidence that they would be looked after and cared for ; systematic instruction in gymnastics and swimming for both sexes, and the consequent erection of gymnasiums and swimming baths in connection with every school, would be insisted on ; proper playgrounds, with due supervision, where the children would be taught to use their limbs in healthy games, due provision of¹ public

¹ For present urban park accommodation in the United Kingdom, see Appendix.

parks, gardens, cricket and football grounds would be compulsory on urban authorities, and such provision would be in proportion to the number of houses, within a given area, and would have to be within reasonable distance of their inhabitants; the system of drainage of each town would have to be submitted to the central department for approval, so as to avoid the danger of one town carrying out a system, hurtful to the health of another; the prevention of pollution of air or water and of encroachments on common and waste lands would not be left as at present to the action of private individuals or of philanthropic societies. It would not be left to Early Closing Associations or Shop Hours Labour Leagues to agitate for the shortening of hours of labour, injurious to the health of the workers, nor would it be necessary for private benevolence to establish a system of ambulance for the conveyance to and from hospitals of cases of infectious diseases. Vaccination would not be brought into disrepute owing to the carelessness of some medical men, and the difficulty—nay, almost impossibility—of obtaining a proper supply of vaccine. Builders would not be allowed to run up mere shells of houses, one brick thick, built without proper foundations, on the refuse and scouring of the streets, having previously sold the soil or gravel upon which the house should have stood. Drains would be properly connected, and builders would be compelled to lodge in the Town Hall or Vestry ² a plan of each house and its drains, with the signature of the inspecting sanitary officer attached, certifying the house to be in a healthy and habitable condition before any tenant would be permitted to enter it. Provided with healthy houses, pure water and pure air (by that time it will be as criminal an act to poison your neighbours by pouring vitriolic vapours or smoke into the atmosphere, or by polluting the water he drinks with the refuse of your manufactory, as to mix arsenic in his food or drink), with pleasant parks and gardens for the old, and with playgrounds where the young may exercise their limbs, with unadulterated food and well-regulated hours of labour, there is no reason why the standard of life in cities should not be a high one, and, as science advances, it will probably be found that in well-regulated cities the mortality will be less than in the country, where greater carelessness in matters of hygiene would probably prevail. But in the meantime, and until public opinion insists on Government becoming responsible for the sanitary condition of these islands, and places the necessary legal powers in their hands, what can individuals do who are dissatisfied with the happy-go-lucky manner in which these matters are treated by Vestries, corporate bodies, Guardians of the Poor, and others whose duty it nominally is to look after the health of the public? Let them agitate, we say, and again agitate! It is a sad fact that no reform has ever yet been obtained in this country with-

² A somewhat similar system is already in operation in the parish of Kensington.

out agitation, and we suppose that in a country governed by Parliamentary majorities, it is hardly to be expected that Governments will go out of their way to introduce reforms which are not loudly demanded by the public voice, and which do not promise to increase the number of their followers or to strengthen their own position. Agitation, therefore, is necessary. Agitation for the purpose of enlightening the public in regard to the danger which attends any infringement of the laws of nature—laws which can never be evaded without punishment swiftly falling on the head of the evader. Let them agitate for improved building laws, for open spaces in our large towns, for gymnastic training of the young in all schools supported by public money, for the early closing of houses of business, for greater strictness in carrying out existing sanitary laws, and for improvement in the laws for the suppression of noxious vapours and smoke and the pollution of rivers; let every town form sanitary and vigilance committees to see that the authorities are active and do their duty, to organise lectures and educate public opinion in matters of hygiene, to look after the registration of municipal voters, to encourage the more enlightened citizens to take a part in the Government of their town, and, irrespective of party, to support men who, if elected on Town Council or School Board, will turn their first attention to the improvement of the sanitary condition of the municipality and the health of their fellow-citizens; let them support and encourage the formation, on sound economic principles, of companies for the erection of artisans and labourers' dwellings; for, until our working classes are decently housed, it is useless to look for any improvement in their moral, social, or physical condition: finally, let them take some thought for the amusements of the people, remembering that men and women must and will seek amusement, and if they cannot get healthy and innocent recreation, they will take what they can get even though harmful to mind and body.

'The Park Band,' the 'Kyrle,' the 'People's Entertainment,' the 'Popular Ballad Concert' Societies, provide good music for the people in and out of doors, either gratis or at a cheap rate, and the thanks of the public are due to them for their successful exertions. The 'Kyrle,' the 'National Health,' the 'Metropolitan Public Garden Boulevard and Playground Association,' and the 'Commons' Preservation Society,' are indefatigable in their efforts to provide parks, playgrounds, and gardens for the inhabitants of the crowded streets of London. The 'Early Closing Association' and the 'Shop Hours Labour League' have been instrumental in enabling many to avail themselves of these open spaces, and of obtaining for the over-worked opportunities for using their limbs and muscles in healthful exercise. The numerous Artisans' Dwelling Companies of London have, in conjunction with the Peabody Trustees, provided thousands of healthy and cheap dwellings for the working classes, both in and outside

London. The 'Metropolitan Public Fountain Association' has supplied in our public thoroughfares pure water for man and beast, where formerly there was no means of quenching thirst. The 'Coffee Tavern Companies' and the 'Working-Men's Clubs and Institute Union' have been the means of furnishing the artisan with some alternative places of refreshment and recreation to the public-house. All these societies, and many others, have, within the last few years, sprung into existence, and are all working in the direction of improving the condition and health, and consequently happiness, of the people. There is much, however, still to be done. The improvement of the health of the people, and especially of our city populations, is a work worthy of the attention of political men, and presents a field wide enough to exhaust the energies of the highest intelligence.

The object of this short paper will have been attained if it leads a few thoughtful minds to consider the best means of counteracting the dangers which increasing density of population threatens to bring upon the city dwellers of England; and let us hope that an ever-increasing number of practical statesmen, leaving empty party wrangles to the Tapers and Tadpoles of political life, will seriously turn their attention to those all-important questions of national hygiene which are of real and vital importance to the masses of the population.

BRABAZON.

LIST OF PUBLIC URBAN PARKS AND RECREATION

Principally compiled from information kindly supplied

Town	Population	How many Parks	Name of Park	Acreage	How acquired	How maintained
1. ABERDEEN	105,003	3	Victoria Union Terrace Gardens Duthie	A. H. P. 18 0 0 3 0 0 44 0 0	Corporation lands Presented by Miss Duthie	Assessment under 'Public Parks' (Scotland) Act, 1878
2. BATH	58,785	1	Royal Victoria	48 2 0	Leased	Vol. subscrip.
3. BELFAST	207,761	2	Ormeau Falls	100 0 0 45 0 0	Public Parks Act, 1869 and 1872.	Borough rates
4. BIRMINGHAM	400,774	10	Adderley Calthorpe Aston Cannon Hill Highgate Sommerfield Small Heath Burbury St., Recreation Michell's, Recreation Park Street Gardens	10 0 22 31 1 13 50 0 23 57 1 9 8 0 23 12 0 20 41 3 24 4 1 9 10 0 0 4 2 0	Pres. by Sir C. Adderley Pres. by Lord Calthorpe Purchased Pres. by Miss L. A. Ryland Purchased Purchased Pres. by Miss M. A. Ryland Pres. by Mr. W. Middlemore Purchased Deceased burial-ground	" " " " " " " " " "
5. BOLTON	195,965	4	Bolton Heywood, Recreation Darbishire, Recreation Bradford	56 3 18 3 1 28 2 2 0 13 0 0	Purchased Part gift and purchased Presented	Public rate " Lord Bradford
6. BRADFORD	183,032	5	Peel Lister or Manningham Horton Bradford Moor Bowling	56 0 0 58 1 0 40 0 0 15 0 0 53 0 0	Part gift and pur. by sub. Pur. for a nominal sum Purchased " "	Borough rates " " "
7. BRIGHTON	107,528	5	Preston Park Royal Pavilion Old Steine The Level Enclosure The Downs	62 11 11 7 0 0 4 0 0 11 0 0 105 0 0	Purchased — — — —	Dist. rates " " "
8. BRISTOL	206,874	2	Clifton Down Durdham Down	4452 0 0	Part purchased	Public rates
9. CAMBRIDGE	35,663	1	Various Commons	400 0 0	Corporation lands	Borough rates
10. CHESTER	36,704	1	The Grosvenor	20 0 0	Gift of Duke of Westmstr	100% by donor, 250% boro' rts.
11. CORK	97,526	1	Th Park	186 0 0	—	—
12. COVENTRY	42,111	1	—	12 0 0	Gift of purchase-money	—
13. DARLINGTON	35,104	2	—	43 0 0 3 2 0	Purchased "	Borough rates "
14. DOVER	28,486	1	—	18 0 0	Leased from War Dept.	Dist. rates
15. DUBLIN	348,525	4	Phoenix St. Stephen's Green Glasnevin Botanical Gardens Leinster Lawn	1753 0 0 40 0 0 40 0 0 3 0 0	Presented — — —	Public rates Borough rates — —
16. EDINBURGH	229,030	14	Prince's Sq. Gdns East " " West Meadows Bruntsfield Links Calton Hill Regent Road Stockbridge Waverley Gardens Nicholson Sq. Gardens And four others Queen's Park	8 3 5 26 2 0 73 0 0 32 2 0 20 2 0 3 2 0 20 2 0 — — — 407 0 0	Corporation lands Presented to Corporation Corporation lands " " Leased " " " " "	Corpor. rates " " " " " " " " " Public rate
17. GLASGOW	312,034	4	The Kelvingrove The Queen's The Alexandra Glasgow Green	62 0 0 100 0 0 70 0 0 135 0 0	Purchased " " Part pur. & part Cor. prop.	Borough rates " " "

GROUNDINGS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1883.

by the Town Corporations and Councils.

Approximate cost per annum	Under whose jurisdiction	Police supervision	Park-keepers supervise	If purchased, cost per acre	Remarks
£ s. d.				£ s. d.	
380 0 0	Corporation . . .	Yes	—	—	Duthie Park, in course of formation, at a cost to Miss Duthie of between 30,000l. to 40,000l.
150 0 0	" . . .	"	—	—	
—	" . . .	"	—	—	
—	A Committee . . .	—	Yes	—	Lease from Corporation and trustees of Sir H. Rivers, Bart. Subject to an annual rent of 10l. Transferred by the Corporation for a Public Park under authority of a provisional order obtained in 1873.
—	Corporation . . .	—	"	—	
—	" . . .	"	"	—	
91 0 0	" . . .	Yes	"	0 0 5	
204 0 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
1468 0 0	" . . .	"	"	120 13 3	
664 0 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
396 0 0	" . . .	"	"	969 14 0	
324 0 0	" . . .	"	"	744 17 4	
174 0 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
103 0 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
—	" . . .	"	"	—	
160 0 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
—	" . . .	"	"	546 0 0	
—	" . . .	"	"	388 0 0	
—	Lord Bradford . . .	—	"	—	Owned and maintained by Lord Bradford.
—	Corporation . . .	—	—	—	
—	" . . .	—	—	337 1 8	
—	" . . .	—	—	1470 7 0	
—	" . . .	—	—	461 12 0	The cost is total cost, and presumably includes the cost of laying out.
—	" . . .	—	—	882 0 0	
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
—	Corporation . . .	—	—	50000 0 0	Total cost.
—	" . . .	—	—	—	For cricket and other games. { No funds; ground neglected and public rights infringed on.
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
—	Trustees . . .	—	—	—	In June 1882 Sir Greville Smythe offered a park to the Corporation of 22 acres near Bedminster.
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
500l.-600l.	" . . .	—	—	{ 15000l. } { (total) }	Including Parker's piece.
—	Town Council . . .	Yes	Yes	—	
360 0 0	" . . .	—	"	—	
—	—	—	—	—	Not laid out; let as a racecourse.
—	Town Council . . .	—	—	4200 0 0	Total cost. In course of formation at cost of donor.
—	Corporation . . .	Yes	Yes (3)	170 0 0	
500 0 0	" . . .	"	"	1500 0 0	
—	Corporation . . .	—	—	—	{ 99 years at 20l. per annum; laid out and buildings erected at a cost of 8,000l. by public subscription.
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
—	" . . .	—	—	—	
6768 0 0	H.M. Office of Works	"	"	—	
—	Corporation . . .	"	—	—	
986 0 0	—	"	Yes	—	
—	—	"	—	—	
862 7 0	Corporation . . .	"	Yes	—	
852 15 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
668 16 11	" . . .	"	"	—	
72 1 6	" . . .	"	"	—	Held at an annual rent of 25l. Held at an annual rent of 10l. per acre.
405 5 11	" . . .	"	"	—	
497 1 7	" . . .	"	"	—	
243 0 10	" . . .	"	"	—	
205 0 0	" . . .	"	"	—	
114 11 10	" . . .	"	"	—	
—	H.M. Office of Works	—	—	—	
—	—	Yes	A ranger, who is a policeman	240 0 0	
—	—	"	"	400 0 0	
—	—	"	"	—	Purchased under the Glasgow Public Parks Act 1869, and the Glasgow Incorporation Act, 1866, at a cost, including expense of formation, of 810,000l.

List of Public Urban Parks and Recreation Grounds

Town	Population	How many Parks	Name of Park	Acreage	How acquired	How maintained
18. HANROGATK.	9,482	1	The Stray	A. R. P. 200 0 0	—	—
10. HASTINGS . . .	42,283	3	Alexandra	77 0 0	Lease, purchase, and gift	District rates
			Gensing Gardens	6 0 0	Leased	"
			St. Leonard's Gardens	3 3 0	Purchased	"
20. HULL	—	3	One Park	26 0 0	Presented	Borough rates
			Two Recreation Grounds	5 0 0	Leased	"
21. LANCASTER . . .	20,663	1	The Williamson	—	Corporation lands	Borough funds
22. LEICESTER . . .	122,351	2	Victoria Park	—	—	—
			Abbey Park	60 0 0	Purchased	—
			Roundhay	350 0 0	"	Public rates
			Woodhouse Moor	63 0 0	"	"
			" " Lidge	17 0 0	"	"
23. LEEDS	309,126	8	Hunslet Moor	51 2 0	"	"
			Tramby, Recreation	11 0 0	"	"
			Oak Road, Recreation	4 0 0	"	"
			Tutake Road, Recreation	2 2 0	"	"
			Bank Lodge	15 0 0	Leased	"
24. LINCOLN	37,313	3	—	13 0 0	"	Borough rates
			South Common	240 0 0	—	—
			West Common	260 0 0	—	—
			Sefton	269 0 0	Purchased	—
			Stanley	93 0 0	—	—
25. LIVERPOOL . . .	552,425	4	Newshaw and Shell	129 0 0	Part of Corporation estate	—
			Wavertree and Botanic Gardens	34 0 0	"	—
			St. James' Park	83 0 0	—	Imperial taxation
			Green Park	71 0 0	—	"
			Hyde Park	700 0 0	—	"
			Kensington Gardens	—	—	"
			Victoria Park	300 0 0	—	"
			Battersea Park	250 0 0	—	"
			Regent's Park	400 0 0	—	"
			Primrose Hill	—	—	"
			Kennington Park	—	—	"
			Greenwich Park	—	—	"
			Bushey Park	—	—	"
			Finbury Park	115 0 0	—	Public rates
			Southwark Park	62 0 0	—	"
			Clapham Common	220 0 0	—	"
			Hackney Downs	50 0 0	Purchased	"
			Blackheath	267 0 0	—	"
			Tooting Commons	144 0 0	—	"
			Wornwood Scrubs	63 0 0	—	"
			Wornwood Scrubs	194 0 0	Part purchased	"
			Well Street Common	30 0 0	—	"
			Waste land at Dalston Lane, and Grove St. Hackney	1 0 0	—	"
26. LONDON	4,764,312	445	North Mill Field	29 0 0	—	"
			South Mill Field	28 0 0	—	"
			Clapton Common	9 1 0	—	"
			Stoke Newington Com. . . .	5 2 0	—	"
			Brook Green Common	7 0 0	—	"
			Kelbrook Common	14 0 0	Purchased	"
			Parson's Green	—	—	"
			Peckham Rye	—	To be purchased	—
			Goose Green	—	"	—
			Nunhead Green	—	"	—
			Thames Embk. Gardens	14 0 0	Part purchased	Public rates
			Leicester Square	—	Gift	"
			Hampstead Heath	240 0 0	—	"
			Shepherd's Bush Comm. . . .	8 0 0	—	"
			London Fields	27 0 0	—	"
			Bostall Heath	55 0 0	—	"
			Plumstead Common	110 0 0	—	"
			Shoulder-of-Mutton Green	4 0 0	—	"
			Woolwich Common	—	—	—

* NOTE.—There are numerous small inclosures in London, such as disused burial-grounds, which have been laid out ground; St. George's in the East Burial Ground; St. John's, Hoxton; St. Mary's, Haggerston; St. John's, Horsley Road; St. Paul's Churchyard; Poplar Recreation Ground; St. Mary's Whitechapel; Museum Grounds; Bethnal Green.

in the United Kingdom, 1883—continued.

Approximate cost per annum	Under whose jurisdiction	Police supervision	Park-keepers supervise	If purchased, cost per acre	Remarks
£ s. d.				£ s. d.	
—	—	—	—	—	A grass common about to be purchased and laid out.
300 0 0	Corporation	—	Yes; some of whom are constables	800 0 0	35 acres on lease, and 42 acres gift and purchase.
160 0 0	"	—	—	3000 0 0	Total cost.
450 0 0	"	—	—	—	—
160 0 0	"	—	—	—	—
—	"	—	Yes	—	Waste land laid out by Mr. Williamson at his own cost.
—	Corporation	Yes	Yes	—	Cost 25,000 <i>l.</i> in laying out.
—	"	"	"	220 0 0	—
—	"	"	"	200 0 0	—
—	"	"	"	110 0 0	—
—	"	"	"	58 16 1	—
1841 0 0	"	"	"	77 13 5	—
—	"	"	"	318 0 0	—
—	"	"	"	1000 0 0	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
300 0 0	"	One	One	—	200 <i>l.</i> per ann. paid to the freemen of city for commonage.
—	—	—	—	—	—
3500 0 0	—	—	Yes; sworn in as constables	711 5 5	Area of borough, 4002½ acres.
1250 0 0	—	—	—	630 13 8	Distance from the centre of the borough—2 miles, 1½ mile, 1¼ mile, and 1¼ mile respectively.
1800 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
2000 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
—	H.M. Government.	Yes	Yes	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	"	"	Yes	—	—
—	"	"	"	—	—
—	Board of Works	—	—	—	{ The banks of the New River which passes through are rented by the Board of Works. A gymnasium is to be erected. A gymnasium to be erected.
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	Yes	33000 0 0	Total amount to be paid to the Lord of the Manor.
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	8000 0 0	Paid to the Homage of Fulham for copyholders' interest.
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	7000 0 0	From Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Homage of Fulham.
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	"	"	—	—	—
—	War Office	"	—	—	—

as public gardens by private subscription, or by public rates: e.g. The Brewers' Garden, Stepney; Spicer Street Burial down; Bermondsey Churchyard; Lambeth Burial Ground; St. Mary's, Newington Butts; St. John's, Waterloo Bridge Burial Ground at St. John's Wood.

List of Public Urban Parks and Recreation

Town	Population	How many Parks	Name of Park	Acreage	How acquired	How maintained
26. LONDON . . . (cont.)	4,764,312	43*	West Ham Park . . .	—	—	(Corporation funds; grain duty . . .)
			Epping Forest . . .	—	Purchased	"
			Wanstead Park . . .	182 0 0	Purchased	"
			Croydon and Caterham . .	347 0 0	"	"
27. MACCLESFIELD	37,620	1	—	13 2 28	Presented by subscription	District rates .
28. MANCHESTER	392,676	4	Alexandra . . .	60 0 0	Purchased	City rates . .
			Queen's . . .	30 0 0	"	"
			Philip's . . .	31 0 0	"	"
			Ardwick Green . . .	4 0 0	Presented by owners	"
			Elswick . . .	14 0 0	Purchased	Borough funds
			Armstrong . . .	52 0 0	{ Part gift by Sir W. Armstrong . . .	"
29. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE	145,228	7	The Leazes, Rectn. Gd. . .	31 0 0	By agreement . . .	"
			Brandling, " " . . .	4 0 0	"	"
			Town Moor, " " . . .	35 0 0	"	"
			" " " " . . .	18 2 0	{ Presented by Sir W. Armstrong . . .	"
			Jesmond Dene . . .	—	"	—
30. NORWICH	87,843	3	Munchold Heath . . .	8 0 0	Corporation lands . .	District rates .
			"	362 0 0	Proc. by the Eccl. Comm.	"
			"	2 0 0	Corporation lands . .	"
31. NOTTINGHAM	186,575	—	—	150 0 0	Part Corporation lands	Borough rates
32. OLDHAM	152,511	1	Alexandra . . .	72 0 0	Purchased	"
33. PAINLEY	55,642	3	Brodie . . .	20 0 0	Gift of Mr. Brodie . .	Burgh rates .
			St. James' . . .	60 0 0	Burgh lands . . .	"
			Fountain Gardens . . .	8 0 0	Gift of Mr. Coats . .	End. by donor
34. PETERBORO'	21,228	1	—	21 0 0	—	—
35. PLYMOUTH	73,794	3	The Hoe . . .	22 0 0	Corporation land . .	Public rates .
			The Governor's Meadow .	—	Rented from War Office .	"
			The Glacis of the Citadel	—	" " " " . . .	"
36. PORTSMOUTH	127,953	1	Victoria . . .	11 0 0	Lease . . .	Urban rates .
37. PRESTON	96,537	3	Moor . . .	106 0 0	—	Borough rates ;
			Avenham . . .	20 0 0	—	"
			Miller . . .	10 0 0	—	"
			Peel . . .	33 2 34	Public subscription . .	Corpor. rates
			Seedley . . .	11 3 36	Purchased . . .	"
			Albert . . .	16 0 0	"	"
38. SALFORD	176,283	6	Ordsall . . .	16 2 13	"	"
			Kersal, Recreation Ground	21 0 0	Lease . . .	"
39. SCARBORO'	80,504	1	—	9 0 0	Corporation land . .	Borough rates
			Weston . . .	12 2 0	Purchased . . .	"
			Frith . . .	36 0 0	Presented . . .	"
40. SHEFFIELD	284,440	7	3 Recreation Grounds . .	26 0 0	"	"
			Crookes Moor Rectn. Gd. .	11 0 0	Leased . . .	"
			Norfolk Park . . .	50 0 0	—	Duke of Norfolk
			Mowbray . . .	—	Purchased . . .	Borough funds
41. SUNDERLAND	116,542	3	Roker . . .	19 0 0	Presented . . .	"
			Burnfield . . .	—	Purchased . . .	"
42. WARRINGTON	41,462	1	—	12 0 0	Presented . . .	Borough rates
43. WOLVERHAMPTON	164,308	1	—	50 0 0	Leased . . .	"

Grounds in the United Kingdom, 1883—continued.

Approximate cost per annum	Under whose jurisdiction	Police supervision	Park-keepers supervise	If purchased, cost per acre	Remarks
£ s. d.				£ s. d.	
—	Corporation . .	—	—	—	
—	" . .	"	Yes	—	
—	" . .	"	—	7000 0 0	
300 0 0	Town Council . .	Yes	"	—	Laid out by Sir Joseph Paxton, 1864.
6,000 0 0	{ Corporation . .	—	Yes. Sworn in as constables	{ 400 0 0	
—	{ " . .	—		{ 241 6 8	
—	{ " . .	—		{ 248 15 6	
—	Corporation . .	{ Occasionally	{ Yes	—	District rate 2d. in the pound.
—	" . .	—	"	—	Part purchased at 25,047l.
—	" . .	—	—	—	The free-men have the right of grazing, the Corporation being the owners of the soil in fee simple.
—	" . .	—	—	—	Laid out at expense of donor.
—	" . .	—	—	—	" "
350 0 0	" . .	—	Yes	—	
30 0 0	" . .	—	"	—	Will be let soon on a building lease.
2570 0 0	" . .	—	—	—	{ About 40 acres have planted and laid out; out of the 150 acres, 120 were allotted to the Corporation by the Commissioners under the Nottingham Inclosure Act of 1845 for recreation purposes; the remainder is the private property of the Corporation.
2000 0 0	Town Council . .	2	{ Two. Sworn in as constables	{ 257 7 6	{ Provided in 1865 to find work for working classes during the Cotton Famine.
140 0 0	{ Provost, Magistrates, and	Yes	—	—	
67 0 0	{ Town Council . .	"	—	—	In course of formation.
236 15 6	Private company . .	—	—	—	
400 0 0	Corporation . .	Yes	—	—	
—	" . .	"	—	—	{ For 80 years at 52l. per annum.
500 0 0	" . .	"	Yes	—	
1600 0 0	" . .	—	—	—	Lease of 99 years from the War Department.
—	" . .	—	—	—	
—	" . .	—	—	—	
—	" . .	—	—	—	Total cost of purchase.
—	" . .	—	—	5,000 0 0	" " "
—	" . .	—	—	8,453 6 8	" " "
—	" . .	—	—	6,688 15 0	For 21 years at 3l. per acre, present tenant for life and ditto in remainder giving the rent to which they would be entitled.
190 0 0	" . .	—	Yes	—	
500 0 0	" . .	—	"	1,400 0 0	Presented by M. Firth, Esq., M.P.
250 0 0	" . .	—	"	—	{ Presented by the Duke of Norfolk. Open places of ground each 8 or 9 acres.
—	" . .	Yes	—	—	35l. per annum for 99 years.
—	Duke of Norfolk . .	"	Yes	—	
—	Corporation . .	—	—	—	
—	" . .	—	—	—	By the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Sir H. Williamson, Bart.
—	" . .	—	—	—	
400 0 0	" . .	—	—	—	{ Presented by Lord Winmarleigh and Mr. G. Crossfield.
950 0 0	" . .	—	Yes	—	{ Leased for 68 years at 200l. for 49 years and 350l. for 21 years.

II.

MR. BRIGHT stated that in Glasgow 41,000 families occupy single rooms. The statement caused no surprise to those familiar with the poor quarters of our great towns; their surprise has been that the statement has given any surprise. It is surprising that people should think so little about what they daily see, and should go on talking as if 20s. or 30s. a week were enough to satisfy the needs of a family's life, and should be surprised that many persons still occupy one room, endure hardship and die, killed by the struggle to exist. It is surprising that reflection on such subjects is not more common because, when facts are stated, no defence is made for the present condition of the people. Alongside of the growth of wealth during this age there has been growth of the belief in the powers of human nature; of the belief that in all men, independent of rank and birth, there exist great powers of being. 'Nothing can breed such awe and fear as fall upon us when we look into our minds, into the mind of man,' expresses the experience of many who do not use the poet's words. Those who are conscious of what men may be and do, cannot be satisfied while the majority of Englishmen live, in the midst of wealthy England, stunted and joyless lives because they are poor.

When facts, therefore, such as that referred to by Mr. Bright are stated, no defence is made; and such facts are common. Here are some:—(1) The death-rate among the children of the poor is double that among the children of the rich. Born in some small room, which serves as the sleeping and living room of the family; hushed to sleep by discordant noises from neighbouring factories, refreshed by air laden with smoke and evil odours, forced to find their play in the streets; without country holiday or adequate medical skill, without sufficient air, space, or water, the children die, and the mothers among the poor are always weeping for their children and cannot be comforted. (2) The occupants of the prisons are mostly of one class—the poor. The fact for its explanation needs no assumption that 'the poor in a lump are bad'; it is the natural result of their condition. It is because children are ill developed or unhealthily developed by life in the streets that they become idlers, sharpers, or

thieves. It is because families are crowded together that quarrels begin and end in fights. It is because they have not the means to hide their vices, under respectable forms that the poor go to prison and not the rich. (3) The lives of the people are joyless. The slaves of toil, worn by anxiety lest the slavery should end, they have not leisure or calm for thought; they cannot therefore be happy, living in the thought of other times, as those are happy who, in reading or travel, have gathered memories to be the bliss of solitude, or as those who, 'by discerning intellect,' have found the best to be 'the simple product of the common day.' When work ceases, the one resource is excitement; and thus their lives are joyless. Anxiety consumes their powers in pleasure as in work, the faces of the women lose their beauty, and a woman of thirty looks old.

These are facts patent to those who know our great towns—the facts of life, not among a few of their degraded inhabitants, but facts of the life of the majority of the people. Let any one who does not know how his neighbours live set himself the following sum. Given 20s. or 40s. a week wages, how to keep a family, pay rent of 2s. 6d. a week for each room, and lay up an adequate amount for times of bad trade, sickness, and old age. As the sum is worked out and as it is seen how one after another the thing which seems to make life worth living has to be given up, as it is seen how many necessities are impossible, how many of the poor must put up with a diet more scanty than that allowed to paupers, how all must go without the leisure and the knowledge which transmutes existence into life—faith will be shaken in many theories of social reform. Teetotal advocates will preach in vain that drunkenness is the root of all evil and that a nation of abstainers will be either a healthy, a happy, or a thoughtful nation. Thrift will be seen to be powerless to do more than to create a smug and transient respectability, and even those who are converted will not claim to be raised by their faith out of the reach of early death and poverty into a life which is possible to their nature. I have heard it stated as a reason for opposing the Salvation Army that its preachers try to make men satisfied with unworthy conditions by promising them happiness hereafter; and it is clear how hard to the thrifty and Christian teetotaler must be the primary virtue of cleanliness when his income is limited to 20s. a week. The citizens of our great towns have a common property in the dirt, but the means for buying many changes of linen and the room for daily washings are not distributed in the same way.

Theories of reform which do not touch the conditions in which the people live, which do not make possible for them fuller lives in happier circumstances, are not satisfactory. The conversion of sinners—at any rate while sinners are sought chiefly among the

poor—the emigration of children, the spread of thrift and temperance among the workpeople, will still leave a state of society for which no defence can be made, will still leave families occupying single rooms and sons of men the joyless slaves of work. It is only a larger share of wealth which can increase comfort and relieve men from the pressure brought on them by the close atmosphere of great towns; it is only a larger share of wealth which can give to all the results of thought and open to all the life which is possible. If it be that the return for fair land laid waste by mines and engines is wider knowledge of men and things, it is only the rich who now enjoy this return and only wealth which can make it common. And since any distribution of wealth in the shape of money relief would be fatal to the independence of the people, the one satisfactory method of social reform is that which tends to make more common the good things which wealth has gained for the few—which tends, in fact, to nationalise healthy luxury.

The presence of wealth is so obvious that the attempts to distribute its benefits both by individuals and by societies have been many. Individuals have given their money and their time. Their failure as individuals is notorious, and societies have been formed to direct their efforts. The failure of these societies is not equally notorious, but there are few who retain the hope that their action will reform society and make the conditions of living such that the people will be able to grow in wisdom and in stature, to the full height of their manhood. If it was a sight to make men and angels weep to see one rich man struggling with the poverty of a street, making himself poor only to make others discontented paupers, it is still a sad sight to see voluntary societies hopelessly beaten and hardened into machines with no 'reach beyond their grasp.' The deadness of these societies or their ill-directed efforts has roused in the shape of Charity Organisation workers a most striking missionary enterprise. The history of the movement as a mission has yet to be written; the names of its martyrs stand in the list of the unknown good; but the most earnest member of a Charity Organisation Society cannot now hope that organised charity will be powerful so to alter conditions as to make the life of the poor a life worth living.

Societies which absorb much wealth, and which take from many who subscribe the responsibility of doing more, are failing: it remains only to adopt the principle of the Education Act, of the Poor Law, and of other socialistic legislation, and call on Society to do what societies fail to do. There is much which may be urged in favour of such a course. It is only Society, or, to use the title by which Society expresses itself in towns, it is only Town Councils, which can cover all the ground and see that each locality gets equal treatment. It is by common action that a healthy spirit becomes common, and the tone of public opinion

will be more healthy when the Town Council engages in good-doing than when good-doing is the monopoly of individuals or of societies. If nations have been ennobled by wars undertaken against an enemy, towns may be ennobled by work undertaken against the evils of poverty.

The Town Councils succeed to duties once undertaken by the Church, by societies, and by individuals. The community is now called on to obey the precept 'give to him that asketh,' and in our great towns, councils of the town must work the social reform which shall give to the people that for which their lives ask. Perhaps if those statesmen who reformed our institutions had remembered to reform the national Church, and made it march with the nation, the Church organisation would have best directed the work of social reform. A Vestry representative of every opinion in the town, inspired both with the memory of those who had served the people and with the hope of a heavenly kingdom on earth, would have stood between rich and poor to prevent the differences which make division. This, however, was not to be: the Town Councils are the inheritors of the duty of the Church. In fact as in name they have absorbed the vestries, they are representative of all opinions, they stand between rich and poor; they and they only can make the conditions which shall help the poor to grow to the measure of the life of men.

The problem before them is one much more of ways than of means. If poverty is depressing the lives of the people, the wealth, the means of relieving it, is superabundant. On the one side, there is disease for the want of food and doctors; on the other side there is disease because of food and doctors. In one part of the town the women cease to charm for want of finery; in the other they cease to please from excess of finery. It is for want of money that the streets in which the many live are close, ill swept, and ill lighted; that they have no grand meeting-rooms and no beauty: it is through superfluity of money that the entertainments of the rich are made tiresome with music and their picture-galleries made ugly with portraits of bishops and babies. There is no want of means for making better the condition of the people; and there has ever been sufficient good-will to use the means when the way has been clear. To discover the way is the problem of the times.

Some way must be found which, without pauperising, without affecting the spirit of energy and independence, shall give to the inhabitants of our great towns the surroundings which will increase joy and develop life.

The first need is better dwellings. While the people live without adequate air, space, or light, while the house arrangements are such that privacy is impossible, it is hopeless to look for them to enjoy the best things. The need has been recognised, and, happily without going to Parliament, Town Councils may do much

to meet the need. It is in their power to enforce sanitary improvements, to make every house healthy and clean, and to provide common rooms which will serve as libraries or drawing-rooms. If it is not in their power to reduce rents, it is possible for them to pull down unfit dwellings, and sell the ground to builders at a low price, on condition that such builders shall provide extra appliances for the health and pleasure of the people. The two evils connected with the dwellings from which the poor suffer are unsanitary conditions and high rents. Builders to-day build houses on the fiction that each house will be occupied by one family. The fact that two or three families will at once take possession is kept out of sight, while the parlour, drawing-room, and single set of offices are finished off to suit the requirements of an English home. The fiction ends in the creation of conditions on which medical officers write reports, and of other conditions which, like Medusa's head, are best seen by the shadow they cast on society.

The unsanitary conditions constitute one evil connected with the dwellings of the poor: the rent for adequate accommodation which absorbs one quarter of an irregular income constitutes another. To cure the unsanitary conditions ample powers exist; to even suggest a means for lowering rents is not so easy. Perhaps it might be possible for the community to sell the ground it acquires at some low price, on condition that the rents should never exceed a certain rate, and that the occupier should always have the right of purchase. Such a condition is not, however, at present legal; but it is possible for Town Councils to acquire land under the Artisans' Dwellings Act, and to sell it cheaply on condition that the rooms are of a certain size and provided with certain appliances; that special arrangements are made for washing and cleaning, and that a common room is at the disposal of a certain number of families. The Peabody Trustees profess to let their rooms at low rents, and it is urged that their action tends to paralyse private enterprise. If the community sold the land at a price which would make the low rents remunerative, private enterprise would be free to act, and the check upon the rent would be the competition of many builders building under the same conditions.

The improvement cannot be made without what is called a loss—that is to say, the Town Councils cannot sell land for the building of fit dwellings at the same price for which the land has been acquired. Money will be lost; and this phrase has such power that, though the need is recognised, the Act by which the need could be met has in most towns remained a dead letter. In Liverpool, where, according to official reports, the state of the dwellings is productive of fever and destructive of common decency, the Act has never been applied. In Manchester, where it is acknowledged to be the object of the Town Council to protect the health of the

people, it is stated in the last report that the Act involves too great an outlay to be workable. The London Metropolitan Board of Works, which spends its millions wisely and unwisely, has striven to show that the application of the Act would lay too great a burden on the ratepayers. It is impossible, it is said, to house the poor at such a cost. It would not seem impossible if it were recognised that to spend money in housing the poor is a way of making the wealth of the town serve the needs of the town. It would not seem impossible if Town Councils recognised that on them has come the care of the people.

Social reform is in the hands of the official bodies. If Parliament had not effaced itself by its failure to legislate, and made an application to its powers mark a scheme as unpractical, it is to these bodies rather than to Parliament that social reformers should go. There is much more power at their disposal than many are aware. The Councils of the town may, as we have seen, do much at once to substitute good for bad dwellings; they may also provide means of recreation and instruction—libraries, playgrounds, and public baths. School Boards may provide, not only elementary instruction, but give a character to education, and use their buildings as centres for the meetings, classes, and recreation of the old scholars. Boards of Guardians may make their relief, not only a means of meeting destitution, but a means of educating the independence of the strong and of comforting the sorrows of the weak. We can imagine these boards, these councils of the town, endowed with greater powers; but with those they already possess they could change the social conditions and remove abuses for which Englishmen make no defence.

Wise Town Councils, conscious of the mission they have inherited, could destroy every court and crowded alley and put in their places healthy dwellings; they could make water so cheap and bathing places so common, that cleanliness should no longer be a hard virtue; they could open playgrounds for the children, and take away from a city the reproach of its gutter-children; they could provide gardens, libraries, and conversation-rooms, and make the pleasures of intercourse a delight to the poor, as it is a delight to the rich; they could open picture-galleries and concerts, and give to all that pleasure which comes as surely from a common as from a private possession; they could light and clean the streets of the poor quarters; they could stamp out disease, and by enforcing regulations against smoke and all uncleanness, limit the destructiveness of trade and lengthen the span of life; they could empty the streets of the boys and girls, too big for the narrow homes, too small for the clubs and public-houses, by opening for them play-rooms and gymnasia; they could help the strong and hopeful to emigrate; they could give medicine to heal the sick, money to the old and poor, a training for the neglected, and a home for the friendless.

With this power in the hands of Town Councils, and with our great towns in such a state that a fact as to their condition shocks the nation, there is no need to wait for parliamentary action. The course on which the authorities are asked to enter is no untried one. There are local bodies which have applied the Artisans' Dwellings Act and cleared acres of ground of houses or hovels, of which the medical officers' descriptions are not fit for repetition in polite society. There are those who have built and more who are ready to build houses which shall at any rate give the people healthy surroundings, possibilities of home life and of common pleasures, even when a family can afford only a single room. And, although the London School Board's buildings and playgrounds are occupied only during a few hours in each week, there are Schools which are used for meetings, for classes in higher education, and for Art exhibitions; there are playgrounds which are open all day and every day to all comers. The way in which Guardians have in some unions made the system of relief in the highest sense educational is now an old tale. It has been shown that out-relief, with its demoralising results, may be abolished; it is being shown that a Workhouse with trade masters and 'mental instructors' may be a reformatory; and it is not beyond the hope of some Boards that a system of medical relief may be developed adequate to the needs of the people. Public bodies here and there are showing what it is in their power to do; at present their efforts hardly make any mark; they must become general.

The first practical work is to rouse the councils of the town to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political but social, that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. It is for reformers in every town to direct all their force on the Town Councils, to turn aside to no scheme, and to start no new society, but to urge, in season and out of season, that the care of the people is the care of the community, and not of any philanthropic section—is the care of Society, and not of societies. 'The People, not Politics,' should be their cry; and they should see that the power is in the hands of men, irrespective of party or of class, who care for the people. This is the first practical work, one in which all can join, whether he serves as elector or elected. It may be that efficient administration may show that without an increase of rating a sufficient fund may be found to do all that needs doing; but, if this is not the case, the social interest which is aroused will act on Parliament, and that body will be diverted from its party politics to consider how, by some change in taxation, by progressive income-tax, by a land-tax, or by some other means, the money can be raised to do what must be done.

The means, I repeat, is a matter for the future; the battle is to be won at the municipal elections; it is there the cry 'The People, not Politics' must be raised, and it is the councils of the town which

can work the social reform. If it be urged that when all has been done which can be done, the condition will still be unsatisfactory, I agree. Wealth cannot supply the needs of life, and many who have all that wealth can give are still without the life which is possible to men. The town in which houses shall be good, health general, and recreation possible, may be but a whited sepulchre. No social reform will be adequate which does not touch social relations, bind classes by friendship, and pass, through the medium of friendship, the spirit which inspires righteousness and devotion.

If, therefore, the first practical work of reformers be to rouse town councils, their second is to associate volunteers who will work with the official bodies. Here again we may regret the absence of a truly national Church. If in every parish Church Boards existed, representative of every religious opinion, and expressive of every form of philanthropy, they would be the centres round which such volunteers would gather and prove themselves to be an agency ready to their hand. While we hope for such boards there is no need to wait to act.

As a rule, it may be laid down that the voluntary work is most effective when it is in connection with official work. The connection gives a backbone, a dignity to work, which has lost something in the hands of Sunday-school teachers and district visitors. In every town volunteers in connection with official work are wanted. It is doubtful, indeed, if the tenements occupied by the least instructed classes could be kept in order, or the people made to live up to their better surroundings, if the rent-collecting were not put in the hands of volunteers with the time to make friends and the will to have patience with the tenants. At any rate, wherever official work is done there will be something wanting for volunteers to supply. Guardians want those who will see to the poor; men who will visit the workhouse to rouse those too idle or too depressed to work, and to find help for those who by sickness or ill-chance have lost their footing in the rush for living. They want those who, knowing what wages can do and cannot do, will serve on relief committees, will see the poor in their distress, and, giving or not giving, will try to make them understand that care does not cease. They want also women who will be friends to the sick, and more than that, befriend the girls who drift wretched to the workhouse, or go out lonely from the pauper schools. School Boards want those who, visiting the schools, will seek out the children who are fit for country holidays, visit the homes, and do something to follow up the education between the years of thirteen and twenty-one.

Wherever there is an institution, a reading-room, a club, or a playground, there is work for volunteers. It may not be that the volunteers will seem to do much; they will be certain to do something.

They will be certain to make links between the classes, to do something to lead both rich and poor to give up habits which keep them apart. They will be certain to add strength to the public opinion, which by-and-bye will do more to relieve those whose higher life is destroyed by excess or by want. They will be certain to do something. If they carry into their work a spirit of devotion, a faith in the high calling of the human race, and a love for its weakest members, there is no limit which can be placed on what they will do. They will put into the sound body the sound mind; into the well-ordered town citizens who feel deep, think clear, and bear fruit well.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

THE FRENCH ARMY OF TO-DAY.

It is well known that within the past few years the French army has witnessed fundamental changes of no less sweeping a character than those which have altogether altered the organisation of our own, and there appears to be a general consensus of opinion in England that the result of army reform in France has been more successful than with us. Our endeavour will be to show the contrary. The present condition of our own forces has been frequently discussed in these pages, and writers who adopt the pessimist view do not hesitate to ascribe it to the impossibility of introducing short service into an army where enlistment is voluntary, and where more than half the men are in foreign garrisons. All are agreed as to the difficulty of maintaining discipline amongst young soldiers. In France service is compulsory, and the number of troops out of the country bear but a small proportion to the total strength of the army, so that the short service system at any rate is not hampered by conditions which render success impossible; yet nothing could be more complete than the failure which has attended it. Skeleton battalions, untrained reserves, slack discipline, difficulty in obtaining good non-commissioned officers, and the zeal of the commissioned ranks deadened by slow promotion—such is the result attendant on army reform in France.

The decisive campaign of 1866 led the Emperor Napoleon to endeavour to put his house in order, but the war of 1870 overtook him before his scheme of army reorganisation was thoroughly thought out. Just as the first campaign caused Europe to arm itself with the breech-loader, so did the latter give rise to the demand for army reserves. The ceaseless stream of well-trained men which enabled Germany to present veteran battalions at every point against the raw recruits France hurled against her, created a cry for universal service, for a territorial army, for enormous armaments; and so in 1872 the new French military organisation first saw the light. It insisted upon compulsory service, yet legalised many exemptions; it fixed the period of service at five years, yet sanctioned the dismissal of men at the expiration of one; it divided the country into territorial districts of equal population, yet caused the military burden to

fall unequally upon them. Consequently the new scheme—an excellent one on paper—was evaded at all points, and the result has been failure.

France by the new law was divided into nineteen military districts of about two million souls in each, Corsica being included in the fifteenth, Algeria supplying the last; each district was again parcelled out into eight sections, thus giving in France proper 144 territorial divisions. The total period of a man's liability to service was fixed at twenty years, and, shunning the evil into which we have fallen, youths were not enrolled before they attained the age of twenty. The army was to be essentially territorial, the service absolutely universal. A roll of all male inhabitants was therefore made out in every commune, and as each lad reached the legal age his name was placed on the list for the next annual drawing, and he then became liable for the following service :—

Five years with the colours.

Four years with the reserve of the active army.

Five years in the territorial army.

Six years in the territorial reserve.

According to carefully prepared statistics it has been ascertained that about 16,000 conscripts annually arrive at the required age in each district. If we eliminate the 19th, or Algerian, army corps from the strength of the permanent army, which has been fixed at 500,000 of all ranks, it is evident that there can be no possible means of utilising the services of the 296,000 recruits who yearly become liable to enrolment. The Government therefore found itself face to face with the difficulty of retaining the army with the colours at its fixed maximum, and at the same time imparting military instruction to the superabundant supply of conscripts. It was compelled to devise some wide scheme of exemption, well knowing that any such scheme must intensify the hatred with which compulsory service is viewed by all classes. These exemptions now reach about fifty per cent. of recruits, and may be thus summarised :—

Annual contingent for service	296,000
Exemptions for family reasons	45,000
" of religious or educational classes	5,000
" physically unfit	45,000
" remanded for constitutional weakness	30,000
" men serving, or at sea	25,000
" one-year volunteers ¹	5,000
	<hr/>
	155,000
Compelled to serve	141,000

But, as 140,000 recruits are in excess of the annual requirements, this number is further reduced by about 47,000 men, who at the expira-

¹ The number of one-year volunteers allowed for the class of 1884 has been fixed at 5,107.

tion of one year's service, and after passing a trifling examination, are drafted into the reserve of the active army, thus leaving 93,000 men to complete their five years with the colours. It is, however, found impossible to retain even this number for their full period of service, and, as the infantry soldier requires less training than those in the mounted or scientific branches, he is generally released at the expiration of three years, whilst the cavalry trooper or gunner is retained for five. This shortening of the service is in direct opposition to the principles which governed the original idea. It was maintained by French officers of experience that it was impossible to make a soldier in three years (the period of service in the German army); the habits of restraint inculcated from their earliest days on the Germans and their national spirit of obedience are wanting in the French, whose individual independence, fostered by the present system of government, would not permit of military service being conducted with the same severity as on the other side of the Rhine. It was urged with much pertinacity by military experts, and acquiesced in by M. Thiers, that five years were absolutely requisite in order to give the French citizen that amount of military education which would enable him to retain his value as a unit in the ranks of the territorial army. M. Gambetta and his military advisers, with a less wide experience than M. Thiers and Marshals MacMahon and Canrobert, proposed the reduction to three years, and as this is more in accord with the spirit of the nation there seems every certainty of the change being shortly introduced. It will have the effect of lightening the burden on the people, but it cannot tend to improve the efficiency of an army in which slackness of drill and discipline are but too apparent. It will thus be seen that, though military service in France is compulsory, not more than one half of the annual contingents of recruits pass through the ranks; that though the service has been fixed at five years, but a very small proportion ever serve that term; and, as the amount and quality of daily training is far inferior to the standard laid down in the German army, the French reserves as a body cannot be compared to the Landwehr.

Let us now ascertain the forces which the new system has placed at the disposal of France, dividing them into three great classes:—

I. Those who have passed three years or upwards with the colours and may be termed *trained soldiers*.

II. Those who have served one year and can only be considered as *partly trained*.

III. Those who have escaped service altogether, and, though liable to be called up in the event of war, cannot be looked on as soldiers.

The Active army embraces all men who have been enrolled since 1878, whether with the colours or at their homes; the Active army Reserve, all men enrolled between the years 1874 and 1878; the Territorial army, the classes of 1872-73.

TABLE I.
Showing available Military Force in France.

	Category	Year	Trained men	Partly trained men	Untrained men liable to service
I.	Active Army . . .	1882	—	140,000 (a)	155,000
		1881	—	140,000 (a)	155,000
		1880	93,000 (a)	47,000	155,000
		1879	93,000	47,000	155,000
		1878	93,000	47,000	155,000
II.	Active Army Reserve .	1877	93,000	47,000	155,000
		1876	93,000	47,000	155,000
		1875	93,000	47,000	155,000
		1874	93,000	47,000	155,000
		1873	93,000	47,000	155,000
III.	Territorial Army . .	1872	93,000	47,000	155,000
	Total . . .		837,000	703,000	1,715,000

Of the above, those marked (a) are with the colours, the remainder are at their homes; and this force may be again subdivided to show more clearly its military worth.

TABLE II.
Classification of Men in the various Categories.

	With the colours			At their homes	
	Service under one year	Service under two years	Service under three years	Trained	Partly trained
Active Army . .	140,000	140,000	93,000	186,000	141,000
Active Reserves .	—	—	—	372,000	188,000
Territorial Army .	—	—	—	186,000	94,000

In spite of official statistics, we believe these to be the actual numbers France has at her disposal for the

761 batteries of artillery,
617 squadrons of cavalry,
1,127 battalions of infantry,

borne on the rolls of her army as Active and Territorial troops.

These troops are distributed according to the following table, but it may be well to remember that whilst massing her force as a rule on her eastern frontier, France has danger from other quarters than the Rhine. Paris, the birthplace of all revolutions; Lyons, the seat of anarchy; Algeria and Tunis, all demand heavy garrisons, and no fewer than twenty-five regiments of cavalry, 155 battalions of infantry, and 492 field guns are employed in these four quarters.

TABLE III.—*Showing Military Districts and Distribution of the Army in France.*

No. of Army Corps	Head-quarters	Districts	Garrison towns other than district centres	Troops in command	
				Active Army	Territorial Army
1	Lille	Lille Valenciennes Cambrai Avesnes Arras Béthune St. Omer Dunkerque	Dona (Art.) Maubeuge (Cav.)	Cavalry : 8th Cuirassiers ; 5th, 14th, and 16th Dragoons ; 19th Chasseurs Artillery : 16th and 27th Regiments Infantry : 1st, 8th, 33rd, 43rd, 73rd, 84th, 110th, and 127th of the line ; 16th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 1st Regiment Artillery : 1st Regiment Infantry : 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Regiments
2	Amiens	Soissons St. Quentin Beauvais Amiens Compiègne Abbeville Laon Péronne	La Fère (Art.) Senlis (Cav.) One infantry brigade is quartered in the 6th Army Corps district at Sedan	Cavalry : 5th Cuirassiers ; 13th Dragoons ; 3rd Chasseurs Artillery : 17th and 29th Regiments Infantry : 45th, 51st, 54th, 67th, 72nd, 87th, 120th, and 128th of the line ; 8th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 2nd Regiment Artillery : 2nd Regiment Infantry : 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Regiments
3	Rouen	Bernay Evreux Palaise Lisieux Rouen (N.) Rouen (S.) Caen Havre	Versailles (Art.) One infantry division being quartered in Paris	Cavalry : 21st Dragoons and 12th Chasseurs Artillery : 11th and 12th Regiments Infantry : 5th, 24th, 28th, 36th, 39th, 74th, 119th, and 129th of the line ; 20th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 3rd Regiment Artillery : 3rd Regiment Infantry : 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th Regiments
4	Mans	Laval Mayenne Mamers Mans Dreux Chartres Alençon Argentan	—	Cavalry : 2nd Dragoons and 20th Chasseurs Artillery : 26th and 31st Regiments Infantry : 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 115th, 117th, 119th, and 120th of the line ; 11th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 4th Regiment Artillery : 4th Regiment Infantry : 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, and 32nd Regiments
5	Orléans	Sens Fontainebleau Melun Coulommiers Auxerre Montargis Blois Orléans	Joigny-Vendôme, Provins, Meaux, Melun and Fontainebleau cavalry quarters One infantry division is in Paris	Cavalry : 6th, 22nd, and 23rd Dragoons ; 1st, 10th, and 16th Chasseurs Artillery : 30th and 32nd Regiments Infantry : 4th, 31st, 46th, 76th, 82nd, 89th, 113th, and 131st of the line ; 6th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 5th Regiment Artillery : 5th Regiment Infantry : 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, and 40th Regiments
6	Châlons-sur-Marne	Nancy Toul Neufchâteau Troyes Mézières Reims Verdun Châlons	Commercy, St. Mihiel, Lunéville, Pont-à-Mousson, Sedan, and Epinal cavalry quarters Bar-le-Duc, St. Nicolas - du-Port, Rocroy, Sedan, St. Dié, Montmédy infantry quarters	Cavalry : 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 6th Cuirassiers ; 7th, 12th, and 18th Dragoons ; 4th, 6th, 8th, and 14th Chasseurs ; 5th and 10th Hussars Artillery : 8th and 25th Regiments Infantry : 25th, 37th, 69th, 79th, 91st, 94th, 106th, and 134th of the line ; 1st, 4th, 8th, 10th, 16th, 25th, and 26th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 6th Regiment Artillery : 6th Regiment Infantry : 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th Regiments

Note.—Since writing these pages 16 battalions of Fortress Artillery have been organised, each consisting of 6 batteries, their head-quarters being : 1, Lille ; 2, Valenciennes ; 3, Reims ; 4 and 5, Verdun ; 6, Toul ; 7, Langres ; 8, Epinal ; 9, Belfort ; 10, Besançon ; 11, Lyon ; 12, Grenoble ; 13, Nice ; 14, Bayonne ; 15, St. Malo ; 16, Paris. These batteries have been raised by corresponding reductions in the Field Artillery.

TABLE III.—*Showing Military Districts and Distribution of the Army in France—(continued).*

No. of Army Corps	Head-quarters	Districts	Garrison towns other than district centres	Troops in command	
				Active Army	Territorial Army
7	Besançon	Bourg Belley Langres Chamont Lons-le-Saulnier Besançon Belfort Vesoul	Gray (Cav.)	Cavalry : 1st Dragoons; 5th Chasseurs; 9th Hussars Artillery : 4th and 6th Regiments Infantry : 21st, 23rd, 35th, 42nd, 44th, 60th, 108th, and 133rd of the line; 3rd Chasseurs	Cavalry : 7th Regiment Artillery : 7th Regiment Infantry : 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, and 56th Regiments
8	Bourges	Auxonne Dijon Chalon-sur-Saône Mâcon Cosne Bourges Autun Nevers	—	Cavalry : 10th Dragoons and 16th Chasseurs Artillery : 1st and 37th Regiments Infantry : 10th, 18th, 27th, 29th, 56th, 85th, 95th, and 134th of the line; 5th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 8th Regiment Artillery : 8th Regiment Infantry : 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, and 64th Regiments
9	Tours	Le Blanc Châteauneuf Parthenay Poitiers Châtellerault Tours Angers Cholet	Niort (Cav.) Issoudun (Inf.)	Cavalry : 11th and 12th Cuirassiers; 2nd Dragoons; 2nd Chasseurs Artillery : 20th and 33rd Regiments Infantry : 32nd, 60th, 68th, 77th, 90th, 114th, 125th, and 135th of the line; 18th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 9th Regiment Artillery : 9th Regiment Infantry : 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, and 72nd Regiments
10	Rennes	Guingamp St.-Brieuc Rennes Vitré Cherbourg St.-Malo Granville St.-Lo	Dinan (Cav.) St.-Servan (Inf.)	Cavalry : 24th Dragoons and 12th Hussars Artillery : 7th and 10th Regiments Infantry : 2nd, 25th, 41st, 47th, 48th, 70th, 71st, and 136th of the line; 19th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 10th Regiment Artillery : 10th Regiment Infantry : 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, and 80th Regiments
11	Nantes	Nantes Ancenis La Roche-sur-Yon Fontenay Vannes Quimper Brest Lorient	Pontivy (Cav.) Morbihan (Inf.)	Cavalry : 25th Dragoons and 7th Hussars Artillery : 28th and 35th Regiments Infantry : 19th, 62nd, 64th, 65th, 93rd, 116th, 118th, and 137th of the line; 22nd Chasseurs	Cavalry : 11th Regiment Artillery : 11th Regiment Infantry : 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, and 88th Regiments
12	Limoges	Limoges Magrac-Laval Guéret Tulle Périgueux Angoulême Brives Bergerac	—	Cavalry : 20th Dragoons and 17th Chasseurs Artillery : 21st and 34th Regiments Infantry : 14th, 50th, 63rd, 78th, 80th, 107th, 108th, and 138th of the line; 23rd Chasseurs	Cavalry : 12th Regiment Artillery : 12th Regiment Infantry : 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, and 96th Regiments
13	Clermont-Ferrand	Riom Montluçon Clermont Aurillac Le Puy St.-Etienne Montbrison Roanne	Moulins (Cav.) One infantry division at Lyons	Cavalry : 19th Dragoons and 7th Chasseurs Artillery : 15th and 36th Regiments Infantry : 16th, 38th, 86th, 92nd, 98th, 105th, 121st, and 139th of the line; 37th Chasseurs	Cavalry : 13th Regiment Artillery : 13th Regiment Infantry : 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, and 104th Regiments

TABLE III.—*Showing Military Districts and Distribution of the Army in France—(continued).*

No. of Army Corps	Head-quarters	Districts	Garrison towns other than district centres	Troops in command	
				Active Army	Territorial Army
14	Grenoble	Grenoble Bourgoin Anney Chambery Vienne Romans Gap Montélimar	Four cavalry regiments at Lyon, one at Valence, one artillery regiment at Valence, three line regiments, one Chasseur battalion at Lyons, one Chasseur at Embrun	Cavalry: 4th and 9th Cuirassiers; 4th Dragoons; 8rd, 8th, and 11th Hussars Artillery: 2nd and 6th Regiments Infantry: 22nd, 30th, 52nd, 70th, 96th, 97th, 99th, and 140th of the line; 12th, 13th, and 14th Chasseurs	Cavalry: 14th Regiment Artillery: 14th Regiment Infantry: 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, and 112th Regiments
15	Marseille	Toulon Antibes Aix Ajaccio Nîmes Avignon Privat Pont St-Esprit	— — — — — — — —	Cavalry: 26th Dragoons and 1st Hussars Artillery: 19th and 38th Regiments Infantry: 8rd, 40th, 55th, 58th, 61st, 111th, 112th, and 141st of the line; 7th Chasseurs	Cavalry: 15th Regiment Artillery: 15th Regiment Infantry: 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, and 145th Regiments
16	Montpellier	Béziers Montpellier Mende Rodez Narbonne Perpignan Carcassonne Albi	Lodève and Castelnaudary (Inf.) Castres (Art.)	Cavalry: 17th Dragoons and 9th Chasseurs Artillery: 3rd and 9th Regiments Infantry: 12th, 16th, 17th, 81st, 100th, 122nd, 142nd, and 143rd of the line; 27th Chasseurs	Cavalry: 16th Regiment Artillery: 16th Regiment Infantry: 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, and 128th Regiments
17	Toulouse	Agen Marmande Cahors Montauban Toulouse Foix Mirande St.-Gaudens	—	Cavalry: 11th Dragoons and 13th Chasseurs Artillery: 18th and 23rd Regiments Infantry: 7th, 9th, 11th, 20th, 59th, 83rd, 84th, and 126th of the line; 29th Chasseurs	Cavalry: 17th Regiment Artillery: 17th Regiment Infantry: 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, and 136th Regiments
18	Bordeaux	Saintes La Rochelle Libourne Bordeaux Mont-de-Marsan Dayonne Pau Tarbes	—	Cavalry: 15th Dragoons and 6th Hussars Artillery: 14th and 24th Regiments Infantry: 6th, 18th, 34th, 49th, 63rd, 57th, 123rd, and 124th of the line; 28th Chasseurs	Cavalry: 18th Regiment Artillery: 18th Regiment Infantry: 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, and 144th Regiments
—	Paris	—	—	Cavalry: 7th and 10th Cuirassiers; 8th and 9th Dragoons; 11th and 18th Chasseurs Artillery: 11th, 12th, 13th, and 22nd Regiments Engineers: 1st, 4th, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Battalions of Corps Engineers, and 1st Regiment (5 Battalions of Sappers and Miners) Infantry: 5th, 24th, 28th, 31st, 46th, 76th, 89th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 119th of the line; 2nd and 17th Chasseurs	—

In addition to the troops above enumerated, each army corps, besides the usual non-combatant bodies, has one battalion of active and one of territorial engineers attached to it, and there is one pontoon train at Avignon and another at Angers. In round numbers the composition of an army corps is—

	Active Army	Territorial Army	Total
Cavalry .	2 regts. (each 5 squad.)	1 regt. of 4 squadrons .	14 squads.
Artillery .	2 regts. of 11 batteries.	1 regt. of 13 batteries .	35 batteries
Infantry .	8 regts. of 4 battalions	8 regts. of 3 battalions .	57 batt.
Engineers .	1 batt. of Chasseurs . .	1 battalion	2 batt.

THE ACTIVE ARMY.

Having dealt with the general military system of the country, we will now inquire into the condition of the active army, which consists of the million and a quarter of men in the first two categories enumerated in Table I.—that is to say, of all who have not completed nine years' service. It embraces four distinct classes: (1) men with the colours; (2) men of one year's service at their homes; (3) men of the active reserve; (4) all untrained men under nine years' service who have been exempted from service. Being composed of men in various degrees of training, it cannot be regarded in as formidable a light as the active armies of other Great Powers. Including the nineteen army corps which permanently garrison Algeria, it consists of

392 squadrons of cavalry,
514 batteries of artillery,
641 battalions of infantry,
38 battalions of engineers.
90 batteries of garrison or fortress artillery.

And the total number of officers available for this immense force are:—

TABLE IV.—*Showing Number of Officers in the Active Army and its Reserves.*

Rank	Staff employ	Regimental employ	Active Reserve
Generals of division . .	100	—	20
Generals of brigade . .	200	—	20
Colonels	62	263	12
Lieutenant-colonels . .	97	253	—
Battalion commanders . .	177	789	—
Squadron commanders . .	67	512	—
Captains	129	7,010	151
Lieutenants	77	5,497	93
Sous-lieutenants	268	3,744	4,345
Total	1,177	18,068	4,641
	23,286		

It will be seen that the reserve of officers for the active army is dangerously small, being, indeed, entirely wanting in the higher regimental grades. When it is remembered that there are about 420,000 trained men at their homes ready to reinforce the active army, and no fewer than 469,000, partially trained, with the colours and in the ranks of the 1st Reserve, who in the event of war would require immense and earnest attention in order to fit them to replace casualties, there can be no doubt that the number of officers is wholly inadequate. That this danger has been foreseen by the French is evident, for every cavalry regiment is supposed to bear on its rolls two reserve captains and five reserve subalterns, and each infantry regiment sixteen reserve subalterns. The following table, however, shows how low even these lists have fallen :—

TABLE V.—*Reserve of Regimental Officers.*

	Borne on the rolls		Wanting to complete		Authorised establishment	
	Captains	Subalterns	Captains	Subalterns	Captains	Subalterns
Cavalry . . .	33	218	107	132	140	350
Infantry . . .	—	1,405	—	939	—	2,404
Total . . .	33	1,683	107	1,071	140	2,754

At the present moment, owing to the numbers of the permanent army being maintained at a maximum of 500,000 (including officers and non-commissioned officers), squadrons, batteries, and battalions compose a very skeleton army, on which, in the event of war, would be grouped those categories which, having passed their one year in the ranks, are still at their homes and available for the active army, and those who having completed five years with the colours are now in the active reserve ; but in addition to these men, some trained and some partly trained, we have also that vast body who, though liable to enrolment since the year 1874, have escaped all service. These three classes comprise :—

I. Trained men of three years' service . . .	657,000
II. Partly trained men of one year's service . . .	609,000
III. Absolutely untrained men . . .	1,395,000
Total . . .	2,661,000

And these men would be either passed into the ranks of the active army to bring it to a war footing, or formed into dépôts at the various district centres. It may be, and has indeed been repeatedly advanced, that a very small additional increase in the number of officers would suffice to place regiments in an efficient condition when brought up to their war strength ; but many of the most thoughtful officers in the French army maintain the contrary. Mindful of the immense losses in-

curred by wholesale desertion in the Napoleonic wars, and of the difficulty of maintaining discipline in a service where the national system of education tends to loosen the bonds of command, and where the military system permits the educated men to leave the ranks at the expiration of one year's service, they demand that the peace proportion of officers to men should be maintained when regiments are placed on a war footing. As depôts would be mainly composed of untrained soldiers, they would necessarily absorb a very large proportion of exceptionally well-qualified non-commissioned officers, thus again weakening regiments of the first line, and it is obvious that the officers for these depôts would require to be carefully selected and able men, men of experience, tact, and education. In fact, the question of providing officers for the active army when brought up to war strength presents a series of almost insuperable difficulties. The present peace establishment is not more than sufficient for the very superficial instruction of the French soldier, and there are practically no reserves to draw on. Able French writers assert that in all branches the number of the junior grades would require to be doubled in order to carry out the efficient command, supervision, and leading of the various units when placed on a war footing and in the face of an enemy.

TABLE VI.—*Establishment of Officers in the Tactical Units of the various Arms.*

	Cavalry squadron		Artillery battery		Co. of Engineers		Co. of Infantry	
	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War
Squad. commander	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st captain . .	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2nd captain . .	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1st lieutenant .	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
2nd lieutenant .	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
Sous-lieutenant .	2	4	—	2	1	4	1	2

TABLE VII.—*Showing Present and War Establishment of Officers in the French Army.*

	Cavalry		Artillery		Engineers		Infantry	
	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War
Colonels . . .	77	77	42	42	4	8	152	152
Lieut.-colonels . .	77	95	42	60	4	22	152	170
Batt. commanders .	—	—	—	—	39	57	641	749
Squad. commanders	158	392	158	176	—	—	—	—
1st captains . .	392	392	462	494	175	175	1,807	3,790
2nd captains . .	540	392	462	494	175	175	1,107	3,790
1st lieutenants . .	392	784	462	494	175	175	3,512	3,790
2nd lieutenants . .	392	392	462	494	175	350	7,580	7,580
Sous-lieutenants .	1,155	1,568	462	988	175	700	5,502	7,580
Total . . .	3,183	4,092	2,552	3,242	922	1,062	12,873	27,601

	Officers	Non-commissioned officers and men
Present establishment, including officers of the active reserve borne on the cadres of their corps . . .	22,409	480,000
War establishment of the active army, including depôts and all trained men of the army and active reserve . . .	36,507	1,270,000

It will be seen in Table IV. that there are at the present moment serving in the permanent army, or borne on the rolls of the active reserve, a total of 22,409 regimental officers, and yet we find that no fewer than 36,597 are required to place the active army on a war footing; and even by this calculation we are only allowing a proportion of *one officer to thirty-four trained and untrained men*, whilst in Germany the same proportion is observed with trained soldiers alone. In England we consider one officer to thirty soldiers absolutely necessary, whilst on the peace establishment the proportion in the French permanent army is one in twenty-eight, and this it may be remembered was also laid down in the composition of the French army corps prior to 1870.

We have said that on a war footing the French active army would consist of 1,270,000 soldiers, and that it would require for its efficient command more than 36,500 officers. A glance at the following table will show how the men are furnished; and here it will be noticed that we have entirely left out of our calculations the 1,395,000 untrained men who have escaped service since the year 1874, but who are still liable to be called on to replace casualties. How to organise or to officer these legions is a task beyond our power to inquire, as much as it is beyond the power of the French Government to accomplish.

TABLE VIII.—*Showing Composition of the French Active Army on a War Footing.*

Force	Numbers	Category
I. Active or fighting army . . .	140,000	Class 1881, partly trained with colours.
	93,000	" 1880, trained with colours.
	93,000	" 1879, " men at their homes.
	93,000	" 1878, " "
	93,000	" 1877, " active reservists.
	93,000	" 1876, " "
	93,000	" 1875, " "
	93,000	" 1874, " "
Total . . .	791,000	
II. Depôts of fighting army . . .	140,000	Class 1882, slightly trained men.
	47,000	" 1880, one year men at their homes.
	47,000	" 1879, " "
	47,000	" 1878, " "
	47,000	" 1877, one year men, active reserves.
	47,000	" 1876, " "
	47,000	" 1875, " "
	47,000	" 1874, " "
Total . . .	469,000 ²	

²+ about 1,300,000 men who have obtained exemption from service with the colours.

If we deduct from the 791,000 of the fighting army the Algerian corps of 35,000, we find that we shall require, to place the active army on a war footing, the following numbers :—

	Men
Infantry	608,000
Cavalry	52,000
Artillery	65,000
Engineers	35,000
Total	<u>758,000</u>

So that, as far as men are concerned, if we are permitted to include the partially trained men of class 1881 as fit to serve in the field, there would be no difficulty in bringing the army to its full strength. The 140,000 men of this class are not men on whom much reliance could be placed, having only completed one year's service with the colours, and we have no doubt that large numbers would necessarily, owing to defective training, be left behind with the depôts, thus weakening the first line ; though their vacancies would doubtless be filled by volunteers from the trained ranks of the territorial army.

THE TERRITORIAL ARMY.

The Territorial army is composed of all men who have completed nine years' service ; they remain in it five years, and it comprises :—

226 batteries of artillery,
221 squadrons of cavalry,
445 battalions of infantry,
18 battalions of engineers.

To fill the ranks of this formidable force a reference to Table I. will show that there are but—

	Men
Trained	186,000
Partly trained	94,000
Total	<u>280,000</u>

Whereas to place it on a war footing we should require—

	Men
Artillery : 220 batteries at 120 men	27,480
Cavalry : 225 squadrons at 150 men	33,750
Infantry : 486 battalions at 1,000 men	486,000
Engineers : 18 battalions at 800	14,400
Establishment	<u>561,630</u>
Available	280,000
Wanting to complete	<u>281,630</u>

The deficiency in men might to a certain extent be rectified by a levy *en masse*, which would bring to the ranks a number of old soldiers trained under the Empire ; these would be invaluable in imparting military instruction to the thousands of young recruits and

untrained men who, though having procured exemption when called up, would still be amongst the list of those available for service. It is when we scrutinise the rolls of officers that we realise how completely the French system has broken down. Scarcely a regiment in the territorial army possesses a competent staff: in the cavalry thirty-six adjutants are wanting, in the infantry 209; and though regiments in the latter arm are composed of three battalions—

4	regiments possess but one captain each
8	" two captains each
4	" three "
12	" four "

The following table gives more clearly the actual deficiency of officers in each arm:—

TABLE IX.—*Peace and War Establishments of the Territorial Army.*

	Cavalry		Artillery		Engineers		Infantry		Staff	
	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War
Colonels	—	18	—	18	—	18	—	18	0	—
Lieut.-colonels	18	18	18	18	18	18	145	145	39	—
Batt. cmdrs.	—	—	—	—	18	18	476	486	113	—
Squad. cmdrs.	61	225	62	72	—	—	—	—	210	—
1st captains	372	225	140	229	47	54	1,246	2,430	372	—
2nd captains	—	225	109	229	—	54	—	2,430	—	—
1st lieutenants	172	450	156	229	51	54	1,803	2,430	129	—
2nd lieutenants	—	450	304	458	48	108	—	4,860	—	—
Sous-lieutenants	427	900	779	458	95	216	3,290	4,860	45	—
Total	1,050	2,511	1,568	1,711	257	540	6,960	17,650	908	—

	Officers	Non-commissioned officers and men
Number of officers at present borne on the cadres of territorial regiments	9,835	280,000
Number required to place these regiments on a war footing	22,421	565,000
Wanting	12,586	285,000

Here, again, we find an enormous deficiency not only in officers but in men, and though, perhaps, if the individual efficiency of the French soldier was equal to the individual efficiency of the German, the number of trained men in the country might suffice for its defence, yet the enormous defect in regimental officers, amounting in the aggregate to 27,000 (not including those necessary for the untrained men of all classes), would prevent the army being placed in a thorough state of organisation.

The Territorial army is not intended merely as a garrison force, but we are assured that the battalions on the eastern frontier would be pushed forward into the front line, and so take their places by the side of their brethren in the active army. It is true that in the 2nd, 6th, and 7th Army Corps a higher state of efficiency exists than in the

rest of the army, for in some regions the infantry portion is practically valueless. Let us take the 10th Army Corps which, in the event of England forming one of the Powers at war with France, would be the one on which the defence of the northern and north-western sea-board would fall; we find in the following table that more than half the officers are wanting:—

	Captains	Lieutenants	Sous-Lieutenants	Adjutants
Present strength .	31	107	157	9
War establishment .	192	288	192	24
Wanting .	161	181	35	15

THE TERRITORIAL RESERVE.

The last class with which we have to deal is the territorial reserve, which consists of all men between fourteen and twenty years' service; as yet it has not come into existence, for under the law of 1872 no old soldiers can have been passed into its ranks. Its object is to replace the casualties in the territorial army, caused either by losses in action of those corps which have been pushed forward against the enemy, or by drafts sent to the active regiments in the front. As the territorial reserve contains neither officers nor men, we may pass it by without further remark.

There is, however, a large body of men in France who, in the event of war, would be invaluable; we allude to the old soldiers of the Imperialist school, many thousands of whom are scattered throughout the country. They are all men of long service, many of them decorated. Whatever their strength may be—and it would be very difficult to ascertain this—there is no doubt that they would form an invaluable nucleus, round which to group the partially trained men of all classes, and from amongst them might be drawn a large number of non-commissioned officers, the want of whom is painfully felt in the active as well as the territorial army. Looking at the French army from the British or German standpoint, as regards its drill and discipline, it is probable that the old Imperial soldiers are the most valuable body of men France possesses, but whether it would be possible or politic to draft them into the active army is a question of some difficulty.

OFFICERS.

We have already shown that, owing to the paucity of officers, France would find it a matter of difficulty—we think we should be justified in saying impossibility—to mobilise her forces; 27,000 regimental officers are still needed for her active and territorial army, irrespective of those who would be required to train the million and a half untrained men still liable for service. There is, however,

another matter in connection with the commissioned ranks which must necessarily affect the efficiency of the army—we allude to their age. Rightly or wrongly in England we make every effort to have young and active men in our regiments, and by a judicious system of retirement we now get rid of company and troop commanders at the age of forty. Any one who has visited French garrison towns will have been struck by the age of their regimental officers, and it is self-evident that a period of probation in the subaltern grades of sixteen or seventeen years is enough to kill all zeal and ambition; yet this is the average time a French officer takes to reach his captaincy, whilst the man who obtains field rank in twenty-five years is exceptionally fortunate. There are over 3,000 captains in the army who have served over twenty years in the commissioned ranks, and in several infantry regiments there are five to six—even as many as ten—captains who were in the army during the Crimean war, whilst thirty-one squadron or battalion commanders and 185 captains have held the same rank since 1870. It is true that promotion is becoming more rapid, thanks to the action of General Thibaudin. The selection of officers of Republican views for all the more important military posts has caused a general feeling of discontent and insecurity to permeate all ranks, and in the month of July no fewer than four vacancies occurred amongst generals of division or brigade. The system of nomination to these commands has not been one which commends itself to military discipline, for we find a division in the 2nd Army Corps commanded by the senior divisional general in France, whilst the corps itself is commanded by an officer who is 44th on the roll: and this is not a solitary instance; in four army corps we have divisions commanded by generals senior to their corps commanders.

The substitution of a laurel wreath for the Imperial Crown on the decoration of the Legion of Honour and the abolition of the eagle on the French military medals were petty acts in themselves, but they rankled in the breasts of those who received these rewards for service under the Empire. The decree which compelled all officers and men to provide themselves with new orders of Republican design was still more ill-judged.³ These acts, coupled with the unwritten law that Republican views will henceforth be considered an indispensable qualification for promotion, have alienated the great mass of officers from the present Government.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Since the introduction of the short-service system, all European nations have experienced a difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of good non-commissioned officers. France has proved no exception

³ A circular was issued by General Thibaudin calling for the political opinions of all officers recommended for staff employ.

to the general rule. The low rate of pay, ranging from 2s. 3½d., the daily pay of the sergeant-major of a cavalry regiment, to 8½d., the pay of a sergeant of a line battalion, is in itself sufficient to account for the disinclination of men to accept these appointments, when so much higher salaries can be obtained in civil employment. Even the inducement of a commission as sous-lieutenant in the reserve, after two years' service as a sous-officier, with all the honour and dignity attaching to such advancement, has not been enough to prompt men to prolong their period of service beyond the legal minimum; indeed at the present moment there are over 24,000 sous-officiers in the French army who have not completed five years in the ranks—a very large proportion of these (it is said 18,000) are under three years' service. It must be remembered that corporals are not included in this grade, and that no man can be promoted sous-officier until he has completed one year with the colours, though he may obtain a corporal's stripes at the expiry of eight months. The system which exempts members of the religious and educational classes from military service, and which permits its soldiers to escape further servitude by passing an examination at the expiry of one year in the ranks, naturally deprives the army of those very men who by their education would be most likely to make the best non-commissioned officers; consequently these posts are filled by men from the lower classes of society, men devoid of good education, and of those powers of command generated by habits of scholastic obedience. Though alive to the magnitude of the evil, the French Government have as yet taken no steps to counteract it, or of providing means for ensuring a healthy flow of well-educated youngsters into the ranks, bound for such a period of service that the depletion which now annually occurs would be materially diminished. Under the present organisation the permanent army on its peace footing requires 33,979 sous-officiers, and to place it on a war footing 63,800 would be necessary. The territorial army absorbs nearly 24,000, and yet it is evident from repeated complaints in the Senate and in the press that, whilst in the permanent army large deficiencies exist, in the active reserve the grade is almost wholly wanting. The reason is not far to seek: educated men leave the army at the close of their first year's service, the privilege of wearing an epaulette at the expiration of a further two years with their regiment does not possess sufficient attraction for them; the men who remain on, and are promoted into the non-commissioned grades, are just of sufficient learning to admit of their passing the required examination; and so the junior commissioned ranks of the active reserve and of the territorial army are annually reinforced by large numbers of men of a low standard of educational attainments and of no social position, whilst the non-commissioned ranks receive few additions. Upwards of 18,000 vacancies annually occur amongst the sous-officiers of the

permanent army, and these are invariably filled by corporals of little more than one year's service. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that corps suffer in smartness. When we remember that these are not men of fair position or of good education, but are men drawn from the lower classes, and that they are entrusted with powers of punishment equal to those possessed by officers commanding companies in the British army, it is not strange that discipline also suffers. They are permitted to command before they have learnt to obey; a soldier's duty is not mastered in a year, and to invest men with punitive powers before they have mastered the details of their profession is to court insubordination in time of peace, disaster in time of war. The value of an army depends in no small degree on its non-commissioned officers; in England we have ever recognised this, and though the introduction of short service swept away men of the old stamp, the liberal rates of pay offered have once more had the effect of drawing to and retaining good men with the colours. All the Great European Powers have initiated systems which, whilst attracting good men to non-commissioned posts, offer them inducements to remain in the service for long periods, thus avoiding the exercise of power by young men. France, on the contrary, makes no effort either to attract sous-officiers or to retain those she has at hand, but rather puts a premium on their early retirement; thus the permanent army is dangerously weakened, and the reserves are filled with junior officers of doubtful worth.

DISCIPLINE.

The difficult question of maintaining discipline in a short-service army has been intensified of late years by the spread of education and the general levelling up of the masses; this is further increased in the French army by the national system of education, which tends to promote class equality, and to break down the barrier that in other nations exists between the officer and the soldier, as well as by the facilities afforded to the educated private for obtaining his discharge at the expiration of a year's service. The loyalty of its officers to the Government is a somewhat important factor in the discipline of an army, and it is no secret that the French executive have a most difficult task to perform in governing the army with the material at its disposal. There is no doubt that the unwise introduction of politics into military questions has caused the most profound irritation in all except the Republican portion of the service, and yet, with a remembrance of what an apt tool the French army has been in the hands of able conspirators, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the President of a Republic and the believers in that form of government, should endeavour to hold all power in their own hands by driving Royalists and Imperialists out of the army, and by wholesale

promotions of their own friends. Many of their acts, however, have been most injudicious, have been felt by all ranks, and have engendered discontent of the deepest kind—a discontent which deprives the army of the loyal co-operation of its officers, or of the spontaneous subordination of its men.

The appointment of the junior general of division in the army to the post of Minister of War, irrespective of the fact that his military antecedents were of a very doubtful character, was a direct attack on all who professed any but Republican principles; the first acts with which he signalled his advent to office—viz. the removal of the Princes from the army and of General Galifet from the chief command at the cavalry manœuvres—only served to embitter the feeling caused by General Thibaudin's appointment. Even prior to this, much discontent reigned in the senior ranks, and with reason; when we find the senior divisional general in the army commanding a division in an army corps under an officer whose commission in that grade is nine years junior to his own, and who is forty places below him in the roll of generals, it is easy to account for the absence of zeal in the service. Until the advent of Thibaudin to power, the junior officers were to a great extent exempt from similar supersessions, but they, too, now have learnt that promotion for them also depends on their political views. Captains and subalterns have recently been passed over in the most wholesale manner, and in the month of July a representative of a well-known Republican family received his grade as captain over the heads of more than two thousand of his seniors. The result of these injudicious actions has been the spread of discontent in all ranks, and the retirement of a great number of officers, from the general of division to the subaltern. Though these retirements may be playing into the hands of Government by weeding the army of its enemies, it is not conducive to discipline.

Next to loyalty on the part of the officers, a good stamp of non-commissioned officer is the most valuable adjunct to discipline. In this the French army is lamentably wanting, and as yet no efforts have been made by Government to remedy the evil. The pay of the various grades is far below what we offer in our service, far below what a labourer can earn in France; consequently all educated privates prefer passing out from the colours at the expiration of their one year's service rather than accepting preferment. Many plans have been suggested to induce these men to serve on, but all of them necessarily have as their basis increased expenditure, and this the French Government will not tolerate. Even the establishment of the 'École d'essai des enfants de troupe' only provides for the gratuitous instruction of thirty lads, the remainder of the scholars being supported by their parents, and the total number is not to exceed 600. It is clear that but an infinitesimal portion of the non-commissioned officers of an army 500,000 strong can be depended on from this.

source. It is beyond our province to criticise the many able plans put forward in the *Journal des Sciences Militaires* and other service journals for the amelioration of this evil; it is one which every officer in the French army recognises and the effect of which he dreads.

With a spirit of discontent and distrust rampant in the commissioned ranks, with an indifferent stamp and insufficient number of non-commissioned officers, it is not to be wondered at that the discipline of the private is not what it should be. As we said before, this is attributable to the national system of education, and to the lax military system of the country. It is nothing new to hear of these things. In war as well as in peace the insubordination of the French private is a matter of history; the lad who learns at school that in France all men are equal finds it difficult, on joining the service, to give that implicit obedience to his superior which military discipline demands, the superior oft-times fails to demand it, and so laxity springs up which culminates in what we should call mutiny. Soldiers appear in garrison towns slovenly dressed, they even reel about the streets drunk, and officers pass by unheeding. No wonder then that ever and again the world is horrified by a soldier being sentenced to death for insubordination. The fault rests not so much with the men as with the system, and it is no new thing. During the Austrian campaign of 1805, some French officers were wounded by privates of their own regiments in endeavouring to restrain them from plundering; in the campaign of 1806, when Ney was advancing against Magdeburg, one of his aides-de-camp and General Jomini had to defend themselves with their swords against soldiers of Ney's corps whom they discovered marauding; later on in the same campaign, prior to the battle of Preussisch Eylau, similar scenes occurred, and it is said on authority that no fewer than 10,000 men were then known to be marauding in the neighbourhood of the army. We have abundant evidence from French sources of a similar state of things in 1870; officers have openly stated that they have been compelled to shoot men down red-handed in order even temporarily to restore obedience, and these summary executions were sanctioned by a government decree.* That the insubordination is not a thing of the past is evident from the fact that this year, at least two French soldiers have been sentenced to death for disobedience accompanied by insubordination, and the many articles on the subject which have appeared in service papers show that the French officer is alive to the danger. If reports as to the condition of the French army are true, it would seem to be generally acknowledged that insubordination is on the increase, and that this increase is largely due to the fact that corporals of eight months' service possess the same powers of punishment as

* During the manoeuvres of 1883 Lieutenant-Colonel Senaux of the 134th Regt. was killed, and Colonel Grisot of the 88th Regt. was fired at. That these circumstances were not accidental is clear, for the men were only provided with blank ammunition.

were bestowed on non-commissioned officers of that grade in the days of long service, when a man rarely got his stripes under ten years. The judicious use of power by steady and respected non-commissioned officers is the making; just as its abuse by young and inexperienced men is the ruin, of an army. At the present moment all things seem to work together to prevent the establishment of discipline in the French army. A military code unsuited to the times; superior officers uncertain of the tenure of their appointments, with zeal deadened within them; non-commissioned officers drawn from the lowest ranks and imbued with the pride of power; and private soldiers recognising the superiority of no man. Discipline under such circumstances is impossible.

In the foregoing columns we have endeavoured to show the actual position of the French army; it may be well briefly to compare the scheme of 1872 with the results of 1883. According to carefully prepared statistics, the French Government anticipated annual contingents of recruits of 300,000 men, enabling them at the end of eleven years to count upon 3,300,000 trained soldiers. Assuming that ten per cent. were physically incapable of serving, there should still be an army of 3,000,000 trained soldiers in the country, but the system of wholesale exemptions has so impaired the value of the scheme that we find the results to be as below:—

Strength of force in 1883, according to law of 1872	.	.	.	Men	3,000,000
Actual strength, trained men :					
Permanent army	.	.	.	279,000	
Active reserves	.	.	.	372,000	
Territorial army	.	.	.	186,000	
Actual strength, half-trained :					887,000
Permanent army	.	.	.	421,000	
Active reserves	.	.	.	188,000	
Territorial army	.	.	.	94,000	703,000
Total	.	.	.		1,540,000
					1,460,000

leaving 1,500,000 untrained men in the country who are still borne on the cadres of regiments and *called soldiers*.

If the system has broken down as regards its men, only half of whom are trained, how much more so has it failed in providing officers for this strangely assorted force. In armies such as our own, where every soldier obtains the minimum of six years in the ranks, or as the German, where, owing to the ceaseless daily round of drill and instruction, the three years' service is certainly equal, if not superior in its results to, our own, a proportion of one officer to thirty men is considered necessary. If the French are dreamers of dreams, and look forward to the day when three million trained, disciplined, and armed men will rally round the tricolour in obedience to a telegraphic message from the War Minister, they will require 100,000 officers to lead them, and this is the proportion it must be remembered for three

million *trained men*; far more would be necessary to command a force of which only 25 per cent. can be termed *soldiers*. As it is, there are but 32,000 regimental officers in France, of whom 12,500 are sous-lieutenants, a number far from sufficient to place the active army on its proper war footing.

It is true that fortune favours heavy battalions, but only when these battalions are composed of highly-trained and well-disciplined troops. The French organisation reads well on paper; but we believe that the army, with the exception of the artillery, in which there is a most noticeable improvement, is in a worse condition than it was in 1870. Its permanent force is wanting in those soldierlike qualities which distinguished the regiments that used to march past the Emperor on the Champ de Mars. The reserves, who would be called out to bring the army up to war strength, are composed of half-trained men, whose value has been seriously impaired by their severance from military discipline. The old feeling of comradeship amongst officers has been succeeded by mutual distrust, and *esprit de corps* amongst the men is also a thing of the past. Efficiency has been sacrificed to numbers, military capacity to political exigencies, and should war overtake France before she has realised and rectified the defects of her military organisation, nothing can avert a disaster more crushing than that which befell her thirteen years ago.

C. NORMAN.

BLUE-BLOODED BOYS.

AN AUSTRALIAN CRITICISM.

THE paper by Major-General the Hon. W. Feilding which appeared in the April number of this Review, entitled 'What shall I do with my son?' has been read with interest by many people in Victoria, and doubtless by equal numbers in the other colonies of the Australasian group. The interest with which it has been studied is not attributable to any novelty in the views expressed, or to the insight of the writer. It springs, I think, from a feeling of mingled amusement and annoyance at finding that one more visitor has passed some time in our midst, and yet has failed to penetrate beneath the surface of things, or to carry away with him anything like a clear idea of the society in which he has moved. The mistakes made by many of the English writers who condescend to notice provincial affairs excite various feelings in the minds of colonists. In the thoughtless they produce laughter; but those who value the Imperial connection, who dream dreams of the part which the British race might play in the affairs of the world, if its power were to be consolidated by a federal pact, occasionally feel inclined to weep tears of vexation when they see caricatures and misrepresentations placed before their fellow-countrymen at home, which are calculated to prevent the growth of the complete understanding and close intimacy between the motherland and her numerous offshoots that must precede any thorough union of interests, and any course of hearty co-operation.

:There is nothing in General Feilding's paper calculated to provoke bitter feeling. His feelings are principally of a negative character. He has been, and seen, but has evidently not conceived the faintest idea of what Australian colonists really are, or formed anything like just opinions about their habits of thought, their several conditions, and their ruling motives. It is difficult to imagine where the honourable and gallant gentleman picked up his notions concerning us and our affairs, so little do they correspond with existing facts. There is sufficient warrant, I think, for the use of the word 'us,' for, although the General treats of emigration in the abstract, his paper bears internal evidence of having been written

with special reference to emigration to Australia. His recent visit to this country, in connection with the transcontinental railway which Queensland is about to construct, lends colour to this supposition. We need hardly say that this inability to understand the mind, temper, and circumstances of these colonies renders him a blind guide to those whom he wishes to assist. Speaking generally, the only really sound advice given in his paper is contained in the word 'emigrate;' all the rest is 'leather and prunella.'

We may accept General Feilding's assertion that 'What shall I do with my son?' is daily asked in hundreds of English homes, and that few parents are able to answer it to their satisfaction. We may also take his list of the causes which have created the difficulty 'in answering what appears at first sight a plain question, and one easy of solution,' as sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. It is necessary to state that the same question is being asked in Australia, and that parents here are even more perplexed than in England to find replies to the troublesome query. A very 'general diffusion of wealth' with us 'has caused a great accession to the ranks of those who desire that their children, if not themselves, shall be classed as gentlefolks.' And this desire is not confined, as in England, to the two divisions of the middle class, but is equally prevalent among artisans, mechanics, labourers, small shopkeepers, &c. The system of public instruction in Australia, which places a University education within the reach of nearly all youths possessing industry and some talent, is causing a perfect rush into the professions, and a competition for many offices where intellectual or clerical service is required quite as keen as that which exists in the United Kingdom. Colonial lads are by no means inclined to adopt manual labour trades, if by any means they can obtain what is considered in their circles more 'genteel' employment. Immigrants, without family connections in the colonies, or that mysterious qualification known as 'colonial experience,' have now little chance of obtaining office employment, as they are confronted at every opening by swarms of the colonial-born furnished with these aids to merit. Unless young men who look to clerkships, &c., for the means of livelihood are of a robust nature, and capable of turning their hands to any employment that may present itself while waiting for appointments, they had better stay at home. There are too many of their kind here already, and soon their name will be legion.

But the fact that the supply of mercantile assistants in Australia is far in excess of the demand, and that for every vacancy which occurs there are usually about ten applicants, does not affect the young gentlemen whom General Feilding desires to benefit. The upper classes, he admits, have occasionally furnished recruits to the ranks of commerce. They have descended from their high estate, and served long apprenticeships as clerks; but he shudders when he

thinks of what their refined natures must have had to endure while attempting to adapt themselves 'to uninteresting mercantile business routine, and to habits of thought and action foreign to 'their' former dreams, desires, and indeed to 'their' very nature.' He would provide all young fellows of 'good family and high birth' who are reduced to the dreadful necessity of earning their own living with more suitable careers, would give them some desirable occupation, a lofty object of ambition, and aims worthy of men of their class and education. No one here would think of placing General Feilding's *protégés* at any disadvantage in the race of life simply because they happen to have been born in the purple, but at the same time very few would render them exceptional assistance as members of a privileged class. The prevailing disposition is to give all 'a fair field and no favour,' without any reference whatever to parentage or social rank.

Occupations in some way connected with land are, in General Feilding's opinion, the proper things for blue-blooded boys, although it is difficult to imagine why, in a new country, pastoral work so graphically described by Touchstone, or agricultural operations, should be considered more dignified than the business of the shop or the counting-house. Land in the colonies is not the sacred thing it is in older communities, nor are those connected with it regarded with special veneration. It must be remembered that the rôle of the practical settler is not that of supervisor. The General himself points out that 'in order to get the maximum of work out of a colonial labourer, the employer must not only know how things ought to be done, but able and willing to take off his coat and show how he wishes the work to be executed.' It may be more in keeping with high birth to have the hands befouled by the manipulation of sheep and cattle, or covered with the blood and dust of the branding yard, or coated with the soil of arable land, than stained by ink; but in countries where Jack considers himself as good as his master, people do not understand these nice distinctions. They are apt to think that such failures as General Feilding describes, young men of 'good family and 'high birth' but without sufficient industry, energy, or brains 'to win a commission in one of the professions of arms, to obtain practice at the bar, to enter into the Government service in any form, or *even into holy orders*,¹ would be lucky, in the absence of pecuniary resources, to obtain any employment whereby they may keep body and soul together. However, I will not pursue this vein of thought further.

When a patrician parent decides the question 'What shall I do with my son?' by determining to send him across the seas to follow pastoral or agricultural pursuits, ordinary people would consider that

¹ The italics in the above quotation are mine. I think the unconscious irony is exquisite.

nothing remains to be done but to buy him an outfit, take a passage, and despatch the emigrant. General Feilding, however, does not think that the valuable consignment should be treated in this rough and ready way. He would give him a preparatory training at home, through the instrumentality of an educational establishment about to be called into existence, 'in everything necessary to prepare' a youngster 'for direct entry into colonial life.' Thus equipped, the student is to be passed on to 'a special settlement in one of the colonies for young men of the upper classes.' One of the objects of the special settlement, we are told, is to people 'a large area of good land' with 'a fair sprinkling of young Englishmen of education and refinement, who will gradually act as an attraction to that portion of the country of a working population.' The idea is pretty and even idyllic, but it is 'such stuff as dreams are made of.' If the ordinary bush-hand, or agricultural labourer of Australia, were to hear that a number of young men had associated themselves together under the supposition that they were something superior to the general run of mankind, he would be far more likely to commend them to the infernal gods in a raging tornado of fancy swearing, than to be attracted by their 'sweetness and light.' If of a quiet disposition he might refrain from molesting them, but should he by any chance cross their path, he would soon show them that exclusiveness is not to his liking. All this may be very wrong, but it is true. The working man of Australia has little reverence for birth or rank. He will patronise both occasionally if he finds them ranged on his side in a political conflict. If any one whom he is compelled to respect as a *man* can boast of either, the horny-handed son of toil will not look down on him on account of his misfortune. People possessing more than a superficial knowledge of colonial life are aware that even the very fairest 'sprinkling of young Englishmen of education and refinement,' given to the practice of thanking God that they are not as other men are, would beget no other feeling in the mind of the masses than one of wrath and repulsion.

The attraction of a working population is not the only purpose which the special settlement is designed to serve. It is proposed to build a boarding-house in the central position thereof, and to place it under the management of an Englishman. There the young men of 'good family and high birth' will reside for two years and acquire 'colonial experience.' The manager will advise them as to the best mode of dealing with any property they may purchase. It is thought that in this way they may continue to live with their equals while gradually becoming accustomed to the hard life of a settler. Now, I believe I am correct in saying that special settlements have not as a rule been successes, and this is especially true of those composed for the most part of gentleman adventurers. Hard work in the fields or the stock-yard appears charming when viewed from a distance; until

the temper is tried by submission to authority nothing seems so easy as cheerful obedience. But when the novelty has worn off and unaccustomed occupations begin to grow irksome, a strain is put upon the steadfastness and self-control of the co-operators which none but the most steady and considerate can stand. Those who pass through the trial, without falling into querulous discontent or open insubordination, are the very men who would get on as well or better without any organisation to fetter their individual discretion.

But, assuming for the sake of argument that, contrary to most experience, the special settlement will not come to grief through bickerings and jealousies and want of discipline, I fail to see how it is to preserve its members from the contamination which General Feilding fears. That gallant officer has drawn a harrowing picture of the demoralising influences to which young gentlemen of 'good family and high birth' are exposed while seeking to establish themselves in colonial life. His sketch of how many youths are started on their career is only too true. It is a fact that a number of parents and guardians consider that they have 'done sufficient and what is right' if they send out their sons or wards with a dozen letters of introduction in their pockets, and outfits, which, as the General truly says, are fitted for anything except for the future existence of their owners. The letters of introduction may get the young fellow a few invitations to dinner, but, says General Feilding, they must not be relied on to secure material help in cases of necessity. 'Most of the successful men in the colonies,' according to him, 'began with nothing; had neither money nor letters of introduction themselves, and the fashion is to look with little favour on youngsters who lean upon such means of commencing colonial life.' Until it is certain that they will not require pecuniary aid, the wary old stagers, who have fought their own way to wealth and ease without assistance, do not like to show them too much attention.

But General Feilding does us injustice when he leaves it to be inferred that all Australians are like the curmudgeons he describes. I venture to say that in no part of the world is more liberality displayed, or more disinterested kindness shown to those in need of it, than in these southern lands. I have known men to make liberal advances to young fellows introduced to them from home, frequently by persons they scarcely knew, and all the thanks they got for their consideration was a protested bill and an indignant repudiation of indebtedness. The virtuous parents drawn on have written protesting against the mistaken kindness of supporting youth in idleness, or encouraging it in vice, but refusing—on principle, of course—to repay one penny of the money which kept their own flesh and blood from starvation, or perhaps worse. I have known women who have played the good Samaritan to youths sent forth by English parents upon the sea of life to sink or swim as best they could. One especially, I call to

mind. A lad—I don't know whether he was of 'good family and high birth' or not, but he was in very bad case—brought a letter of introduction to a young squatter. The new arrival was far gone in consumption, and was not pleasant company by any means. But, though a total stranger, the squatter took the invalid to his own house in the interior, and there his wife tended the poor fellow for months with as much tenderness as if he had been her own brother. Despite all the disagreeables of her task she never faltered in her attentions to the end. She smoothed the invalid's dying pillow, comforted him with gracious words, received his last messages for those far away, and strewed flowers upon his lonely grave. Many kindnesses such as I have mentioned, bestowed upon what may be called forced acquaintances, should protect Australians from the sweeping statement that those who bring letters of introduction to colonists are lamentably mistaken if they think that they will in any case receive material help from those to whom those letters are addressed. It would have gone hard with many, who are now alive and prospering, if their experience had been in accordance with General Feilding's assertion.

But this is a digression. Let us get back to the ideal youth who has delivered his letters of introduction and been asked to dinner once or twice on the strength of them. After a time, according to General Feilding, he finds that hotel life, club life, and the expenses of boarding-houses have made considerable inroads on his limited funds, and after trying in vain to get employment, 'he discovers that the only way open to him is to buy a horse, to diminish his wardrobe and kit to the smallest possible compass,' and to 'start off up country.' But if his funds were so limited, why did he indulge in hotels, clubs, and riotous living? Why did he not content himself with a boarding-house, and get away from town as quickly as possible without squandering his substance? If a youth brings out a small capital for the purpose of settling on land, and then stays in town looking for employment until all his money is spent, he must be too great a simpleton either for a special settlement or independent operations. Against such folly the gods would contend in vain.

However, he is off at last in search of some 'settler willing to let him learn his work without other remuneration than his board and lodging.' Then the contaminating process to which I have referred commences. The recent *habitué* of hotels and clubs 'finds himself associated in daily life with men mostly of but little education and no refinement, and chiefly of a class much inferior to his own.' If, however, he is steady, able, and willing, he rises 'in position as well as in emoluments.' In other words, if a young fellow is worth his salt at an occupation he voluntarily adopts along with its accompaniments, he gets on. What more could he do if he were a member of twenty special settlements? But, says General Feilding, he earns

his reward at the cost of friction and loss of time. Friction, I presume, arises from his having to mix with those who follow the same calling as himself. As to loss of time, I do not suppose that even a special settlement man expects to become a millionaire in a week. 'And who have been his companions during all these years?' asks the worthy officer with tears in his voice, 'and how much of his educational and natural refinement has he retained after living such an animal life for so many years?' Well, it would be difficult to fix the exact quantity; but I venture to suggest that no one who has ever acquired the manners of a gentleman can ever lose them; and that natural refinement—the refinement of the heart—will withstand any 'evil communications' to which it may be exposed. But, whether I am right or not, it is evident that General Feilding's special settlers would be subject, in an almost equal degree, to the degrading effects of the animal life spoken of. For two years only would they be inmates of the club-house, and associate with 'young men of the upper classes;' after that they would retire to their own homesteads and the company of their farm or station hands, descending to their

level day by day,

What is fine within 'them' growing coarse to sympathise with clay.

I am afraid, then, there is no more chance of keeping the bloom on the ethereal refinement, which seems to belong naturally to 'good family and high birth,' by means of a special settlement than there is of gathering riches through its instrumentality. General Feilding has not yet succeeded in finding a royal road for aristocratic colonisation, and if association with persons of no refinement and an inferior class is fatal to education, purity, refinement, and all the rest of it, then blue-blooded youths must consent to be debased if they want to settle.

The life spent by those who devote themselves to pastoral pursuits is bad, but that of agriculturist settlers, according to General Feilding, is even worse. After getting a grant the selector must discover his land—not an easy task apparently. He is represented as discouraged 'at the loneliness and desolation of the scene, and utterly bewildered what are the first steps to be taken. The General paints a picture of the colonial farmer's daily life which is dreary and depressing. In imagination he takes a look in upon the selector as he sits down to his supper, half an hour after sundown. The sinner has been in the fields since sunrise, he is tired out with his hard day's work, and, having no one but his cook or labourer to talk to, he goes to bed as soon after his meal as digestion will allow. This, we are told, must be the round of his life for years—eating, sleeping, and working; no companionship or social intercourse. Colonial farmers, it appears, are too busy to visit or receive visits, and even if a man does look in upon a neighbour now and then, it is usually to have a

drink, and 'to talk about such matters as are more suited to the minds of half-educated rustics than to the requirements of a man born a gentleman, and educated as an English gentleman generally is.' That the visitor would talk 'sheep,' or 'cattle,' or 'wool,' or 'crops' is very probable, but, unless I am mistaken, English gentlemen have been known to take an interest in such things before now. At all events, his conversation would have the merit which attaches to utility.

Now, all this is very misleading. That ignorant men, who take up land without possessing any capital, work hard, undergo many trials, and lead a weary life, is quite true; and it is also true that incessant labour, reacting on uncultivated minds, begets moroseness, which, added to the obstacles placed by distance in the way of visiting, produces indifference, if not dislike, to company. Solitude and continuous toil do certainly tend to brutalise such natures. But men of cultivation, who have the necessary capital to give them a fair start, may make life very tolerable even on a bush-farm. They are not the absolute slaves to their occupation which General Feilding supposes. They work hard, probably, and as a rule go early to bed; but they have books, and papers, and magazines, and correspondence to occupy their short evenings. Then, there are occasional holidays, and merry-makings, and trips to town to relieve the monotony of existence, and to prevent patricians and plebeians alike from becoming mere machines. And it must be remembered that the man who has settled judiciously is not a despairing drudge. If he works laboriously, he has the satisfaction of seeing his holding always improving under his hands; while every angular detail in his daily life is tipped with the golden rays of hope. But, be the life good or bad, wretched or desirable, it is evident that it would not be altered by a two years' residence in a special settlement, even amongst young men of the 'upper classes.'

There is nothing in General Feilding's paper which has afforded colonists more amusement than the statements concerning the way in which the superiority of new arrivals is acknowledged, the eagerness which is displayed to secure their services in public capacities, and the magic influence which they exercise over the coarse natures of the pioneer settlers. According to the account given, 'a young man of gentle birth' is such a novelty to us, that he is made the subject of comment directly he appears. We are ready, it seems, to fall down and worship the well-connected youth. After a time we implore him to take a seat in the Legislative Assembly, where 'the temperate, educated, and refined language of an English gentleman of ordinary power and ability,' able to 'grasp the principles of political economy and to take a wide view of all the burning questions of the day,' raises 'the whole tone of debate,' and elevates 'the aims and objects of the Legislature.' At this point colonists begin to rub

their eyes, and to ask themselves whether they are awake. They have lively recollections of what English boys were when they themselves were young, and they fail to remember any specimens likely to abash ordinary people by their marked superiority, or to sway senates by the transcendent purity of their language, and the exceptional profundity of their ideas. Except that they were not quite so precocious as Australian lads are, they see very little difference between the northern and southern varieties. The true state of the case is as nearly the exact opposite of the picture which General Feilding has drawn as possible. Instead of being looked up to with reverence, new arrivals are held in something very like contempt. 'New chum' is a term of reproach, and it attaches to every one who has not been licked into shape by a course of colonial training. A colonist can detect a 'new chum' at a glance. There is something about one that can be seen but which defies description; and, sad to relate, that something is far more likely to excite derision than to evoke homage. The mixture of awkwardness and chubbiness which results from a long sea voyage is not calculated to inspire respect in the thoughtless, while airs of assumed superiority too frequently beget feelings of resentment. Altogether the 'new chum' is at a considerable discount for some time after landing, and while, perhaps, he is thinking that 'mere provincials' are hanging upon his lips and wishing with sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered that they could imitate his graces, he is secretly being made the sport of the irreverent people he came to bless and enlighten.

I fancy now I hear some irate fellow-countryman—some gentleman of England who has always lived at home at ease—saying, 'Why, this is rank blasphemy; neither more nor less than colonial blow, bounce, and impudence, vile offshoots of morbid vanity, begotten of self-love and petty surroundings.' I am sorry that a compatriot should disquiet himself about our presumption, more especially as I must go on to show that, while colonists are foolish to look down on those who have not enjoyed the same advantages as themselves, they are not altogether without excuse for regarding the average 'new chum,' no matter what his rank may be, as wanting in some valuable qualities which they themselves usually possess. As a rule we find that 'new chums' are at once narrow-minded and dogmatic. 'Homekeeping youths have ever homely wits,' says Valentine, with truth. They come to us filled with the prejudices and standards peculiar to the district in which they were brought up—prejudices and standards which have been handed down from generation to generation as sacred things. At the same time it must be admitted that, except in a few out-of-the-way places, all those relics of the past are not only open to attack, but are being more or less vigorously assailed from within and without. It takes a long time, however, to uproot ideas or superstitions which are

respectable in virtue of their antiquity, and which people have imbibed with their mother's milk. Such old-world notions hang about the different localities in the atmosphere which envelopes them, and even when they are openly disavowed they are often secretly cherished. When people brought up under their influence set their foot in one of the Australian colonies, they enter a new world in more ways than one. They meet with a general breadth of thought, and a degree of tolerant liberality which at first they do not understand. They, who have been used to

take the rustic murmur of their bourg
For the great wave that echoes round the world,

find themselves altogether out of harmony with the prevailing tone of thought. They discover that many of the opinions they have formed, and come to regard as sacred verities, are either openly traversed, or shorn of their full proportions and coldly admitted with many limitations. At first they cannot reconcile themselves to the situation, and they lift up their voices in protest. They think the colonial world is considerably out of joint, and they somewhat hastily undertake to set it right. This accounts, I believe, for what we regard as the 'bumptiousness' observable in the early days of 'new chumhood.' After a time, however, they begin to see that there are more sides to every question than they ever dreamed of, and one by one they feel compelled to lay down the traditional beliefs of the Little Pedlingtons in which they were severally born. The leaven of colonial society works silently, but ceaselessly, in their thoughts and views, until at last they are altogether leavened. They are then, in a sense, new creatures.

The sceptical Briton will want to know where we got the breadth of thought and the tolerant liberality spoken of. 'Are they in the air,' he will say with mocking politeness, 'or do they grow on hedges; or are they found in mines?' Fair sir, be patient and I will tell thee all. They proceed from the mixture of races and divisions of races which has taken place in these colonies. Here we have, scattered all over the country, North of England men and South of England men, East and West, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, Germans, French, Americans, and small contingents of other branches of the human family. They rub shoulders daily in the streets, the marts, the exchanges, the churches, the municipal councils and the Parliaments, and vast quantities of inherited tradition, local prejudice, provincial narrowness, national egotism, dogmatic assertiveness, pride, vainglory and hypocrisy are worn away by the attrition. General Feilding, of course, may say that the youths of gentle birth whom he proposes to send us would have travelled, after the fashion of their kind, in many lands, and would thus have acquired the habit of looking at things from different standpoints. I

do not undervalue the advantage of such travel, but it can never produce the effects which spring from residence in a mixed community. To study different nations or sections of nations separately, and to observe their several peculiarities of thought and action when dwelling apart, is not the same thing as living habitually under the influences of a public opinion which can only come into existence after a fusion of races has taken place. Such a fusion brings thoughts and habits into sharp conflict, and leads to the evolution of new views and feelings—views and feelings which result from the interaction of a thousand different forces. Another reason why colonists of standing are superior as a rule in mental stature to new arrivals, is that many of them were born in England, and are as well acquainted with the mother country, its manners, customs, habits, and feelings, as they are with those of their adopted land. Of course, my remarks only apply to ordinary immigrants of all classes. We occasionally have visitors whose attainments and standing lift them out of the ruck, and before them we bow down and worship in befitting humility. ‘New chumhood’ in their case is no bar to respect and admiration. While we are independent and manage to entertain a comfortable opinion of ourselves, we are ready to acknowledge real superiority when we see it. But it must be genuine superiority, not the sham that attaches to the accident of being ‘the tenth transmitter of a foolish face.’

General Feilding considers it lamentable ‘that, even amongst people of education and much general knowledge, there should exist not only an utter indifference to, but also a crass ignorance of most, if not all, of our colonies.’ I agree with him; but I think I have shown that, despite his sojourn amongst us, he is little better informed than the people he condemns. In various parts of his paper he speaks as though a gentleman is rarely to be met with in Australia—is such a scarce bird, in fact, that the appearance of a single specimen in any district creates a commotion, and is at once made the subject of comment. I regret that General Feilding should have been so unfortunate in his company when here as to have been driven to such a conclusion. I can assure him that there are plenty of gentlemen to be found amongst us without very long or difficult search—gentlemen of birth and education, some with ample means, and some without. We have always had a fair sprinkling of Oxford and Cambridge men, and as wealthy families are in the habit of sending their sons to the great English Universities, the supply is not likely to run short. The gallant author’s fancy sketch about ‘new chums’ of gentle birth being sought after as representatives is a pretty conceit, but at the same time pure moonshine. There is as much chance of such a thing happening as there is of Mr. Bright being selected by his countrymen to conduct a great European war. The fact is that, under universal suffrage, birth and education are in some

degree a bar to success in politics. It is not that the 'horny handed' object to either if possessed by one who in other respects is a 'man,' but they seem to think that members on a social equality with themselves are more likely to sympathise with their feelings and to support their real or supposed interests. As to the influence which a youth fresh from the schools would exercise on the seasoned politicians in our Assemblies, it would be absolutely *nil*. When reading this portion of the General's paper I cannot avoid suspicion that some wicked wag got hold of the worthy gentleman in a moment of weakness, and cruelly practised on his credulity and innocence.

While General Feilding cannot be accepted as an authority on the subject he has treated, his advice to emigrate, as I have already said, is good. Every young gentleman in England who has no evident career before him, but is prepared to 'rough it,' and to work his way to a competence, if need be, with his hands, should move heaven and earth to reach this land of promise. Of clerks and shopmen who cannot turn to anything but the occupations to which they have been accustomed, we have more than enough; but those who feel that, under pressure of necessity, they could do work other than quill-driving or tape-measuring, need not be deterred by that statement from having a fling for fortune. Men who are strong, handy, sensible, industrious, thrifty, and sober, cannot help getting on, and there is nothing to prevent their attaining affluence or any position which their talents and acquirements will enable them to reach. For young fellows with a capital to stay at home is something like a sin. In England the possessor of a few thousands can do little with them, while here they may be made the foundation of a handsome fortune—a fortune acquired, moreover, before the capacity for enjoyment has been impaired. The pastoral resources of Australia have not yet been developed to anything like their full extent, and for years to come additional country will be occupied by flocks and herds. There are millions upon millions of acres still available for grazing purposes, and the man who will invest capital in the work of improving these vast tracts of land may easily convert their natural grasses into gold. Then, the life that settlers lead while engaged in 'making their pile!' It is a fine, fresh, breezy, open-air existence, with plenty of hard work to provoke appetite and induce sleep; plenty of planning and scheming to keep the mental faculties in working order, and leaven the animal existence of which General Feilding stands in so much dread. Does any English lad want to know how he may prepare himself to some extent for a bush life? Let him acquire as much book-knowledge as he can assimilate, and if he can get a rough practical insight into the mysteries of surveying and levelling, so much the better. Ability to measure and calculate earthworks is a most valuable accomplishment, as tanks, dams, wells, &c., are constantly being formed in the back country. Any one who

can work out the contents of an irregular embankment or excavation, with something like accuracy, is in great request. Then let the youth learn to ride, to use an axe, to do rough carpentering, and to handle needle or thread sufficiently well to sew on a button or mend a rent. Knowledge is power, and it is impossible to have too much. At some time or other a use is found for everything learnt.

‘And how about the blue-blooded youngsters?’ some one asks. Let them come, too, by all means; but let them, before setting out, make up most of the notions with which General Feilding’s paper is calculated to fill their heads into neat parcels, to be left in charge of their friends until called for. I can assure the lads that, like some luggage, they will not be ‘wanted on the voyage,’ and that in the colonies they would prove serious hindrances to success. On utilitarian grounds they should abandon the notion that their gentle birth entitles them to more deference than is shown to common clay. However much they may expect special treatment, they will not get it. They must determine to fight the battle of life on a footing of equality with those around them, and never give a thought to their descent unless it be in connection with the saying ‘*noblesse oblige*.’ If they will do so, they will get on and live happily, make friends, and win all the respect to which they are legitimately entitled. If they reject the advice and attempt to give themselves ‘airs’ on the strength of their ancestry, they will at least be laughed at for their pains.

There is one view expressed in General Feilding’s paper in which every colonist will concur, viz. that it would be well if the people of England were better acquainted with her colonial possessions. If they could look upon our future as we see it, there would at once be an end to the almost contemptuous indifference with which the provinces of the Empire are now regarded. We can appreciate the greatness and worth of the mother country, as she is ever a subject of affectionate interest. We copy her institutions, watch her movements, admire her achievements, glory in her successes, and pray for her continued welfare. As we scan her proceedings from a distance, it is no exaggeration to say that we have a more comprehensive knowledge of her doings than nine-tenths of those who live within her borders. Colonists are not only ‘glad to get back to the old country,’ but they also keep up ‘a warm and affectionate interest in all matters, political or social, which affect her.’ But what notion has the average stay-at-home Briton of the Greater Britain which exists beyond the seas? The mention of colonies brings before his mind confused visions of bush or backwoods, huts or wigwams, encounters with wild beasts, kangaroos hopping about in all directions, primitive living, and daily perils. A gentleman, writing to the *Melbourn Argus* recently, said that ‘the average Englishman has just three ideas about Australia—convicts, the diggings, and the

bush—ideas which he jumbles up together in his mind in a happy-go-lucky association.' To him everything about us is enveloped in mist, and, when glanced at, is seen through a haze. If the people at home could realise in their own minds that communities are growing up in Australia, Canada, and elsewhere, under the protection of the British flag, which are entitled already to a high place in the scale of nations, which are rapidly progressing, and evidently destined some day to surpass the old land in wealth and population, surely they would condescend to take as much interest in their affairs as they now bestow upon the doings of petty foreign states. We, who live continually in view of all that depends on the continuance of the connection between Great Britain and her colonies, feel grieved and hurt, and slightly indignant, when we continually see that the court antics of some little German princeling have more interest for the English press and people than the affairs of great colonies composed of their own faith and kin. If there is one title of which England should be more proud than another, it is that which proclaims her the 'Mother of Nations.' Greater than her naval, military, scientific, or commercial achievements is the work she has done in peopling the waste places of the earth; and yet that, apparently, is the performance on which she plumes herself least. This is a matter of great practical importance. The mighty empire on which the sun never sets is held together by little more than a bond of sentiment. Coldness and indifference on the part of the paramount power may so weaken the strands of that silken cord as to render it unable to withstand the slightest strain; while generous warmth and kindly interest may make it strong enough to resist the shocks of time and chance. I can only hope that before the patriotism of English colonists grows cold in the chilly atmosphere of neglect, the heart of the parent State may be turned towards the children, who have planted her name beside every sea, and who only ask for sympathy in return for service. If English people knew the colonists as the colonists know them, the feelings of respect and attachment, which are now principally on our side, would speedily become mutual, and be the pledge of perpetual union. Then the Greater Britain over which the Imperial sceptre extends, would grow in power with the revolving years; then would she be, for all time to come, a tower of strength to the races under her flag, and a blessing to the world at large.

W. JARDINE SMITH.

Melbourne: June 18, 1883

LAND AS PROPERTY.

THE phases through which political life is passing are perhaps most vitally influenced by the controversy which is raging around the question of the land of this country. It sounds almost like a commonplace; but it is of none the less importance to repeat the fact that at the present moment our politics have in their development reached a point at which the vital question arises as to the extent in which the private possession of landed property will be recognised as an absolute possession.

Loose theories in the nature of sentimental socialism are in the air; the land has become the patient of the philanthropic views of every unpractical day-dreamer; nor is such a state of feeling wholly inexplicable, for it is impossible to deny that land is incapable of being regarded in the same light as other forms of property.

Political economy in its strictest formulas may still form the basis of an idealised political system, it may still find arguments for the critics outside of Parliamentary life; but statesmen of all shades of opinion must recognise and make terms with the social and political forces of the day, which when their objects are not unsound should be accorded an assistance and stimulus towards their attainment when the ways are even such as might be prohibited by a rigid adherence to political economy. So long, therefore, as the object of attainment is in itself desirable on sound economic grounds, bearing in mind the inevitable principle that the basis of all politics is a balance of good and evil, and when no injury is being done to individuals or classes of individuals, it seems unnecessary to press unduly the theoretical objections to the means by which the end is sought to be arrived at.

The increase of owners, the association through possession of the people with the land, this is accepted by all as an object of the highest national importance; but at that point by many people the matter is permitted to rest as an empty political platitude; for the moment that any suggestion is made to give effect to this we are met by the objections to State assistance and arguments of that description.

Before we enter upon this question it would be well to notice the spirit in which the recent legislation in regard to land is viewed by

private opinion. There is little doubt that the chief ground upon which the recent land legislation has recommended itself to Parliament is that of expediency rather than of principle.

I am far from wishing to imply any censure in this.

The arguments of expediency are very real and forcible; at the same time they are being so constantly dinned into our ears that we are apt to forget that in a mere policy of buying off the difficulties of the moment, with a contemptuous indifference to any criticism for the future, we are settling nothing, but only tending to entangle still more hopelessly the cobweb of intricacies in which the land question is entangled, and out of which it is the real object of reformers to extricate it.

It is also worthy of notice that the chief causes which have attracted public attention to the land question have tended to create a very narrow and incomplete view of the question as a whole.

The agricultural depression, the agrarian agitation in Ireland, which the difficulties of party government, and until recently counsels enfeebled by division, have permitted to demoralise the politics of that country, these have from different causes and in diverse ways produced the same result of narrowing the whole question to one of the relative relations between landlord and tenant.

In consequence of his electoral influence, the existing tenant has become the centre of the whole question, and the attention of Parliament has been confined to the protection or benefit to which the tenant is entitled, the mode of that protection, its extent, and in some points to an extension of new rights.

Natural as all this is in our Parliamentary system, and highly important as it is that justice and a sense of security should be conferred on the tenant-farmers, who compose a most important feature in the question of agriculture; many of the most important elements of the land question have been omitted—*e.g.* the productiveness of the soil has been recognised rather as a secondary consideration dependent upon the interest of the tenant; while the status of the agricultural labourer and the national aspect of the land question have been entirely lost sight of. While Parliament has been thus engaged with only one aspect of the question, there exists a certain irony in the present situation, in that there are no good farmers in England or Scotland who are not at present capable of asserting most fully their own claims, and of making their own bargains; nor will any fair-minded person deny that it is not so much the insecurity of tenure as it is that of prices and of seasons which has ruined in so many cases the tenant-farmers.

While, therefore, the vote has enabled the tenant-farmers to excite the attention of the legislature, although I doubt whether their wants are within the scope of practical legislation, the germs of the agitation and of the restlessness and spirit of impatience in regard to

land remain untouched, for its existence is inherent and is fed by the very narrow foundation on which rests our system and upon which the principles of property have to take their stand. 'As Mr. Fawcett has said in an article in *Macmillan* on 'State Socialism : ' 'Legislation may give the tenant an important security for his improvements, but we believe it will be found that in all industries no legislation can give the same security as that which is obtained when a man feels that he is applying his capital and labour to increase the value of his own property.'

Among other reasons which I might enumerate, it seems to me that one of the chief which complicates the status of land in this country, and weakens its character as a personal and commercial ownership, is the manner in which it appears to many minds to be connected with the curious anomalies of which our political system is composed.

While distinct privileges exist, with the recognition of the State, the basis of landed property as an individual and personal possession, free from State interference, must be weakened. The existence of a State Church may or may not be desirable. I do not wish to express any opinion upon it now, except to maintain that its claims for existence can only be weighed by the measure of the fulfilment of its highest functions, and the proof of its sole capacity for the performance of certain spiritual and supreme wants. So far as it is regarded as an ecclesiastical corporation possessed of vast property, the State has clearly a right to take away that which it originally conferred. It is impossible to put into precise words the effect which in this respect the existence of a State Church has upon public opinion.

I do not say that it is a fair or accurate view of the question, but the position of the Established Church is looked upon by many as a great corporate privilege, based upon the possession of land, with its clergy as small country squires scattered throughout England and attached by politics and sympathy to a certain political party.

I would especially deprecate any intention of making an attack upon an institution which is doing great and noble work ; but I have felt constrained to refer to it as calculated in its characteristic position to strengthen the views of those who would regard landed property from a political rather than from an economical point of view.

Lord Cairns's bill went some way to remove the abuses of entail by permitting entailed estates to be sold, subject, as appears most just and expedient, to the condition that the proceeds of the trust-money should be invested in first-class securities ; but it should have gone further and included permission to sell the house and grounds.

The fact of this prohibition goes far to deter the release of land from impoverished hands ; for it is the house and grounds which give the residential, which constitute at present the chief selling value of landed property. Here we have a foolish privilege reserved which in

many cases keeps alive the evils of entail and weakens the proprietary and commercial basis of landed property. In an old country like this, where the tendency is in the direction of retaining the shadow, while altering the substance of things, the real substance of personal rights is often sacrificed to the shadow of specious privileges; nor does it seem to me that the existence of privileges, whether ecclesiastical or civil, can fail in these days of popular government to be compensated for by substantial inroads upon personal rights. Many of these privileges have grown up with the history of this country, and have so intertwined themselves in the inmost recesses of our national life, that to remove them for mere purposes of political symmetry or upon the ground of mere theoretical objection appears to me to constitute great folly.

An old country is always a mass of anomalies and contradictions. In England this is increased from the curious manner in which an old feudal system has been handed down with modifications from time to time, alongside of an enormous development of commerce and of the political power of the people.

While on the one hand the symbols of feudality and of aristocratic government have survived, the substance and essence of government is being transferred to the democracy.

It would be impossible for an old country like this to act independently of its traditions and outward forms. No one can estimate the extent to which they have become a second nature, and moreover that which has learnt to adapt itself so perfectly to our wants and changes has at once a secured as well as a beneficial existence. Our national progress, if it is to be reasonable and steady, must be one of adaptation, of bringing our old political forces into harmony with the new. This necessity few careful politicians will deny.

What I would venture to point out is, that even if it is only the symbols of privilege that must inevitably exist, they are likely to create, because they are almost invariably connected with the ownership of landed property, a feeling of antagonism which it should be the object of all those who are interested in land to find some means of guarding against.

America is the great example of political and social equality. There none of the social or hereditary privileges connected with the ownership of land exist. It confers no social or political influence.

But in this very absence of any extrinsic value and advantage is its commercial and intrinsic value enhanced, and most jealously secured, land being regarded in precisely the same aspect as any other form of property, with its rights of ownership and its position as an individual and commercial possession, from which a man is entitled to extract the most he can, most strictly enforced.

No Acts of Parliament can create in England the conditions which, existing in America, have given to land this strong commercial status.

In that point it is in England specially assailable and weak, while it constitutes the most probable mode of attack.

State interference as applied to the regulation of contracts and of rent appears to be the tendency of modern legislation.

It is of all the inroads upon the acquired theory of sound politics and political economy the most vicious and objectionable, for it destroys at once the enterprise of the landlord and the self-reliance of the tenant; moreover, it is in its very essence incapable of finality, and nothing can be more unsatisfactory than that the basis of property should be constantly and in accordance with the popular pressure of the moment arbitrarily shifted.

Now it is this popular pressure which one feels it is of the highest importance to direct into channels at once safe and beneficial, and which at the same time would reduce it to a healthy and trustworthy character.

The economic aspect of peasant-proprietorship is incapable of being treated within the limits of this article. I shall therefore only attempt to enumerate as succinctly as I can some of its political bearings.

The motion made in Parliament by Mr. Jesse Collings, and which I had the honour to second, is in its main principle nothing more than the application to England of the policy adopted in Ireland, as embodied firstly by the action of the Commissioners of the Church Temporalities, who were empowered to advance money to purchasers of the glebe lands of the disendowed Irish Church, and secondly by the Bright clauses of the Land Acts of 1870 and 1880.

Nor can this principle in any way be said to bear the complexion of party politics; for the late Lord Mayo introduced a bill which proposed to advance money to the Irish tenant on less security than was proposed in the Bright clauses of the Act of 1870.

It would be well to examine upon the most impartial authority the practical effect of this principle.

I would refer firstly to a return by dioceses of the total number of holdings sold by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland up to the 31st of December, 1880. It should be remembered that at the time when this principle was put in practice it had certain disadvantages to contend with, which, having regard to the time when the Parliamentary return was issued, constitute a powerful test of its success, so far as the security of the State is concerned.

When the sales of these lands commenced, agricultural prospects in Ireland were very prosperous, in addition to the fact that they were effected upon the scale of the old rentals, which in many cases of tenants of glebe were high.

It might therefore be supposed that a series of bad seasons, combined with an agrarian agitation, would have tended to produce a most serious amount of arrears against the State. But the experi-

ence of this return is not so. To summarise its leading results, the case stands thus.

The total number of holdings sold amounted to 2,444. The total number of holdings in arrear was 321; that is to say, as against a total number of 3,209 payers, 332 persons were in arrear to the extent of 8,431*l.*, out of the whole of the property sold that represented a rental of 83,447*l.* per annum.

These few figures speak more eloquently than any arguments can of the regularity of repayment of their instalments on the part of the purchasers. One must fain quote other evidence—the experience of a return of Mr. Forster's—relative to the proceedings of the Board of Works, Ireland, from 1870–1880 (inclusive), that carried into effect the policy of the Bright clauses. The main results of this return stand thus:—

The total acreage bought by the tenants was 44,692 acres, at a gross price of 723,087*l.*, of which 434,220*l.* was advanced by the Board and 288,867*l.* paid for by the tenants.

The total arrears for the whole of the ten years amounts only to 942*l.*

In 1870 and 1871 there was only one arrear of 37*l.* 10*s.* on one purchase in county Waterford.

In 1872 the acreage bought by the tenants had sprung from 3,040 bought in the previous years to 10,982 acres, showing a total arrear for the year of 15*l.*

In 1879, when the agrarian agitation may be said to have commenced, the acreage bought by the tenants amounted to 3,763 acres, while the total of arrears was only five guineas. For the year 1880, when the agitation was in full swing, the total bought by the tenants was 908 acres and the arrears nil.

Another remarkable point which this return shows is the punctual repayment on the part of the very small purchasers.

The holdings purchased in the Landed Estates Court were mostly above the size of a small cottier's, but upon those holdings purchased of under 10 acres, and of which there are 96 in number, the total arrears from 1870 to 1880 inclusive amount to the merest trifle of 6*l.* 18*s.*

These are very remarkable figures as an illustration of what one indeed might not unreasonably expect, for in proportion as a purchaser approximates, through the payment of his instalments towards the status of ownership, is he impelled by the most natural of feelings to do nothing which would imperil not only the object of his original desire, but the energy and capital which he has already expended upon its attainment.

For many reasons—the technical difficulties that were allowed to prevail, the working of the alienation clauses, the cost of passing the cases through the Landed Estates Court, and the fact that limited

owners are greatly restricted as to the investment of the proceeds of sales of land—the Bright clauses of the Irish Land Act of 1870 have not had the wide-spread effect which might have been expected either from the inclination of the people to purchase or the general condition of the country. But if the experience should have been a larger one, it is complete so far as it proves that the credit of the State has not been abused. On the other hand, the sales under the Church Act have been eminently successful—about 4,500 tenants have been able to buy under the condition of having three-fourths of the purchase money left on mortgage, repayable by equal annual instalments, and spread over thirty-two years. In their report the Church Commissioners say, ‘We continue to receive accounts of improvements effected on their land by the new owners. And another year’s experience confirms the opinion we have already given as to the beneficial results of the provision of the Church Act for creating a body of small proprietors.’

It appears conclusive that an extension of direct ownership is rendered difficult if not impossible in countries in which advanced tenant-right and divided ownership exist. For while the magic of property can alone, as Arthur Young has said in speaking of the district of Dunkirk, turn sand into gold, yet when the tenant enjoys an unfettered and almost absolute security he is naturally dissuaded from expending his capital in effecting the unnecessary change of substituting a *de jure* for a *de facto* ownership. Mr. Sackville West in 1867, in giving, as Secretary of the Embassy in Paris, a description of the material prosperity of the small owners in France, says: ‘The present relations of landlord and tenant in France resemble those in Ireland so far as the law is concerned. Eviction can be enforced upon any contravention of agreement, and compensation for improvement depends upon agreement, and constitutes no legal claim upon the landlord. It would seem that the Irish and French systems are identical, and what has caused in the one agrarian outrage and discontent has in the other been productive of social order and contentment. But it must be borne in mind that 75 per cent. of the agricultural population in France are proprietors. In this fact consists the difference, a difference dependent upon the ownership of land by the masses as opposed to the ownership of land by a minority. Tenant-right and fixity of tenure are phrases rarely if ever heard in France.’

The landowners of England have been assisted in restraining the development of Communistic ideas through the multiplicity of new means for the acquisition of wealth and the employment of labour which has followed in the wake of our unrivalled commercial and industrial development, nor have they had to confront the difficulties of race and religion as in Ireland. At the same time the signs of the times point unhesitatingly in the direction of serious searchings of public opinion in regard to their position. The measure and extent

to which their rights are likely to be recognised as a commercial and absolute possession, I would venture to say, depend very largely upon the number of 'egos,' if I may so express myself, who may be scattered throughout the country as small owners of property resolved to maintain their own position, and capable of influencing the opinion of the class among whom they live in a way which the big landowners cannot.

The arguments against State intervention and centralisation, theoretically excellent, must under the present circumstances be very imperfectly realised. The estimable persons who compose the Personal Liberty and Property Defence League seem to me prevented from making any impression on public opinion, partly because to many educated persons our landed system does not admit of the theory of an equality of status, and chiefly because our neglect in the past to encourage small ownerships has tended to make even the theory of the rights of real property to the vast bulk of the ordinary and untrained intelligence of the country appear as a matter of class and not of public interest.

If the State is not permitted to lend its peculiar advantages towards the creation of small individual ownerships, it will, I fear, before long be asked to perpetrate the grave practical misfortune of fixing rent and of undertaking the invidious and hopeless task of arranging the relations between landlord and tenant. Delay in taking steps to increase the area of ownership seems very inexpedient. It must take years before the effect of a policy such as is embodied in Mr. Jesse Collings's motion could, if accepted by Parliament, produce an appreciable effect. If we undertook in England that which the existence of grave and the apprehension of still graver political and social disaffection has induced us to do in Ireland, each year would add a new batch of persons associated with the rights of ownership, each year would discover a more healthy and intelligent interest in the development of the soil. Imperceptibly at first, but no less surely, would the cry for the nationalisation of the land cease to be dangerous as possessing political force combined with personal wrong, because property in land would be owned, if not to a great amount, yet by so many members of the working classes that no national revolution could take place for the destruction of private property.

Space would not permit me to follow out the steps which other countries in Europe have taken towards increasing the number of freeholders.

In Prussia and the North of Germany this operation was facilitated by the establishment of land-credit banks, supported by the State, which lent money to buy out the landlords, repayable by instalments, and spread over a term of years; while in Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, loans for a similar object were made by the State directly to the tenants.

The terms of the resolution proposed by Mr. Jesse Collings, viz. 'That it is desirable . . . that provision should be made by Parliament to facilitate the acquirement by agricultural labourers, tenant-farmers, and others of proprietary rights in agricultural land,' does not imply any compulsion: it only applies to where landowners are willing to sell and small purchasers are anxious to buy.

Without entering into detail, it seems reasonable that in regard to any such proposal being carried into effect a limit should be imposed upon the size of the holding purchased, above which the State should not lend its assistance, for there is no need for the capitalist to make a convenience of the State.

And secondly, subletting should be rendered penal and involve the liability of the loss of the holding to the purchaser.

The experience of the Encumbered Estates Court in Ireland teaches the necessity of some such provision. It was among other reasons intended to do something towards increasing the number of owners, and certainly it effected this object so far as it nearly trebled the number of Irish proprietors. But in its general effect it has proved a curse rather than a blessing to Ireland. The purchasers under it were of the most undesirable description, who bought simply with the intention of screwing as much rent as they could out of the land, of encouraging subletting or any other practice which could enable them to use the unprotected status of the small Irish occupier as a means of extorting with impunity everything of which he was capable.

Of the incomplete character of these pages I am fully sensible. So far-reaching a subject—at once intricate and wide—I would venture to say is incapable of being treated exhaustively within the narrow limits of an article.

I have only attempted to bring before the public a few of the reasons, which on the grounds of high politics bring to the question of peasant-proprietorship arguments both of importance and of urgency. My object will have been accomplished if I have succeeded in awakening some attention to the very grave issues which are involved.

LYMINGTON.

OUR ORCHARDS AND PARAFFIN OIL.

From the agricultural returns of 1880 and 1881 now before us, it would appear that not more than 184,863 acres of land, out of a total of 56,815,909 in Great Britain, are under cultivation as orchards. The amount and value of the fruit so grown there are no means of ascertaining, but it is quite certain that they bear no comparison with the amount and the money value of the orchard fruits that enter into our consumption.

Under the head of orchard fruits are included apples, pears, plums, and cherries. The Custom House statistics fail to supply definite information on the subject of imported orchard produce; for though these returns may be relied upon for their accuracy, fruits are classified in such a manner as to prevent orchard fruits, properly so-called, from being distinguished from other sorts. Almonds, nuts, oranges and lemons are specified separately both in quantity and value, but orchard fruits, with all other fruits, are included under the general head of 'unenumerated raw.'

Among the imports of the year 1881 'fruits unenumerated raw' amounted in quantity to 4,045,691 bushels, and in value to 1,718,907*l*.

We are given to understand that in future, from their increasing importance, an exception will be made in the case of apples. They will be returned separately, and we thankfully acknowledge the official information kindly afforded us, that up to the 31st of October, 1882, the quantity of apples imported during the year amounted to 1,358,887 bushels, valued at 423,068*l*. In addition to this amount of 'raw fruit,' there are two other heads under which fruit is returned, viz. 'unenumerated dried,' quantity 248,213 bushels, valued at 153,367*l*., and 'unenumerated preserved with sugar,' in quantity 19,401,186 lbs. and in value 205,833*l*.; under both which heads, of course, is included a large quantity of fruit which we could grow in our own orchards, though the great bulk of it may possibly be of a character unsuited to the growth of our climate.

It must be admitted, that from the Custom House returns, as at present made out, it is impossible to measure accurately the quantity and value of the orchard fruits imported. The figures above mentioned may, however, lead to an approximation; and we can hardly be far

wrong in estimating the value of such imported produce at 2,000,000*l*. This immense sum, which goes into the pockets of foreign growers, is not merely the result of one year's importation—a year of scarcity here necessitating a supply from abroad, but it seems to be the ordinary condition of things—the present yearly average of the value of imported fruits—such fruits as can be grown in our own orchards; an item too of our imports in which the average is on the increase.

The fact, then, is patent: we do not ourselves grow, and moreover, we are not attempting to grow, a supply of fruit sufficient for our own consumption, but we are content to pay our money to foreigners for almost all we need.

While this large sum of money is yearly going out of the country to enrich the cultivators of land elsewhere, our farmers are complaining that farms do not pay, especially that it does not pay to grow corn. Arable farms are going out of cultivation, tenants appear in the Gazette, and landlords are driven to reduce their expenditure. Many, indeed, where the estates are heavily mortgaged, are themselves reduced to poverty.

Why, then, is little or no effort being made to turn the land—arable land in particular—to a more profitable account? If wheat does not pay, will not something else pay? Will it pay to grow fruit? Can our farmers retain all, or at any rate the largest portion, of this two millions of money which we now send yearly elsewhere? Many acres of arable land during the last few years have been laid down as permanent pastures, and in most instances with very good results. Is it not possible for the cultivators and owners of the soil to do something more for their own benefit? Landlords and tenants are equally interested in the question, and any suggestions that give reasonable hope of improvement certainly merit at the present time attentive consideration.

Without any material interference with the present system of cultivation, I believe that it is possible for tenant farmers to appropriate the whole of this large sum now paid to foreigners for imported fruits; and even to do more, for our consumption of fruit is capable of immense increase. We, in England, do not consume the same amount of fruit per head, according to our population, as is consumed generally in continental countries. Scarcity slackens the demand which a more liberal supply would generate. Different sorts of fruit in season appear in large quantities at every table d'hôte abroad. No well-to-do mechanic in France or Germany would consider that he had dined satisfactorily unless he finished his meal with fruit. How very few of his class in our own country have this boon within their reach! My object is to show how a considerable portion of the present unprofitable arable land may be made to yield a large profit by the introduction of orchard trees, and at the same time to point out, by experiments recently made, how fruit trees can be managed, to

derive the largest profit from them. Some persons, perhaps, may be inclined to raise the same objection to the growth of fruit as is now made to the growth of cereals. It may be said that at the present time our orchards do not pay. I am hardly prepared to admit this objection, from the information I have received upon this subject. Even under present management I have good warrant for believing that orchards do pay. They pay, at any rate, a great deal better than the growing of corn pays. It cannot be denied that the acreage rent to the landlord, and the profit to the tenant, of the 184,000 acres of land under orchard cultivation is on a far higher average than the rent and tenant's profit of ordinary farm land, and indeed of all other land except market gardens in the neighbourhood of large towns. I have said 'under present management,' and this brings me to the point to which I desire especially to call the attention of all who are interested in the cultivation of land.

Are our orchards properly managed at present? Are they not capable of improvement? I am in a position to prove that the health and productiveness of orchard trees may be most materially increased by a very simple and inexpensive process; that both owners and occupiers may derive a much larger return from orchards than is now made. This is not mere assertion or conjecture, but the positive result of experiments which have been carried on for the last few years, and which will be given in detail in the course of these remarks.

Let me first take in review the present state of our orchards. More land is occupied by orchard trees in the south and south-west of England than in any other part, and no one who takes the smallest interest in the matter can travel through those parts without remarking the cankered and unhealthy state of the trees. In Kent, as far as my own observation serves, more attention is paid to orchard culture than elsewhere; the trees are not wholly left to themselves; dead wood, at any rate, is occasionally cleared away, and a certain amount of pruning done; but the main point conducive to health and productiveness, which in my estimate is the state of the bark, appears to be, here as elsewhere, generally neglected.

Within the last year or two, I have passed through Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire, all fruit-growing counties, and with the exception of a few newly planted orchards, I did not meet anywhere with fruit trees which are not covered with mosses, lichens, and in a state of canker and neglect. In most cases the dead wood of years past was unremoved, except where the wind and the storm had removed it. Is it possible under such circumstances that orchards can be expected to pay? and if still, under such circumstances, they do yield a profit—a profit far beyond what ordinary farm crops are yielding, as I have every reason to believe is the case—what would be the result of greater care bestowed upon them?

The question of paramount importance is, can anything be done to renovate our present orchards? Is it possible to create a healthy growth and to increase productiveness in those old cankered, moss-covered trees that are to be seen everywhere; and again, can anything be done to prevent our young trees from falling into the same state? Is this condition of decay natural and unavoidable, or generally the result of neglect? We must first endeavour to ascertain the cause of it.

When fruit trees are found in this miserable condition the reason generally assigned is, that the trees have passed their prime, and are decaying from age; or if this theory be contradicted by the known age of the trees, then that their roots have worked down to a cold, dead soil that can afford them no proper nourishment. Neither of these reasons affords a satisfactory explanation, for the great majority of trees said to be past their prime are capable of renovation, and it is well known to every close observer of nature, that the instinct of self-preservation, if we may be allowed the expression, is quite as strong in plants as in animals. The roots of plants search out and find the soil that suits them as skilfully as the ferret follows the rat and the American trapper his game. Of course there are soils so thin-skinned that they afford no sufficient nourishment for fruit trees; but with trees planted in ordinary good orchard land, it is not the roots that are at fault, but the bark. No amount of nourishment supplied to the roots will serve to renovate our decayed fruit trees without some specific remedy applied to the bark. When the bark has been allowed to get into an unhealthy state, it fails to supply to the head of the tree what is necessary for growth and fruit bearing. Moss, lichens, and other parasites that feed upon the stems and branches consume for their own support the sap as it rises, and in this way deprive all other parts of vitality. This does not occur all at once; for some few years perhaps, feeble shoots are sent out along the stems and at the extremities of the branches, but these seldom survive a second season, for no sap is forthcoming to support them. While the head of a tree is thus gradually dying, the roots may continue in a perfectly healthy state, and perform their proper functions. Let the trial be made with some few trees in the condition described, and I venture to affirm that with most of them the roots will be found healthy. Do we not readily admit this by the course so generally adopted—not in the case of orchard trees, perhaps, because with them, being grafted, the roots and the head are different; but with many other trees, and shrubs innumerable, how often is the decayed head cut off and the roots left to shoot again? Hence the common remark, such and such a tree or shrub had ‘its head cut off to save its life.’

There exists, as generally admitted, a striking similarity between animal and vegetable structures. These two sorts of life so much

resemble each other, and have so many points in common, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to say where the one ends and the other begins. This anatomical analogy is peculiarly marked in the outer coverings of the fleshy substances in each. What the skin is to the animal, the same is the bark or rind to the vegetable. In both there is an outer cuticle suited in substance for protection, and inner tissues of a finer quality, for air cells, for the circulation of sap or juices, and for other purposes necessary to sustain life. In the animal, whether man or brute, it is allowed that the state of the skin is one of the chief evidences of the state of the general health. Who ever heard of a healthy individual whose skin was a prey to scurvy, or any such like complaint? We can no more expect to find a tree healthy and capable of bearing good fruit, whose bark is infested with parasites, than we can expect to find a human being healthy with a skin foul from leprosy, or a dog or a horse healthy with skins in a state of mange.

Does not the skilled physician take the patient by the hand, and before he has tried his pulse or looked at his tongue, gain some insight into the state of his health from the feeling of his skin? Precisely the same information can the state of the bark in trees convey to the intelligent observer. Trees left to themselves, with their barks preyed upon by mosses, lichens, and the innumerable insect-blights that feed upon vegetable juices, will sooner or later die, after living unhealthy lives. They die, not because their roots fail to support them, but they die as, alas! so many poor waifs and strays of humanity die, the victims of a neglected and unclean skin. It may be urged by way of contradiction, that cankered and diseased trees, apples especially, are frequently found to bear large crops of fruit. This may be admitted: it is no doubt true to experience. It is as true of fruit trees as it is of many diseased among animals—of consumptive parents for instance, who are generally most prolific. But as in this latter case disease is perpetuated in the progeny, so in the former the fruit is stunted, speckled, and unhealthy. The crop of apples, as I have observed, from cankered trees is frequently heavy, but the fruit is never sound. It may serve for cider-making, where the more pips and rind used, the finer the flavour, and liquid can easily be supplied to compensate deficiency in juice, but such apples will not pay as marketable commodities. The trees cropped with them are in a state of decay, and the fruit shows it; such crops must of necessity decrease each year until they dwindle down to nothingness.

I have thus stated what in my opinion are the wrongs of our orchards; it now remains for me to reveal what recent experiments point out as the remedy.

To come at once to the point. It is the application of some substance to the bark powerful enough to cleanse it from all its enemies, while at the same time it leaves the tree not only uninjured

by the process, but with increased vitality and power of productiveness. Does such a substance exist? It does in petroleum, or rather that preparation of the natural oil so called which is known in commerce under the name of paraffin—the oil now so commonly used in our domestic lamps; for it is with this particular oil that my experiments on fruit trees have been made. I have never tried crude petroleum, and therefore cannot say whether it would serve the purpose as well, but with regard to paraffin I have no hesitation in affirming that it can be used with the most beneficial results. I have tried it upon apples, pears, and plums—all the ordinary orchard trees except cherries; some of the trees dressed were so foul with moss and lichens, and bore such manifest marks of decay, that they seemed fit for nothing but to be cut down for firewood.

Such marvellous results have come under my own eyes from the application of paraffin to the bark of fruit trees, that I cannot withhold from others the benefit of my experience. In the interest of the country at large, more particularly landlords and tenants, at a time of agricultural depression, I hold it incumbent upon me to record the process, and to give in detail some account of a few of the experiments I have made.

It should be stated that the discovery of this invaluable property in paraffin was purely accidental. About five years ago an old apple, as usual, was infested with the American blight, as it is popularly called, *Eriosoma*. The ladybird, which is the natural enemy of this particular blight, had not appeared for a long time, and the blight was on the increase. The tree appeared gradually dying, and from its situation I was reluctant to cut it down. On former occasions I had recourse to the ordinary remedy—the common oil brush; but not having common lamp oil at hand, it occurred to me to try whether paraffin would have the same effect. It was certainly not without some misgivings as to the injury that might occur from the use of so powerful and penetrating an ingredient that I applied this sort of oil. However, the tree was *in extremis*; it could not from appearances last very long, and the experiment was, I considered, worth the risk with this particular blight which was showing itself almost in every crevice, and for which the other sort of oil was at the best but a doubtful remedy. About a pint of paraffin was put into a wide-necked bottle, and with a house-painter's brush the tree received a full dressing wherever the least blight was observed. From the ease with which the oil flowed from the brush and the extent of the blight I had not finished the dressing before the entire surface of the bark of the trunk and the main branches of the tree had been more or less brought under the influence of the paraffin. All traces of American blight were obliterated by the process, and in a very few days the moss and large patches of lichens, which were thickly spread in all directions, turned black and died. This dressing was given, as

far as I remember, about the end of the summer of 1879. It passed from memory until early the following spring, when it occurred to me to examine the tree and ascertain whether or not any injury had been done. I found the outer bark somewhat discoloured, and perhaps a little more crisp or brittle than usual, but the inner tissues seemed in a perfectly healthy state. The sap had not yet begun to rise : I took advantage of the opportunity to have as much dead wood as possible removed, the trunk of the tree scraped clean of all its rusty bark, and the branches rubbed clear of all moss and lichen. For scraping the bark upon the trunk of the tree, the back of a common spokeshave was used as the best implement at hand, carefully guarding against injury to the inner tissues. The more tender branches were rubbed clean with a thick leathern garden glove. When this was accomplished, there was nothing to arrest the progress of the sap ; it all went for the nourishment of the tree, for there were no parasites to feed upon it, and the amount of new wood made, and the richness of the foliage that first season, showed clearly the benefit of the process. It may be well to add that this tree has continued healthy and in good bearing ever since ; this last season it had a nice crop of very fine fruit. It was an old tree when it came into my possession about thirty-five years ago, and from its present vigorous state, it in all probability will benefit my successors.

Encouraged by this first trial, I dressed during the following autumn several other trees, and with equal success. Among these were a Doctor Harvey apple and a large codling, both apparently in a hopeless state. They were, I imagine, of about the same age as the former, and to take a gardener's estimate of them, their time was come ; they were dying of old age. Nothing could be more erroneous. The renovation of these two has been quite as rapid and as effectual as the former under the same process of treatment.

I am far from saying that there is no period to the duration of life in fruit trees, or that their productiveness can be indefinitely extended by a dressing of paraffin when the state of their bark may seem to require it. All that I affirm (and, as the result of my experiments, without hesitation affirm) is that by the process I advocate orchard trees generally can be kept in good health and bearing for a much longer period than is found to be the case at present, that the trees themselves shall throw off their rusty and moss-grown state and assume a healthy and vigorous appearance ; also, that the fruit they bear, instead of being misshapen and speckled and stunted, shall both in quantity and quality indicate in a very remarkable manner evidence of their more healthy condition. If from any cause the roots be defective of course no dressing of the bark will serve to renovate a tree ; but so long as the roots are able to do their part, so long by carrying out this process will the tree be kept in condition. A time of decay must of necessity come to all things, and, although this

time cannot be altogether put off, it may be greatly accelerated, both in the animal and vegetable world, by inattention and neglect. There are so many influences at work, tending to destroy life, that in both cases artificial means must be put in force to preserve life.

With regard to the effect of this mode of treatment upon the quality of the fruit, I have had the most satisfactory evidence in the case of a Victoria plum tree. Some sixteen years ago, perhaps rather more, I planted two Victoria plums. The trees, which were well grown and healthy, soon came into bearing, and, as is usual with this sort of plum, produced very large crops. This continued for a few years, when the stems became foul with moss and lichens, and the shoots began to die at the ends. The quantity of fruit did not diminish, but it was undersized, spotted, and much of it fell from the trees before it was ripe. One tree went off very rapidly, and as it was believed to be quite useless it was cut down; the roots of it, however, when taken up, were found to be in a healthy and growing state. The other tree, as soon as I had proved the beneficial effects of paraffin, was dressed and has quite recovered its healthy state. It has made fresh wood, the bark is quite clean, and the fruit is in quality all that can be desired—large, clean-skinned, and with a rich bloom. Now with both these trees a gardener's verdict would no doubt have been that they were useless; their roots were at fault, they had got down into the dead soil, and, though the trees themselves were young, the roots could not support them. I have proved, and I trust satisfactorily, that this is not the reason. The bark, and the bark only, was at fault. From the roots of the tree that had been cut down, and which had been left in the ground for the following season, suckers had begun to grow. I am quite aware that with many worked trees the head will die while the roots continue to live. This is the result of an imperfect junction between the scion and the stock: but this was not the case here, there was nothing even to mark that the trees had been grafted.

I have recorded my experience, and given the process in detail, in the hope that those whom it may concern will test the process for themselves. The paraffin used is the ordinary paraffin of commerce, sold at about 1s. the gallon. It is used pure and undiluted. The outer bark of the tree is rapidly but thoroughly painted over with it. Autumn, when the sap is down, is, in my opinion, the best season for applying the remedy, and the early spring, just before the sap begins to rise, would seem the fittest time for scraping clean the rusty bark from the stems and brushing off from the branches the dead moss and lichen. If any small patches of these have escaped the dressing, they can now be touched with the paraffin brush. Let the orchard owners of our south and south-western counties try the remedy. A single season will test its value. The autumn dressing of an orchard will show its effects the following spring, and I can assure them of

the most beneficial results. If they hesitate to take my remarks upon credit, let them select a certain number of their trees by way of making their own experiments. The expense can be no object to any one. Any number of trees can be dressed, including labour and material, at an average of twopence or threepence a tree, and cleared of dead wood also. Here is a simple means of relieving to some extent the too prevalent agricultural distress. Let landlords and tenants bestir themselves to put into their own pockets the two millions of money, the loss of which now impoverishes them and enriches foreigners. Let the trial, if so desired, be made on a moderate scale. Why could not a field of from five to ten acres in extent, on every farm where the land is suitable, be planted with orchard trees, and profitable fruit grown where now unprofitable corn crops are raised? There are of course many parts of the country where both soil and situation are unsuitable for the growth of fruits, but these exceptions are small in comparison with the extent of suitable land. The tenant farmers to whom I have spoken on the subject are quite ready to admit that a few acres of land under orchard culture would be a benefit to them, but they stumble at the first outlay. As a class, it is notorious that tenant farmers move slowly, even in cases where their best interests are concerned. They put off as landlords' questions any alterations or improvements in the received mode of cultivating their farms. This, however, is not wholly either a landlords' or a tenants' question; it is a matter of joint interest, involving on the part of each a small outlay, and bringing to each a profitable return. In the formation of a new orchard, the first outlay (which I shall presently show is really a very trifling sum per acre) should in fairness be borne in a relative proportion by each party. The orchard trees, being a permanent investment, should be provided at the expense of the owners of the soil. The preparation of the land and planting should be at the expense of the tenant. Where trees are planted in straight lines, on the quincunx arrangement, that is every four trees forming not a square but a diamond, or in straight lines forming squares, in either case it takes about four dozen trees, at ten yards apart, to stock an acre of land. This, however, is rather close planting; forty trees an acre are quite enough. From inquiries which I have made, it appears that any of our large growers will deliver, at almost any railway station, good standard orchard trees, where any quantity is taken, apples and pears at 1s. each, and plums and cherries at 1s. 3d. each. The landlord's cost per acre could not, therefore, exceed 45s. or 50s., which sum would include stakes for the support of the trees, allowing three stakes to each tree. The cost to the tenant, in addition to the ordinary annual expense of cultivating the soil, would be entirely covered by the trifling sum of 3d. each tree, for planting and fixing the stakes for support of the trees.

The field selected should be a deep loam, and in good heart, underdrained, if the subsoil should require it, and in a somewhat sheltered situation, at any rate protected towards the north and north-east. It should be taken after a crop of white turnips have been fed off by sheep during autumn and early winter, and the trees planted early in the spring. If it be intended to lay down the field in permanent grass, which is most desirable for an orchard, a crop of barley may be grown with the young grass seeds. This will pay rent &c. and yield a profit the first year, and, until the trees come into bearing, the grass crop will make the return. After this the double profit will begin, for it must be borne in mind that orchard trees are not a substitute for, but a valuable addition to surface crops. The plan adopted in Brittany and elsewhere on the Continent seems to answer very well, and can be carried out at a very trifling cost. The trees do not stand so thick upon the land as in ordinary orchard planting; they are set in straight lines, with about double or triple the distance between the lines, and this open space is cultivated as ordinary arable land, with root crops and corn crops alternate years. In this case generally, a strip of grass, three or four yards broad, is left for the rows of the trees to stand upon and to mark the limits of the plough.

There are several other methods of growing fruit available to our farmers, if only they could be persuaded to adopt them. Why should not the many vacant spaces upon farms, also hedge-rows, be planted with fruit trees? Tenant-farmers have grumbled, and at times certainly not without reason, at the large oaks and elms, wholly the landlord's property, growing upon hedge-rows, and overshadowing and impoverishing the soil, so that nothing would grow near them. In the interest both of landlord and tenant, this evil has been removed of late years to such an extent, that the hedge-rows of almost all large arable farms are now pretty well bare of timber. But surely no such objection could be made to fruit trees. They could not, if so planted, overshadow a crop or draw the land, and the tenant would reap the whole profit arising from them. In parts of Kent, and in one or two other places, I have seen damsons and bullace growing in the hedge-rows, and assisting materially by their produce to pay the rent of the land. This state of things, though scarce with us, is common enough abroad. In many parts, even the highways are made available for the growth of fruit. I call to mind rows of fine cherry trees just outside the city of Cleve in Prussia, on the way to Emmerich, large purple plums hanging thick upon trees planted on the waste by the roadsides in Franconian Switzerland, and apples in abundance growing along the way from Rudesheim to Johannisberg and by the Neckar round about Heidelberg. It is useless to object that our climate is not suitable to the growth of fruit trees. It may not be so suitable as the climate of many

places on the Continent, but notwithstanding, we do grow fruit, and in spite of the neglected state generally of our orchard trees, we grow it with a profit, and we might grow infinitely more. From the experiments which I have given in detail, I have no hesitation in asserting that the 184,863 acres of land which are now under orchard culture could be made to yield an infinitely larger return than at present, if the trees were carefully treated by the process I advocate. Not every soil or situation is adapted to the growth of fruit trees, but there are thousands of acres well adapted where no fruit trees are permitted to grow.

HENRY P. DUNSTER.

Wood Bastwick Vicarage.

THE SUN'S CORONA.

AMONG the most interesting, but seemingly most intractable, problems presented to the students of science, are those connected with the mysterious solar appendage called the corona. For many years astronomers were not able to decide, though in reality they had evidence enough on which to base an opinion, whether the corona is a solar appendage or not. Eclipse after eclipse passed, and still the imperfect drawings and descriptions by observers at different stations gave little support to the true theory. It was clear that, if the corona belongs to the sun, all the pictures should show the same general features from whatever part of the earth's surface they were taken. But so far was this from being the case, that, on the strength of the wide differences between various pictures of the corona during the same total eclipse, many were led to believe that the corona is a merely optical phenomenon, variously figured according as it is seen by different eyes, precisely as the rays seen around a bright star (but having, of course, no real existence) are differently shaped for every observer who sees them. But at last the true theory of the corona in this respect was established, and all astronomers recognised what had long been obvious to those of them who were mathematicians, that they had to deal in the corona with a stupendous solar appendage. Further and further from the sun's surface this appendage was traced, till it was seen that it merges into the zodiacal (so to name the solar appendage which produces what we call the zodiacal light). Closer and closer became the scrutiny to which its structure was subjected, until at length the complicated system of streamers—curved and straight, continuous and broken—shown in the engravings illustrating Mr. Ranyard's admirable monograph on solar eclipses (a large recent volume of the 'Memoirs of the Astronomical Society') was fully recognised; while even that, complicated though it is, is known to indicate but the general features of a real structure more complicated still.

But the very fulness of the knowledge astronomers had gained respecting the corona, as seen on special occasions, only showed them how little they could really learn about this marvellous solar appendage, unless they could see it and watch it when the sun is not

eclipsed. They saw that the processes taking place within a structure so vast and so complicated, and situated in a region exposed to the action of intense light and heat, to say nothing of intense gravitating force, and probably of even more active repulsive energies, must be exceedingly important, and must be varied and complicated in like degree. But what chance was there that the nature of these processes could be ascertained when the corona could only be seen at long intervals, and then only for a very short time and under unfavourable conditions? It has been calculated that, adding together all the minutes of total solar eclipse during an entire century, we obtain a period of about eight days—eight days in 36,525, or only about one part in 8,566—during which the corona can be observed. But even this computation fails to indicate the real relative shortness of the time during which the corona is visible. For it is obvious that could a single observer see the corona each time when it is visible throughout a century, he would have a much better chance of forming an opinion than any number of observers seeing the corona as astronomers have hitherto been able to see it; that is, each on some four or five occasions at the outside, during from two to six minutes. No man has ever yet seen the corona during (in all) a full half-hour, and it is exceedingly unlikely that any man ever will. How can satisfactory information be expected from observations thus limited, scattered over four or five different occasions on which the corona has been seen; now in winter, now in summer; at one time in the northern hemisphere, at another in the southern; through clear skies on one occasion, in the midst of scattered cloud and haze on another?

If we consider what astronomers learned about the coloured prominences before the method was devised by which these can be seen without the aid of an eclipse, we shall be able to form a just idea of the utterly unsatisfactory nature of our present knowledge respecting the corona, compared with that which we may hope to obtain when the corona can be studied day after day and year after year.

The prominences had been recognised as solar appendages as early as the year 1851, though it was not until 1860 that they were photographed at different stations, and thus unmistakably identified as great masses of ruddy matter extending twenty, thirty, fifty, in some cases even eighty or a hundred thousand miles from the surface of the sun. Thereafter, until 1868, no important discovery was made respecting them. Till then it was maintained by different astronomers (1) that the prominences are great rose-tinted solar mountains, standing above the general level of the photosphere, like mighty icebergs above a glowing sea, only it was seen that they must be intensely heated; (2) that they are great luminous clouds in the solar atmosphere; (3) that they are vast masses of glowing gas. The eclipse of 1868 showed what they really are, proving the third of

these hypotheses to be the only true one. It was found that the coloured prominences shine only with a few special tints, a ruddy tint, a yellow-orange tint, and a greenish-blue tint being conspicuous among some nine or ten several colours detected by Rayet, John Herschel (son of the great Sir John), Janssen, and other observers.

It is not saying too much to assert that what was then demonstrated was the last of the discoveries which could have been made respecting the sun's coloured flames if no new method had been invented for observing them. But very soon after, in fact, the very next day, such a method was invented and put in practice—a method which, extended and perfected by Mr. Huggins, enabled astronomers to watch the prominences systematically whenever or wherever the sky is clear. We know now, thanks to this invention, what gases and vapours are present in the sun's coloured flames, and in that lower stratum called the sierra by its first observers (Grant, Secchi, and others), but named by some who preferred long words, and in this case chanced to be ignorant of Greek, the chromosphere (as one might call a photograph a phograph). In the great prominences we find glowing hydrogen and sodium, and another gas whose identity has not yet been determined. In the sierra or chromatosphere the presence and nature of many other vapours are noted. The movements and changes of the prominences from day to day have been followed. Their relation to sun spots has been determined. They have been classified according to the various forms of cloud-like and jet-like prominences. The rates at which the gases forming them move from and towards the sun's surface, or in cyclonic whirls athwart that surface, have been determined. In fine, nearly all that we know about the prominences now has been ascertained since the method was invented by which they are rendered visible without the aid of an eclipse, and could not possibly have been learned had not that method been invented.

It was natural, then, that astronomers should anxiously inquire whether some method might not be devised by which the yet more interesting problems associated with the corona might be as successfully dealt with.

Yet how hopeless at first view the problem seems!

As the sun's disc is more and more covered by the moon in an eclipse, the astronomer still looks in vain for the corona until a few seconds before totality begins. It is not until the sun is quite hidden by the moon that the outer parts of the corona can be seen. The use of the most powerful telescope, so far from rendering the corona visible earlier as totality approaches, or later after it is over, produces the reverse effect. The corona is best seen as a whole during eclipse without any telescopic aid at all; and no one has ever seen with the telescope the long rays and streamers which are visible under favourable conditions to the unaided eye.

But it will be said, so much was known of the coloured prominences, and these can be seen without eclipse; why should not the same happen with the corona also?

There was reason at one time for supposing that something like this might happen. To explain the matter, and to show also in what respects the problem of the corona differs from the problem of the prominences, I must briefly describe the way in which these last are rendered visible without the aid of an eclipse.

It was shown that the prominences are great masses of glowing gas—glowing hydrogen in the main—so soon as it was discovered that they shine with certain special tints. The light of a prominence, analysed by the spectroscope, does not give a rainbow-tinted ribbon as the light of the sun or of the sky does, but only a certain number of bright bands lying across the breadth of the tract along which the rainbow-tinted ribbon formed from sunlight falls. If the light is received through a circular opening, the ordinary spectrum is in reality made up of a multitude of circular images. There are thousands of images of all tints of red, from the deep red, almost brown, tint of the very end of the visible spectrum to the orange-red where the orange part of the spectrum begins. Then there are thousands of orange images of all tints between orange-red and orange-yellow; thousands of yellow images; thousands of green ones, of blue, of indigo, and lastly, of violet images. Tens of thousands of images there are, of all the colours of the rainbow, all so merging into each other along the entire length of the spectrum that none can be separately seen. It is the same if the aperture is square or oblong, unless it is very narrow, when if its length lies athwart the spectrum, though the separate images cannot actually be discerned, the absence of many tints in sunlight is shown by multitudinous dark lines across the breadth of the spectrum, these being really places where images of the hole through which the light comes are wanting. But if the light of one of the sun's coloured prominences were allowed to pass through a circular hole and received on a prism, as in Newton's familiar experiment with sunlight, there would only be formed a few circular images of the hole, some brighter, some fainter; the most conspicuous being a red image, an orange-yellow one, and a green-blue one. The experiment has not been tried, for the simple reason that during the precious moments of total solar eclipse the observer cannot waste time receiving prominence light through a hole upon a screen. He uses the retina of his eye for a screen, and there notes the special tints with which the prominences shine. Nor would there be any occasion for an aperture of special form. He could look through the spectroscope at the prominence itself, and see a red image, an orange-yellow image, and a greenish-blue image of the prominence in all its details.

Now, if it had been found instead that the prominences shine

with all the colours of the rainbow, it would have been hopeless to attempt to see them when the sun is not eclipsed. The eye is unable to distinguish the minute excess of light received from that part of the sky in which, in reality, a prominence is shining, over the light received from neighbouring parts of the sky; and there is no optical contrivance whatever by which the slight difference (something like the difference between 801 and 800) can be increased and so made perceptible, if both illuminations are received at the same time. We may increase both, but both being increased in equal degree we are in no way helped.

If, however, we can in some way arrange matters so that a large proportion of the light from the sky does not reach the retina at all, while no such change is made in the amount of light from a prominence, the case is altered; and, owing to the peculiar constitution of the light of a coloured prominence, this is feasible enough. Suppose light from a prominence and the sky together passing through a circular hole, as in Newton's experiment, and first falling on a white screen without prismatic dispersion. They would form together a white circular image, not differing appreciably from what would be seen if the light of the sky shone there alone. But if now we interpose the prism, or, if necessary, a battery of prisms, what will happen? Manifestly the light from the sky will form the usual rainbow-tinted spectrum, made up of multitudinous circular images, while the light from the prominence will only make its three images—one in the red part of the spectrum, one in the orange-yellow, and another in the green-blue. Each of these shines with about one-third of the total light from the prominence; but each part of the long rainbow-tinted ribbon, on which these images are projected, shines with but a small fraction of the total light from the sky. Thus the light of the three prominence images is much more likely to be discernible than—before the dispersion—the total light from the prominence. If they still remain invisible, owing to the light still remaining in the rainbow-tinted streak, we may increase the dispersion, making the streak longer and correspondingly fainter, but only throwing the images formed by the prominence light farther apart. It is evident that at last we must in this way make these images visible; for we can make the rainbow-tinted streak as long as we please, and proportionately faint, while the images formed by the prominence light remain unchanged in brightness.

In reality this has been the method by which the coloured prominences have been rendered visible, although they have never been seen on a screen in the manner described; for as they have been actually seen, the retina of the eye has simply replaced the screen of Newton's experiment. The principle is the same on either plan. It may be briefly expressed thus:—The light of the sky is of

thousands, tens of thousands, of tints; the light of a coloured prominence belongs almost entirely to three tints only: when we sift out both kinds of light we have each tint of sky light having a very small fraction of the whole light from the sky, while the light from each of the three tints of a prominence is very nearly a full third of the whole light; thus, however greatly the sky light exceeds the prominence light before dispersion, the red tint from the sky light is alone not able to master the red prominence tint, nor the orange-yellow to master the orange-yellow, nor the green-blue the green-blue. Combined, the multitudinous tints of sunlight, as received from the bright sky, overmaster utterly the three prominence tints; but each of these three prominence tints can contend successfully against any one of the myriads of sky-light tints.

Now let us consider what means may be employed to show the solar corona without an eclipse.

When we analyse the light of the corona with the spectroscope we find that the greater portion is, like the light of the sky, of all the colours of the rainbow. It is true, that during the total eclipse of June 1869 the American astronomers found that a part of the corona's light is of a special tint of green; and this observation was confirmed during the eclipse of December 1870. But it was evident, from the faintness of these tints, and the existence of a rainbow-tinted background, formed by the spectroscopic dispersion of the rest of the corona's light, that only a very minute proportion of the total light from the corona was of this special tint. In later eclipses it was shown that the green tints (for another had been detected) are not even always present. In 1871, during the second Indian eclipse, it was proved that a considerable portion of the corona's light is reflected sunlight, for the dark lines peculiar to sunlight were seen by Janssen in the spectrum of the corona.

At this stage of the inquiry matters had not a very hopeful aspect. I had myself made a suggestion respecting the corona which, had a larger share of its light belonged to a specific green tint, might have led to the corona being seen as desired. I proposed that the light from the sun and the region around him should pass through a green absorptive medium (solid or liquid), and then form an image in the usual way on a screen, only that the screen should be of the precise colour of the green coronal tint we are considering. The part of the screen on which the sun's image would fall in this way, was to be cut away—that is, a suitably sized circular hole cut out of the screen—so that his overwhelmingly brilliant rays should not tax the eye, strained to detect, if possible, the faint light of the corona. But there would have been little chance, as I pointed out, that the mere use of a green absorptive medium and of a green reflective surface would make the corona visible. My main reliance had been on spectroscopic dispersion. I hoped that the illuminated card, if

examined through a spectroscope adjusted to the green coronal tint, would show the corona, just as we see a prominence through a spectroscope adjusted to the red, or to the orange-yellow, or to the greenish-blue prominence tint.

But this method never really had a chance of success. The green tint of the corona is altogether too faint to show the corona without an eclipse, as was shown in 1871 by the circumstance that it will not give an image of the corona even during totality.

It seemed, till last May, that astronomers must give up all idea of seeing the corona except during the occasions of eclipses. But during the eclipse of May 17 last the spectrum of the corona was photographed, and a peculiarity was thus indicated which again renewed the hope that the corona might be systematically studied. The photograph showed that the part of the corona's light which belongs to the violet end of the spectrum is much stronger than the rest. There is no definite tint of violet which includes a considerable portion of the coronal light, but there is a general superiority of strength throughout the indigo and violet parts of the coronal spectrum.

This being so, the spectroscopic method applied to the prominences could not be applied to the corona. That this is so will be seen at once if we consider the matter in the light of Newton's experiment, as we have already considered the visibility of the prominences. Taking sky light and prominence light together, we had a rainbow-tinted spectrum formed by multitudinous tints of light from the sunlit sky, along which three prominence images could be seen—one in the red, one in the orange-yellow, and one in the green-blue. Taking sky light and coronal light together, we should have a rainbow-tinted spectrum from the sky light as before, and in addition a rainbow-tinted spectrum, stronger in the violet part, from the corona. We might or might not be able to detect the relative excess of violet light; but whether we did or not, we should see nothing of the coronal figure. If the rainbow-tinted spectrum of the sky light were entirely removed, as during total eclipse for instance, no *image* of the corona would be seen in this way, for the relatively strong violet part of the coronal spectrum which would be seen would be made up of multitudinous violet images blended indistinguishably together.

But although the spectroscopic method would not be in this way available, the absorptive method—that is, the use of coloured media—would apply very favourably to this case. For while we know of no absorptive media that allow only light of certain definite tints to pass through, we can always find a medium which will allow an excess of light of any of the spectral colours to pass while the other colours are absorbed. We can test the absorptive qualities of various media for this purpose most exactly by means of the spectroscope;

for the mere colour of a medium, as judged by the eye, is no sufficient test of its absorptive capacity for particular spectral tints: a medium green to the eye may be found under spectral analysis not to suffer green rays to pass—to be opaque to such rays—but to let yellow and blue rays pass in such proportions as to produce the observed green light.

Selecting suitable violet absorptive media, Mr. Huggins thought of trying to see the corona by means of its excess of violet light. 'It appeared to me by no means improbable,' he writes, 'that the corona' (after its light had been thus sifted) 'would be able so far to hold its own against the atmospheric glare, that, the parts of the sky immediately about the sun, where the corona was present, would be in a sensible degree brighter than the adjoining parts, where the atmospheric light alone was present.' He did not, however, thus see the corona. He saw reasons for not attempting thus to see it. 'It was obvious,' he says, 'that in our climate and low down on the earth's surface, even with the aid of suitable screens, the addition of the coronal light behind would be able to increase but in very small degree the illumination of the sky at those places where it was present'—which is another way of saying that it would be impossible to discern the form and figure of the corona. Then, again, the portion of the light on which reliance was placed, namely, the violet, is not such light as our eyes are readily able to deal with so as to recognise small differences of illumination. It is much easier to detect slight differences in the brightness of red, yellow, or green light, than corresponding differences in violet light.

It occurred then to Mr. Huggins that he would attempt what, if he succeeded, would be of far greater value. There was another consideration of importance. He remarks, 'The corona is an object of very complex form, and full of details depending on small differences of illumination; so that, even if it could be glimpsed by the eye, it could scarcely be expected that observations of a sufficiently precise character could be made to permit of the detection of the more ordinary changes which are doubtless taking place in it.' What, then, Mr. Huggins planned was from the first to use photography, which possesses extreme sensitiveness in the discrimination of minute differences of illumination. It also possesses, Mr. Huggins notes, the enormous advantage of furnishing from an instantaneous exposure a permanent record of the most complex forms. 'I have satisfied myself,' he says, 'by some laboratory experiments, that, under suitable conditions of exposure and development, a photographic plate can be made to record minute differences of illumination existing in different parts of a bright object, such as a sheet of drawing-paper, which are so subtle as to be at the very limit of the power of recognition of a trained eye, and even, as it appeared to me, of those which surpass that limit.'

To increase his chance of success, Mr. Huggins soon substituted a reflecting telescope for the refracting instrument he had at first employed. He used a Newtonian reflector, having a mirror six inches in diameter. We need not describe the contrivances used to obtain on the photographic plate an image of the region around the sun (and the sun itself) after absorption of all but the violet light; for the description would not be intelligible except to those familiar with photographic telescoping. The violet medium employed was at first violet glass (pot—that is, not merely flashed with a violet tint, but the glass itself so tinted); afterwards a strong and newly made solution of potassic permanganate in a glass cell with carefully polished sides.

After some trials Mr. Huggins satisfied himself that on every one of the plates an appearance strikingly resembling the corona could be detected. He would have waited until more distinct images had been obtained; but, as he truly says, our climate is very unpropitious for such observations, and very few intervals, even of short duration, occur in which the atmospheric glare immediately around the sun is not very great. He therefore thought it best to describe his results at once, so that his method might be applied in other countries where the conditions are more favourable. In the meantime the results he has actually obtained are very promising.

The work was begun at the end of May last, and the photographs were obtained between June and September. On twenty of them the coronal form appears. It does not consist merely of increased photographic action around the sun; but there are distinct coronal forms and rays, admitting in the best plates of measurement and of drawings being made from them. The agreement in plates taken on different days, with different violet media, with the sun in different parts of the field, and attention being given to other necessary precautions, would seem to make it evident that the real corona was photographed, and not an optical phantom, the result of mere instrumental effects. There are some who think that the sun's bright rays, received on the glass, and reflected from the back of the plate, have produced forms simulating those of the sun's coronal radiance. But after carefully considering the precautions employed by Mr. Huggins, one of the most cautious and careful physicists living, I find it impossible to regard this explanation as admissible.

The plates taken with very short exposures show the inner corona only, but its outline can be clearly seen when the plates are examined under suitable illumination. Increased exposure showed the curved rays and rifts peculiar to the outer corona, while the details of the inner corona were lost. 'In the plates which were exposed for a long time,' says Mr. Huggins, 'not only the sun but the corona also is photographically reversed; and in these plates, having the appearance of a positive, the white reversed portion of the corona is more readily

distinguished and followed in its irregularly sinuous outline than is the case in those plates where the sun only is reversed, and the corona appears as in the negative, dark.'

The opinion of those best qualified to judge is that Mr. Huggins has really accomplished the difficult task he attempted; that at last we have the means of obtaining not only views, but permanent records of this great solar appendage. Professor Stokes, most cautious of physicists, regards the appearance on the plates as 'certainly very corona-like,' and is 'disposed to think it probable that it is really due to the corona;' which from him is equivalent to the expression of strong conviction on the part of any other physicist. Captain Abney, after careful comparison of the photographs with those obtained during the eclipse of last May, goes so far as to say that if Mr. Huggins's photographs do not represent the real corona, those taken during the eclipse do not, either. Mr. Huggins himself, respecting whom I may say that a long experience assures me that he himself would be the severest critic of his own work, says that there remains little doubt that by the method described in his paper, but 'under better conditions of climate, and especially at considerable elevations, the corona may be distinctly photographed from day to day with a definiteness which would allow of the study of the changes which doubtless are always going on in it.' By an adjustment of the times of exposure, either the brighter part of the corona near the sun, or the fainter exterior rays, could be obtained as might be desired.

Then, too, there is good reason to believe that the method itself may, with practice and experience, be greatly improved. The sensibility of photographic plates, whether wet or dry, is being increased year after year. With advantage taken of every advance in experience, both respecting the corona itself and respecting the photographic art, we may well hope that the method thus happily inaugurated will be more and more successfully applied, until at last, taking advantage of the numerous observatories existing in the Old and New World, and both north and south of the equator, we shall have daily records of the figure and changes of figure of the corona, and shall be at length enabled to determine its real structure and significance.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

THE
NEW DEPARTURE IN LEGAL REFORM.

THE new code of procedure which came into operation on October 24 in this year marks an important epoch in the history of legal reform. Like most beneficial measures, its announcement was greeted with a shower of criticism from totally opposite quarters, although from the nature of the subject it could not be assailed or defended on strict party lines. 'The judges have used their powers too boldly,' exclaimed Sir Hardinge Giffard, animated by the instincts of true Conservatism. 'They have not been courageous enough,' retorted with equal consistency the law reformers of the advanced school. Veteran practitioners who had witnessed, and had survived, other changes of the kind dropped a quiet hint that it would have been better for the public if they had been taken more into confidence, and then resigned themselves to this added trouble with a suppressed sigh. Younger men, chiefly members of the outer Bar, were filled with alarm for the ancient privileges of their order, and when the Rules were on the point of signature, agitated for the formation of a Bar Committee to consider what should be done. In the Lower House the Incorporated Law Society presented a petition for delay. In the Upper House, Lord Bramwell undertook on behalf of the new Bar Committee to lodge a formal protest to the same effect. To this double fire the Premier yielded, and the second Saturday in August was assigned for the discussion of the entire question.

The debate in the Commons hardly justified the consumption of valuable time expended on it. The general drift of the complaints made were: (1) that the Rules had been improperly framed in secret; (2) that they tended to make the judges 'absolute despots' in their own Courts. The former charge was wholly groundless, for the meetings of the framers had been made publicly known, and had been convened in strict conformity with the provisions of the Judicature Acts, 1873-81. In support of the latter, the sum of what was urged was: (1) that the Rules unduly checked the liberty of cross-examination; (2) that they left it discretionary with the judges to decide what cases they should try themselves and what cases they should remit to a jury. The reply of the Law Officers of the Crown was at once obvious and complete, namely, that the discretion to

disallow irrelevant questions was already possessed by the Bench, the New Rules being in that respect declaratory only, and that the single change they had made in our jury system was, as I shall hereafter more fully explain, to substitute in certain cases the order of a judge for a mere notice by the parties, the judge having no more option than before to refuse the order if applied for. The lawyers were thus divided against themselves, and the debate dwindled to a forensic contest in which the verdict was a foregone conclusion. Only two laymen ventured to interfere. One of these was Mr. Newdegate, who, by virtue of his encounters with Mr. Bradlaugh, has earned the brevet rank of a first-class litigant. The other was Mr. Henry Fowler, who observed that, 'although the New Rules were not everything that could be desired, they were a very decided step in the path of progress.' Judges, he added with perfect truth, were not usually law reformers and they never would be, but when Parliament got from them so large an instalment as this, he thought they ought to take it thankfully and then ask for more.

Mr. Fowler's estimate of the value of the New Rules will be generally accepted before many months are over. The work done is simply enormous, when it is remembered that the workmen could only work by snatches, and that they were already fully occupied otherwise. It involved the general revision and rearrangement of a vast body of orders and statutory enactments as to civil procedure and practice, including the existing Rules under the Judicature Acts, the Common Law Procedure Acts and Rules, the Consolidated General Orders, the Admiralty Rules, and many other miscellaneous matters. All this must be gratefully acknowledged. We are thankful, but we cannot afford to rest yet, for there still remains a good deal to do in order to perfect our legal procedure, and to further economise the time and strength of our judicial staff.

Before discussing proposed changes, it will be well to state how those last made have come about, and in what they consist. This I shall endeavour to do in a manner entirely intelligible to the lay reader, for whom, rather than for the profession, these pages are written. Improvements in the mode in which justice is administered are matter of public concern, and every educated member of the community, although not versed in technicalities, may take an interest in them. Just as, without being an electrical engineer, one may note the advances made in our dynamos, so, without being a practising lawyer, one may follow the growth of our legal procedure reform. It is not to be supposed that those who have personally suffered from the defects of the system will take the initiative in this good work, even if they were competent to do so. One might as well expect that a man who has had his leg cut off should devote his time to improving the instrument with which the operation had been performed. This duty the Legislature has wisely entrusted to the judges,

subject only to the control of Parliament. But the law of action and reaction is as powerful in the moral as in the physical world, and the judges will discharge their duty all the better if their efforts are understood and appreciated by their fellow-countrymen. In the language of one who afterwards became a very eminent member of their body, 'no work of reform, but of legal reform more especially, can be brought to a successful issue which is not encouraged and controlled by the vigilance of public opinion.' Thus spoke Lord Chief Justice Denman, shortly before he was raised to the Bench, and his words are, to say the least, as true now as when they were uttered more than half a century ago.

The law reformer to whom we owe most for services rendered during the last ten years is unquestionably Lord Selborne. To his lot it fell in the session of 1873 to introduce the first 'Judicature Act,' embodying the principal recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1867, of which, as Sir Roundell Palmer, he had been the prime mover. It is now a matter of history that this Act did three main things, namely: (1) consolidated the Superior Courts into one; (2) declared the supremacy of the principles of equity where, as was the case in a few instances, they were in direct conflict with those of the common law; (3) prescribed a set of rules founded on a simple and rational basis for the practical guidance of the 'Supreme Court' which it called into organic being. These rules were afterwards expanded into a more complete code under the supervision of a committee of judges, and were incorporated in the Judicature Act, 1875, of which, owing to a change of ministry, Lord Cairns undertook the charge. The Judicature Acts did not, as is popularly believed, effect the fusion of law and equity so as to obliterate all distinction between them, nor was this the main problem with which the Judicature Commissioners were concerned. That problem was one of *procedure*, the difficulties attending its solution being due to the variations in the practice of the several co-ordinate and mutually independent tribunals by which justice was then administered. To insure uniformity in this respect it was necessary that all these tribunals should be combined, and, this done, it was a comparatively easy task to harmonise the discrepancies between them. Previously to 1873 several legislative attempts had been made in this direction, but they had only partly succeeded for want of recognition of the cardinal truth that the remedy lay not in the enlargement of separate jurisdictions, but in throwing down the barriers between the Courts and blending them all together.

The radical change thus wrought in the constitution of the judiciary occasioned not a little disquietude in the minds of its individual members. The Chancery judges were at first disconcerted at having to throw aside evidence by affidavit, except on undisputed points, and to listen to and take down in writing oral testimony, followed, as it

often was, by lengthy cross-examination which they had not, or imagined they had not, power to curtail. On the other hand, their brethren at Westminster were staggered at being invited to handle the mysteries of equity without having gone through the initiatory rites—mysteries which the author of a common law treatise once compared to ‘the aroma of choice wines—a thing to be apprehended by a sort of subtle instinct, but not to be confined within the four walls of a proposition.’ The initial friction, however, gradually diminished and the machine soon got into working order. But its parts required further adjustment before it could move freely. This was effected by an Order in Council, issued in December 1880, which welded the Queen’s Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer Divisions into a single whole. Professional discontent at once found expression in remonstrances both from the Bench and the Bar. The late Chief Justice Cockburn had been greatly averse to this further consequential reform, and it was probably out of deference to his views that it was so long delayed. Another eminent judge, Sir J. F. Stephen, contributed to this Review, in January 1881, an elaborate paper in which he condemned those recommendations of the majority of his brethren on which the Order was founded, not so much on account of the magnitude of the alteration in itself, as because ‘it appeared to him to be part of a set of coming changes calculated to impair the dignity and efficiency of the Bench by diminishing the importance of its duties.’ The arguments employed, so far as they were based on the essential distinction between contentious litigation in the Common Law Division and the administrative work which falls to the share of the Chancery Division, were beside the point, inasmuch as it was no part of the scheme to unite those two Divisions. The alarm expressed lest the judges of first instance should be reduced to the condition of Commissioners of Assize, deputed to try issues of fact only, has been shown to be groundless by subsequent experience. Those who have carefully examined Mr. Justice Stephen’s reasoning, characterised as it is by his high ability, have probably shared Lord Brainwell’s conviction, published in a letter, to the *Times* in February 1881, that ‘the innovation which it attacked must have been rightly made when such a man could say so little against it.’

I have laid stress on the Order in Council of December 1880, because it was the immediate precursor of another important move, for which we are again indebted to the activity of the present Lord Chancellor in his character of law reformer. On the 7th of January 1881, little more than three weeks after the issuing of the Order and more than a month before it could become law, Lord Selborne addressed a letter to Lord Coleridge requesting him to preside over a committee ‘to be formed for the purpose of considering what changes it might be desirable to make in the practice, pleading, and procedure of the High Court in connection with the projected union of the

three Common Law Divisions,' and also—let this be specially noted—'as to the expediency of limiting any existing rights of appeal.' Lord Selborne added that such of the recommendations of the Committee as could be carried into effect by rules would be submitted to the Committee of Judges appointed to make rules under the Judicature Acts. The report of this Committee, known as Lord Coleridge's Committee, was made in the following May, and was at once communicated by the Lord Chancellor to all the other judges, who were invited to make suggestions upon it. Having been thus weighed and examined, it was afterwards submitted to a Select Committee of the judicial body, distinguished as the 'Rule Committee,' and the result of their deliberations upon it is the elaborate code which has just come into force. This code consists of 1,045 rules, of which, however, only 125 are new, and the germ of nearly all that is novel and striking in them is to be found in the report of Lord Coleridge's Committee.¹

In testing the worth of any system of legal procedure, the grand points to be attended to are (1) its efficiency, (2) its cheapness, (3) its rate of despatch. That system is the best in which all these are at a maximum at the same time. Efficiency of procedure, in the sense here attached to the phrase,² depends on the facilities which it affords for eliciting and putting in a neat shape the facts to which the law has to be applied. Its cheapness varies, other things being equal, in an inverse ratio to the length and number of steps which it requires, or allows, the parties to take between the commencement of an action and its close. Its rate of despatch depends partly on these steps and partly on the rapidity with which, when one step has been taken, the suitor is able to take the next in the series. The course of litigation may, to use a familiar simile, be likened to that of a railway train. Unnecessary multiplication of steps answers to circuitousness of route. Delay in getting over the steps, by reason of a block in the courts, answers to consumption of time at a station. But similes never 'run on all fours.' The traveller may suffer little

¹ This Committee comprised representatives of all three branches of the legal profession, the Bench, the Bar, and the solicitors. Its members, other than its President, Lord Coleridge, were the late Lord Justice James, Sir James Hannen, Mr. (now Lord) Justice Bowen, Lord Shand;—the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Mathew, Mr. R. T. Reid (now Q.C., M.P.);—Mr. John Hollams, Mr. Charles Harrison; of these two last, the former had been an active member of the Judicature Commission, and the latter had distinguished himself as an original contributor to the cause of law reform by a very able pamphlet on 'Chamber Practice.' The members of the Rule Committee, besides the Lord Chancellor, were the late Sir George Jessel, M.B., Sir J. Hannen, Lord Justice Lindley, Mr. Baron Pollock, Mr. Justice Manisty, Mr. (now Lord) Justice Fry. On the lamented death of Sir G. Jessel in the spring of this year, his place on the Committee was filled by Lord Justice Brett, who also succeeded him as Master of the Rolls.

² Efficiency, it will be observed, is here used in its strict sense of power to do 'work'; 'work' being, as in mechanics, independent of 'time' and 'cost.'

more than personal inconvenience from the faulty arrangements of the line; defects in procedure always entail on the suitor loss both of time and money; for in litigation, as every one knows who has paid a lawyer's bill, steps, time, and money are convertible terms.

What, then, have the New Rules done towards supplying the three desiderata which have just been discussed, and what have they left undone? This is what I now proceed to consider, and for convenience and clearness I shall group my observations under distinct heads.

I. Pleadings.—The suggestion, made by Lord Coleridge's Committee that no pleadings should be allowed unless by leave of a judge has not been adopted, but the aim has been to dispense with them where needless, and to improve their style by substituting terse statements, in the nature of abstracts or summaries, for the longer narrative forms supplied by the Act of 1875, the models furnished being nearly as concise as the 'particulars' in use in the County Courts. It is believed that this is much the wiser plan of the two. The true function of all modern pleading is to inform the opposite party, previously to the trial, of the nature of the case which will be set up in order to avoid his being taken by surprise, and so necessitating an adjournment to give him an opportunity of preparing his proofs in defence. And it is obvious that thus time and money are saved. The common law system of special pleading, about which much misapprehension prevails, did this effectually. It developed the precise point in controversy, and presented it in a shape fit for decision. If that point was found to consist of matter of fact, both plaintiff and defendant were apprised of the exact nature of the question to be decided by the jury, and were enabled to get ready their evidence accordingly. If, on the other hand, it turned out to be a matter of law, they had the means of immediately obtaining an adjudication upon it, without the expense and trouble of a trial, by referring the legal question so evolved to the determination of the judges. Chief Justice Tindal used to say that a long record made a short issue; he might have added with equal truth that where each party has fairly stated his case, it often turns out that there is no fact in dispute between them. What brought special pleading into discredit was (1) that it was ill adapted to cases where, as frequently happened, law and fact were inseparably mixed; (2) that it was often made ridiculous by tautologous allegations and an over-strained observance of form. Along with this crept in the practice of pleading 'the general issue,' under which the defendant was permitted to bring forward matters in confession and avoidance of which the plaintiff had no previous notice, and thus the entire benefits of the system were neutralised and lost. In this stage of its history common law pleading manifested two opposite vices, which unluckily were not mutually destructive, namely, (1) vague generality, (2) excessive subtlety and precision. The system of Chancery pleading ran into the opposite extreme. It

frequently obscured the issues amid a mass of verbiage, and as each allegation was, as a matter of course, made the subject of a long and searching interrogatory, the cost of the suit was thereby greatly increased. The forms under the Act of 1875 were a conscientious effort to steer a middle course between the baldness of the common law and the prolixity of the Chancery side, and under them pleadings have been drawn in all divisions of the High Court which have left nothing to be desired. But brevity and lucidity are not easily combined, and it was a prudent step to set before the profession a new series of models capable of being adapted by a fairly skilful hand to cases of ordinary occurrence, and of being imitated in the remainder.

There are indeed occasions when pleadings may properly be omitted altogether, as for instance when the plaintiff seeks to recover a debt or liquidated demand in money, and here a summary judgment may be obtained upon mere service of the writ, with particulars of the debt or demand indorsed upon it, unless the defendant can satisfy the judge that he has a good defence on the merits. This was a provision of the Rules of 1875, and an examination of the judicial statistics shows that it was an exceedingly valuable one, as tending to economise public time by disposing of a large number of actions, before they came into court. I only notice this here because the New Rules extend this summary process to the recovery of land by a landlord from a tenant who holds over after his term has expired, or his tenure has been cut short by notice to quit. A great deal of needless alarm has been expressed in the public press as to the effect of this innovation, which is not without statutory precedent, and cannot, as has been alleged, be made an instrument of arbitrary eviction, since the judge can always give leave to defend, and will, of course, do so if circumstances warrant it. The suggestion of the extension came from the Council of the Incorporated Law Society, which pointed out the delay that frequently takes place in the trial of actions of ejectment to which there is really no defence, and the great hardship on rightful owners in being kept out of possession by tenants in a state of insolvency, who, knowing that not a penny of costs can be got out of them, stick to a house or a bit of land without a particle of justification.³

II. *Discovery*.—The New Rules place considerable restraint on the power of delivering interrogatories for the examination of the opposite party, such interrogatories being competent, as of right, only in actions for fraud or breach of trust, and in all other cases

³ Complaint has been made from the Bench, and was repeated in the House of Commons by more than one speaker, that 'demurrers' have now been abolished. This is so in form, but all their virtue is preserved. The function of a demurrer was to raise a point of law or construction on admitted facts or documents, but it required these facts and documents to be set out in a pleading. The New Rules enable the point to be decided without this formality, and, therefore, at less cost and with as little delay.

requiring the leave of the judge. They also provide that either party is to be at liberty to call on the other to admit, for the purposes of the litigation only, any specific facts, and if this is neglected or refused, they throw on his opponent the cost of proving these facts, whatever the result of the action may be. There can be no doubt, as Lord Coleridge's Committee observed, that an oppressive use had been frequently made of the power of obtaining 'discovery' which the old procedure permitted. It was often employed for the purpose of endeavouring to manufacture a case, and as a means of harassing an adversary the temptation to resort to it was irresistible. Again, as the same Committee stated, great expense was frequently caused by the proof of facts about which there ought to have been no dispute, and the notice to admit such facts was recommended by them, as it had previously been by the Judicature Commission of 1867. Indeed, admissions of this kind as applied to documents were in use long before the Judicature Acts, and this extension of them to specific facts was originally suggested by the Common Law Commissioners in their second report of 1830. The language in which they did so is worth quoting:—

It would be very desirable that the principle of the measure [for procuring the admission of documents] should be extended to all such distinct facts as might, if special pleading were employed, be made the subject of special allegation. Little difficulty would be experienced in doing this if the facts to be proposed for admission were always such as lie within the knowledge of the party to whom the proposal is made. But in cases of contested title this must frequently be otherwise. To judge whether the matters proposed can safely be admitted, inquiry must often be instituted, and consequent expense incurred. And although no inquiry should be really necessary, it is to be feared that the proposal would in many cases be made a convenient pretext for additional charges, and the total cost of suit would be increased rather than diminished. On these grounds, we have reluctantly confined our proposition to written documents, though we cannot but feel that an unsuccessful party in a fair contest ought not to be burdened with the cost of proving a long detail of facts which he has had no opportunity of admitting, and which he might have admitted on the record if they had been specially pleaded. Should the regulations now suggested be found to operate as beneficially as we anticipate, we are not without hope that the principle of them may be found capable of further extension hereafter.

This hope has been at length realised after the lapse of fifty-three years. The suggestion has been a long time coming to its birth; may the apprehensions of evil which its authors entertained vanish before professional honour, as a bad dream is dissipated by the light of day.

III. *Conduct of the case.*—No provision of the New Rules has been more vehemently attacked than that which proposes to vest in a judicial officer a limited control over the earlier stages of an action by what is called 'the summons for directions,' instead of, as hitherto, leaving these preliminaries to the unfettered discretion of the parties (or rather of their legal advisers), subject only to the penalty of costs. The effect of the alteration, it is objected, is to deprive the suitor of

the right of conducting his case in the way which he deems most conducive to his own interest, and to impose on the master, by whom it is assumed the summons will be heard, an impracticable task. It must be confessed that the Rules which deal with this matter are not very clearly drawn, and no light whatever is thrown upon them by the prescribed form of summons, which is a skeleton with the vertebrae removed, and only the extremities remaining. The success of this novel experiment—novel, that is, in England, for the principle which underlies it is familiar to practitioners beyond the Tweed—will depend on the quality of the official before whom it is made. It is not to be expected that a master or chief clerk, unless he receives some afflatus of legal prophecy, can foresee what is the course which an action ought to take, what are the precise issues of fact and law involved in it, and how they may best be tried. These problems require for their solution great knowledge, experience, and acumen, such as can only be gained by actual practice in the courts. It is, certainly, not possessed by any official engaged in the administration of justice under the degree of a judge, and even the judges will not do this work well unless they devote much more time to it than they can at present afford. For some inscrutable reason, the judges of the Chancery Division only sit in chambers after a hard day's work in court, and although the practice in the Queen's Bench Division is different, the chamber matters there are already so heavy that any additional burden will be sorely felt. The load, indeed, has been somewhat lightened (1) by the relegation to a master of all summonses under the Debtors Act, 1869, and (2) by reducing to reasonable limits the administration in the Chancery Division of the estates of deceased persons, thus putting an end to a grave professional scandal. But, as a set off to this measure of relief, it must be remembered that any large amendments of procedure involve troublesome questions of interpretation, and call for numerous interlocutory decisions until the new practice has become settled. On the whole, however, and in spite of the ridicule which in some quarters has been heaped on the 'Summons for Directions,' on account of its 'omnibus' character, it may ultimately prove a great boon to the suitor if, by due economy of judicial strength, it can be dealt with by the fitting authority. And not the least interesting feature in the working of the Rules will be to watch the development of this Scotch bantling in the land of its adoption.

Hitherto I have considered the alterations made in procedure down to the stage when notice of trial is given, and the action is 'set down.' But it is useless to reduce the initial cost unless the trial can itself be reached within a reasonable time. To recur to the simile already employed, a train will be delayed by the aggregate amount of the stoppages of all the trains ahead of it, if all have started for the same terminus; and if these stoppages occasion undue

delay, either the staff employed is inadequate, or there is something wrong in the method by which the traffic is sent forward. A few statistics will suffice to show our shortcomings in this respect. At the opening of last Trinity sittings there were 850 causes and matters in arrear in the Chancery Division alone—an increase of 214 over the number for the corresponding period of 1882. In the Queen's Bench Division there was an arrear of 876 cases, of which 603 were actions for trial with juries in Middlesex. In the Probate and Admiralty Division the arrears numbered 324. In the Appeal Court they were 296. In the first week of July last there were 627 causes waiting to be heard in the Queen's Bench Division alone, and when the first of these is attacked in the present month of November the number will have been largely augmented by those set down for hearing during the long vacation. In the first week of the same July the judicial staff, whose business it is to cope with these arrears, underwent a serious diminution, three out of the six Lords Justices of Appeal being taken away on circuit, so that only one Court of Appeal could be formed, while nine out of the fifteen judges of the Queen's Bench Division, and one of the five judges of the Chancery Division left London on the same duty. These figures and facts speak for themselves and require no comment.

What is the remedy? It is to be found either (1) in an increase of judges, or (2) in the economy of existing judicial strength. To the first there are serious objections, independently of the demand which it makes on the public purse, and it should not be resorted to until every expedient that will conduce to the second has been tried. But we are far from having exhausted our expedients. There are several ways in which our existing judicial strength may be further economised, some of them being within the powers already vested in the judges, while others can only be effectuated by legislation. Among those with which the judges are competent to deal may be classed the restriction of trial by jury in civil cases, and the curtailing of the functions of the Divisional Courts; to those which appear to be beyond their present powers belongs the rearrangement of the circuit system—a reform of pressing necessity, and lying, it may be hoped, in the immediate future. I propose to devote the remainder of this paper to the consideration of these topics in the order just mentioned.

IV. *Juries*.—It is a mistake to suppose, as I have already pointed out, that the New Rules seriously interfere with trial by jury in civil cases. All that they do is to throw a very slight impediment in the way of its exercise. As the law previously stood, there were numerous actions in which a jury trial could not be had; namely, those assigned by the Judicature Acts to the Chancery Division, as well as those which required a prolonged examination of documents or accounts, or some scientific investigation for which a jury was an

inconvenient tribunal. But even in that class of actions which admitted a jury, it was imperative on the party seeking one to 'signify' his desire for it. The only difference that the New Rules make is that, in six specified actions, this desire must be 'signified' in one way, and in all other actions where a jury can be had it must be 'signified' in another way. In actions for (1) slander, (2) libel, (3) false imprisonment, (4) malicious prosecution, (5) seduction, (6) breach of promise of marriage, the desire for a jury must be made known by giving notice to the opposite party. In all other jury actions the desire must be made known by applying for a judge's order, which, however, cannot be withheld. The distinction is certainly fine, but with a large majority of litigants the wish for a jury is so faint that anything that breaks the force of habit will extinguish it altogether. It seems to have been assumed by the framers of the Rules that the wish, in question might survive the notice, because the notice is now given as a matter of course by the legal adviser, but that it would not survive the unusual effort to obtain the order, because before the order can be had the legal adviser is likely to pause and consider whether his client really wants a jury or not. This, at least, is the only explanation of the very small change brought about by the Rules in the matter of juries that I can suggest, and, subtle as it may seem, it is probably the true one. In the County Courts, where a jury is optional, *but an active step has to be taken to obtain one*, the proportion of jury to non-jury cases is about that of 1 to 600.

The jury system in civil cases is, in truth, a relic of an age when judges were supposed to be capable of being bribed or corruptly influenced in some other way; and, indeed, it is not a hundred years since scientific writers on law made this imputation part of their argument in favour of its continuance. Thus Paley writes in 1785:—

As the judge is known beforehand he is accessible to the parties, and there exists a possibility of secret management and undue practices. The judge imparts to the jury the benefit of his erudition and experience; the jury by their disinterestedness check any corrupt partialities which previous application may have produced in the judge. If the determination were left to the judge the party might suffer under the superior interest of his adversary; if it were left to an uninitiated jury his rights would be still in danger from the ignorance of those who were to decide upon them. The present wise admixture of chance and choice in the constitution of the court in which his cause is tried guards him equally against the fear of injury from either of these causes.*

Is there a single sane man or woman in England with whom this argument would have the slightest weight at the present day? 'Influence' is no doubt still exerted, and that of a very powerful

* *Moral and Political Philosophy*, Book VI. chap. viii. 'On the Administration of Justice.'

kind, but it is no longer brought to bear upon the judge, but on the jury. It is well known that to have the last word in a jury trial—technically called the reply—is of the greatest advantage. So great is it felt to be in practice that with the view of securing it the counsel for the defendant frequently avoids calling witnesses, even though they would improve his case. The exercise of a wise discretion on this point is one of the most delicate and difficult parts of the duties of an advocate at *Nisi Prius*.

Let us try the question in another way. A fair test of the value of an institution is this. Supposing it did not exist, should we set about to establish it? Would any one who had any belief in his case, if he had never heard of a jury before, think of entrusting the decision of it to twelve men who, for all he can tell, have not been in the habit of exercising their intelligence—who certainly have not been in the habit of exercising it in concert—shut up in a close court, rather than to a man of known integrity, trained experience, and general knowledge of the world, accustomed to deal with such questions all his life long? The experiment *was* tried in Scotland in 1815 when juries were introduced there by Act of Parliament. What has been the result? It has turned out a distinct failure. Merchants in Glasgow have been heard to say they would rather surrender their rights and interests than submit their case to a jury of their countrymen.

But, at all events, a jury is free from prejudices? On this head I must again quote Lord Bramwell, because his testimony will hardly be gainsaid. This is what he told the Law Courts Commission after thirteen years' experience of juries as a judge, and a long brilliant career as an advocate before them:—

In an action against a railway company juries generally go wrong; in actions for discharging a servant they generally go wrong; in actions by a tradesman against a gentleman, where the question is whether articles supplied were necessary for his wife, they are sure to go wrong; in actions of malicious prosecution⁵ they are always wrong. You may say to them—'The question is not whether the man is innocent, but whether there is absence of reasonable cause and malice'—but in vain. They find for the innocent man. In cases of running down⁶ they generally find for the plaintiff; so much so that a man who has run down another, if he is wise, will bring the action first. I have been in cases myself where each party has brought an action, and each has recovered.

⁵ This, it will be remembered, is one of the 'six excepted actions' in the New Rules.

⁶ In a running down case tried before Mr. Justice Day in the summer of last year a verdict had been given for the plaintiff for 100*l*. The plaintiff was the widow of a man who had been run over by a van, and the testimony, as is usual in such cases, was conflicting. Although the learned judge was strongly of opinion that the deceased was in fault, the jury took the view that a man with a wife and family was less likely to have been careless, when carelessness would lose him his life, than the driver of a van, who at the most would lose his situation. On an application for a new trial the Divisional Court considered the case for the plaintiff so hopeless, that, instead of ordering a new trial, which would probably have resulted in a like verdict, it directed judgment to be forthwith entered in favour of the defendant.

Probably if asked to explain this paradox the jury would answer that, while the judge looked only to the strict letter of the law, they took a more liberal and enlarged view according to the 'morality' of the case. A verdict so gained is only a temporary triumph, and inevitably results in an order for a new trial.

It will be retorted that, although this liability to error may hold good in the case of a common jury, a special jury is exempt from such failings. But what are the qualifications of a special jury, and how is it composed? The qualifications, as fixed by the Act of 1870, depend either (1) on the occupation of lands or houses of a certain rateable value, or (2) on rank and social position. Every male person who is legally entitled to be called an esquire, or is a person of higher degree, or is a banker or merchant, and is between twenty-one and sixty, and resident in the county or city where assizes are held, is eligible as a special juror. Bankers and merchants we know, but esquires have no outward marks of distinction, and any one may enter the special jury box in that character who has been designated such by the churchwardens or overseers whose duty it is to prepare the jury list. These lists are often very carelessly prepared, and, even if the Act were strictly complied with, is it certain that esquires proper, or even bankers or merchants—to say nothing of those who are only qualified by rateability—are proof against the bewilderment caused by the use of strange law terms or the disputes of contending advocates? Assume that there is a great advantage in having a commercial case tried before a special jury of merchants in London or Liverpool, or a case relating to a watercourse tried by a special jury of country gentlemen, the existing system of classifying jurors furnishes no security that such a panel will be struck. It has actually happened in practice that, the question being whether corn delivered was equal to sample, not a single corn-chandler or even farmer was on the special jury, and this is only one instance out of a thousand. Why, again, should a banker or merchant, as such, be more likely to form a correct opinion on a point of real property than a squire who rides to hounds on the effect of a bill of lading? *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* applies to all specialists alike. Or, if we turn the corner of the adage by empanelling none but those who are experts on the particular question to be tried, surely it would be well to reduce their number below twelve and turn them into assessors, or else to leave out the part of the judge altogether, and to establish tribunals of commerce as in France, Belgium, and Germany.

Trial by jury is not only more expensive than any other mode of trial, but, for reasons known to every practitioner; it occupies about one-third more time, and every restriction which is put upon it is, therefore, a direct proportionate saving of our judicial strength. Incidentally, however, it is much more than this, for when the jury are misdirected by the judge, or they bring in a verdict against

evidence, this cannot be set right by the Court of Appeal. A new trial must be had and the whole of the work must be done over again. Where, on the other hand, the appeal is from a judge without a jury, it is simply a rehearing, which is a very different thing. The recent abolition of the absurd practice of applying *ex parte* for new trials, and of granting rules to show cause, cannot be too warmly applauded, but new trials with fresh juries still remain with their attendant cost, threatening to secure ultimate victory, as in the now famous case of *Belt v. Lawes*, to the litigant with the longest purse. It may be that in actions where the honour of a man or woman is the main issue to be tried, the popular element of a jury will find a place in our judicial system for some little time to come, but it is to be hoped that it will shortly disappear from all other actions for the enforcement of contracts or the redress of private wrongs. The assimilation of the modes of trial in the two divisions of the High Court will then, and not till then, be fairly complete.⁷

V. *Divisional Courts*.—The institution known as the Divisional Court has caused dissatisfaction in many quarters and on very intelligible grounds. It was denounced by Sir Henry James in his remarkable speech in the House of Commons, on March 21, 1879, as a ‘waste of judicial strength,’ and his observations were not dissented from by his predecessor in office, the late Lord Justice Holker, then Attorney-General. Divisional Courts, as is well known, were established by the Judicature Act, 1873, for the discharge of two distinct functions: (1) as courts of intermediate appeal in substitution for the old Courts in Banc; (2) as Courts of Appeal from petty and quarter sessions and county and other local courts, the appeal in this case being final unless leave were given to carry it further. Sir H. James, on the occasion referred to, declared the intermediate appeal to the Divisional Court to be ‘a new and useless stage, adding delay, expense and inconvenience, without any resulting benefit.’ This language was hardly too strong, and it has been endorsed by resolutions passed by several law societies throughout the kingdom. If there has been a miscarriage at *Nisi Prius*, either on the score of misdirection, or of verdict against evidence, the Divisional Court may entertain an application for a new trial, the decision on which is liable to be reversed in the Court of Appeal proper, while the decision of that court is, in its turn, liable to be reconsidered by the House of Lords, making in all *three* appeals. Again, if an order is made by a master in chambers of however trifling a character, an appeal from it lies to the judge in chambers, from the judge in chambers to the Divisional Court, from the Divisional Court to the Court of Appeal, and from the Court of Appeal to the House of

⁷ Not quite; for cases of personal fraud, as much involving questions of character as any of the ‘six excepted actions,’ are constantly tried by a judge sitting in the Chancery Division where a jury cannot be had.

Lords, thus making no less than *four* appeals. It is obvious that, in each of these cases, there is at least one appeal too many, and the superfluous appeal is that made to the Divisional Court. In the Chancery Division no such needless expense or delay is incurred. As there are no juries there, there can be no misdirection or verdict against evidence, and, therefore, there can be no motions for new trial for a Divisional Court to hear. There are, undoubtedly, appeals from chambers in the Chancery Division, as in the Queen's Bench Division, but no Divisional Court is ever formed to hear these appeals, which are made direct to the Court of Appeal. Indeed, when a question has been argued before a Chancery judge in chambers, it may go to the Court of Appeal without being heard in Court at all, provided the judge will certify that he does not desire to have the case further argued before himself.

But it is not only as an intermediate Court of Appeal that the constitution of the Divisional Court is open to serious criticism. Viewed as a court of final appeal, it presents strange anomalies. The number of judges composing it is normally two, and may be considerably more, yet appeals from County Courts both in Admiralty and Bankruptcy are heard before a single judge, and there is no limit to the sums involved in these last appeals since the jurisdiction of the County Courts in bankruptcy is itself unlimited. Again, a judge of the Chancery Division sitting alone grants injunctions in perpetuity, while a Divisional Court must be convened to listen to an application for a prerogative writ of mandamus. Further, a single judge of the Chancery Division can issue a writ of prohibition, but such writ can only be issued on the Crown side of the Queen's Bench Division by a Divisional Court. This condition of things was justified by Lord Coleridge's Committee on the ground that to compel all such applications to be made to a single judge would be 'to deprive the judgment given by the court of first instance of much of its weight and authority, and to invite and multiply appeals in cases in which the suitors cannot always afford them, and in which delay is often a serious inconvenience.' It is very doubtful whether the combined judgment of two judges of first instance does carry so much more weight than the judgment of a judge sitting alone as is here attributed to it, and if the two judges should unfortunately happen to differ the expense of the argument before them is, of course, thrown away. Moreover, as Divisional Courts do not consider themselves bound by each other's decisions, the singular spectacle is sometimes presented of their deciding different ways, and this in cases where their decision is without appeal.*

* Thus a Divisional Court has held that by-laws under the Education Act can be enforced, although they clash with the Factory Acts; while another Divisional Court has held the contrary. *Bury v. Cherryholme*, 1 Exch. Div. Rep. 457. *Scous Mellor v. Denham*, 4 Q.B.D. Rep. 241. A like difference occurred between two other Divisional Courts upon the question whether or not a father could be said to cause his

Until some means are devised for keeping down the arrears in the Appeal Court by relieving its judges from circuit duties, it is questionable whether it would be desirable wholly to abolish the Divisional Court as a court of final appeal from sessions and other local tribunals. But it is much to be regretted that the hint given by Lord Selborne, in his letter to Lord Coleridge already quoted, should not have been acted on in the new rules, and that Divisional Courts should continue to be formed for the purpose of hearing motions for new trial, or appeals from orders made by a judge at chambers, seeing that there are two higher courts beyond them to which their decisions may only serve as passports. When, on the other hand, the Divisional Court is engaged on hearing appeals from inferior courts, or cases reserved by magistrates in the exercise of their summary jurisdiction, they may still be doing valuable work. In the large majority of cases so heard their decision will be a final one, as being satisfactory to the parties, while their discretionary power of granting or refusing leave for a rehearing before the Court of Appeal may be wisely retained. It is analogous to the power reposed in the Court of Appeal itself of granting or refusing, in certain specified cases, leave to appeal to the House of Lords. The example of the Court of Appeal might also be followed in another respect with advantage. That court, when engaged on interlocutory business, must consist of not less than three judges, and I ventured to express an opinion some two years ago;⁹ which subsequent experience has confirmed, that the members of the Divisional Courts when engaged on appellate business should not be less than three. Unless these three members should differ among themselves, it is not likely that leave to appeal would, if discretionary, be granted, whereas a court of two might not feel sufficient confidence in its own conclusion to refuse an appeal in any case where it reversed the decision of the court below. This arrangement, too, would put an end to the disappointment which is now naturally felt whenever the weights in the judicial scale are evenly balanced, and the appeal is thus rendered abortive.

VI. *Circuits*.—Our national complacency and readiness to believe that whatever is is right cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by our toleration of the existing circuit system. That system has been practically little altered since Henry II. gave his famous instructions to the justices in Eyre, which, according to the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, treated them as ‘a sort of itinerant factors sent round the country for the purpose of levying certain branches of the royal revenue.’ The route prescribed in that remote time

child to ‘attend’ school if he sent the child to a board-school but neglected to pay the fee. *Richardson v. Saunders*, 6 Q.B.D. Rep. 313; *Same v. Same*, 7 Q.B.D. Rep. 388. In the last-named case the Divisional Court was composed of five members in order to give greater weight to the decision.

⁹ *Law Magazine and Review*, February 1881. ‘The Vacant Chiefships,’ by Q. C.

survives substantially to the present day, although it is nearly as obsolete as the motive which Adam Smith attributed to it. We still stand upon the ancient ways, and nothing but an active public opinion—an opinion which must be brought to bear on Parliament itself—can tear us from them." It is useless to trust to the 'silent development of time,' for it is now fourteen years ago since the Judicature Commissioners reported as follows:—

The necessity for holding assizes in every county, without regard to the extent of the business to be transacted in each county, leads to a great waste of judicial strength, and a great loss of time in going from one circuit town to another, and causes much unnecessary cost and inconvenience to those whose attendance is necessary or customary at the assizes. The distribution of a small amount of business among a large number of circuit towns is the cause of serious evils to the suitors. From the impossibility of ascertaining beforehand with accuracy the business likely to arise, the time allotted to some towns often proves insufficient, and complaints arise that the trial of causes is hurried, or that the parties are driven to dispose of their cases by reference or otherwise unless they submit to the loss and inconveniences of having their causes postponed until the next assizes. The expense and trouble of bringing together judges, sheriffs, and grand jurors, and the time occupied in the preliminaries of an assize are the same at a place where there is but little business as at a large one. We are, therefore, of opinion that the judicial business of the country should no longer be arranged or distributed according to the accidental division of counties, but that the venue for trials should be enlarged, and that several counties should be consolidated into districts of a convenient size, that such districts should for all purposes of trial at the assizes, both in civil and criminal cases, be treated as one venue or county, and that all counties of towns and cities should for the purpose of such districts be included in an adjacent district or county. In arranging the circuits we think they should be so remodelled as to render the amount of business likely to be transacted on each circuit as nearly equal as may be practicable, and in fixing the towns at which the assizes should be held, we recommend that those towns should be chosen which are the most central, with which there is the best and most rapid railway communication from all parts of the district, and to which the inhabitants are most in the habit of resorting for business.

I have transcribed these weighty suggestions at length because they show in the clearest possible way the direction which circuit reform should take, but they do not go sufficiently into detail for practical purposes. This defect, if defect it be, I shall attempt to supply, following out the lines laid down by the Commissioners to their logical issue.

By way of preface to what is now to be proposed it must be pointed out that our existing circuit system presents very different aspects according as we view it from its criminal or from its civil side. It is desirable that criminal justice should be administered within narrow limits, and that the young, the vicious, and the ignorant should be impressed by witnessing the solemn trial of the criminal in the immediate neighbourhood of his crime. The object of the criminal law is not so much to punish the individual offender as to deter others, and its deterrent agency is never so powerful as when its sentence is

pronounced in the presence, or within the earshot, of the prisoner's friends and associates. To civil cases these considerations do not apply. In them the force of example operates but feebly, if it operates at all. No one is deterred from committing a breach of contract by the fact that his neighbour has been mulcted in damages for committing another breach before him under different circumstances. Nor do men the better perform their obligations in respect of 'goods sold and delivered' or 'money paid, lent, or received' because some unscrupulous or impécunious acquaintance has already had judgment given against him for neglecting to do the like. I select these three classes of actions because, as the last judicial statistics show, they constitute nearly one-third of the cases for the trial of which the present circuit system exists. Bearing in mind, then, this cardinal distinction, the problem before us becomes greatly simplified. I assume that there must be four gaol deliveries in the course of every year, for there are abundant signs that the provinces will not be satisfied with less. I assume also that there must be three civil assizes in the year, at all events in the more populous districts. But it is not the least necessary that two judges should visit each assize town, or indeed each separate county, for the purpose of trying civil actions. If one convenient local centre were made the assize town for two or more counties, the effect on each county would be the same as at present. This was the view of the late Lord Justice James—who never allowed himself to be trammelled by form—and he illustrated it in the following manner:—

Take (he said) two of the most important counties, Devon and Cornwall. Suppose Plymouth were made the assize town for both, what part of Devonshire outside of Exeter, or what part of Cornwall outside of Bodmin or Truro, would feel the difference? The magistrates, the jurors, and the people would equally see the spectacle of the dignified presence of Justice personified in her highest ministers, and would equally learn the lessons they now learn from their own presence and share in the administration of the law. Take a smaller instance. Suppose the people of Anglesea when they got to the Menai Bridge pursued their railway journey to Carnarvon, instead of getting out of their train and going by omnibus to Beaumaris, what appreciable difference would it make to any human being? And similar instances might be found all over England.

Adopting the idea of local centres for civil business, and dovetailing into this the present arrangements for criminal business in conformity with the distinction already drawn between the two, what do we arrive at? A '*stationary judge for civil business established at a local centre, and a travelling judge for the trial of criminal cases gyrating round that centre.*' This arrangement, as I shall presently show, is a perfectly practicable one, and as the '*stationary judge*' would be stationary only during the continuance of the circuit period, it combines the maximum of judicial economy with the minimum of disturbance of the existing order of things.¹⁰

¹⁰ The proposal may sound strange to English ears, but in France it is no novelty at all, as appears by the following extract from a letter of the distinguished French

It may be objected that suitors and their witnesses ought not to be forced to travel to centres in order to have their cases tried, but the answer is that the centre on each circuit may be so chosen as to be reached more conveniently and more cheaply by those who live within the circuit radius than the existing assize towns can now be reached from many of the non-assize towns. Besides, what suitors now feel to be a grievance is not the distances they have to travel, but that when they have reached their destination they have no certain hope that their cases will be tried out, and not be shelved or referred to arbitration for want of time to try them. Where, then, is the local centre to be? The clue to it is twofold: (1) the position of the centre itself in reference to our main lines of railway; (2) its size, which may be roughly measured by its population. Any one who will look at a map of England on which the main railways are shown will, with this clue in his hand, find the appropriate centres at once, provided he is familiar with the existing circuit boundaries. Let us begin, for example, with the north-eastern circuit, in which there are four assize towns, viz., Newcastle, Durham, York, Leeds, always visited in the order named. York is clearly the railway centre, and, although not so populous as Newcastle or Leeds, should by virtue of this fact alone be the civil assize centre. While one judge is sitting at York continuously for civil business, the second judge will, according to the scheme proposed, visit the other three towns on the circuit for criminal business only, and, when that is disposed of, will return to York to despatch the criminal business there, and to assist the first judge in despatching what remains of the civil business. In like manner, Cambridge will be found to be the appropriate civil assize centre for the south-eastern circuit, and Bristol for the western. For the northern circuit, the heaviest of all the circuits, there should be two local centres, Manchester and Liverpool, and a third judge might be sent on that circuit as occasion required, so that the civil business might proceed concurrently at both these seats of mercantile industry. When the travelling judge had completed his criminal circuit, one of the three judges would be liberated, and his services would then be available in London.

So far there has been very little dislocation. The remaining circuits are the North and South Wales, the Oxford and the Midland, and these would have to be rather differently dealt with. Nearly all

jurist, M. Demombynes, recently addressed to the present writer:—'*Les affaires civiles sont toujours expédiées par les juges résidents (stationary).*' *Les affaires criminelles sont expédiées, savoir: (a) Crimes, par les Cours d'assises composées (1°) d'un Président ambulant (travelling) et de deux assesseurs; (2°) d'un Jury de douze membres; (b) délits, et (c) contraventions par les juges résidents.*' The tribunals by which (b) and (c) are dealt with correspond roughly to our petty and quarter sessions. Those who desire further information on the judicial systems of France and other European nations should consult the second edition of M. Demombynes' valuable treatise, *Les Constitutions Européennes* (Paris: Larose et Forcel, 1883).

SUGGESTED CIRCUIT ARRANGEMENT.

POPULATIONS OF PROPOSED CIVIL CENTRES.

York,	49,530.	Manchester,	341,414.
Liverpool,	552,508.	Birmingham,	400,774.
Cambridge,	35,663.	Gloucester,	36,521.
	Bristol	206,874.	..



.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

the assize towns in South Wales are now brought into direct railway communication with Gloucester. Gloucester is on the Oxford circuit, and with a view to the greater equalisation of business it will be expedient to make a change both in that circuit and also in the Midland. The South Wales and Oxford circuits should be united, the Oxford giving up Stafford and Shrewsbury to the Midland, while the Midland, in its turn, should give up Aylesbury and Bedford to the south-eastern. The topographical centre of the Midland circuit would still be Leicester, but the claims of Birmingham, which is not at present an assize town, appear to be paramount, by reason both of its extensive trade and of its railway facilities. No change need be made in the North Wales circuit, which, according to the present practice, is visited only by one judge, except that this one judge should take the exclusive charge of Chester, for he could no longer obtain assistance from the South Wales circuit if that circuit is united with the Oxford. The accompanying map, for the suggestion of which, as also for many details connected with it, I am indebted to a member of Lord Coleridge's Committee, will explain more clearly than any textual statement the precise character of the suggested circuit changes. In this map the present assize towns, where they are not proposed for civil assize circuits, are distinguished by a circle, the civil assize circuits themselves being distinguished by an oblong. The time saved to the judges, in travelling alone, by adopting the arrangement shown in the map would be very considerable, apart from the enormous benefit to be derived from their sittings for civil business being continuous. If the Commission days, which are purely ceremonial, were also abolished, and if all assize cases were required to be set down at the royal courts in London, thus enabling the amount of circuit work to be better ascertained beforehand, the aggregate gain would be equivalent to the appointment of a fresh judge without a farthing of extra expense to the country.

It goes without saying that the above scheme will not content advocates of thorough localisation like Mr. Joseph Cowen, but it ought to satisfy men of moderate views like Mr. Whitley and his distinguished fellow-citizen Mr. Lowndes; and all three may accept it as an experiment capable of being tried at once, without compromising their opinions as to what ought ultimately to be done. It may be recollected that Mr. Cowen's Bill, as introduced, or rather reintroduced, last session, seeks to establish District Courts in nearly all populous places, and to make them branches of the High Court. It would appoint one district judge for Newcastle and Durham, one for York, Hull and Stockton, one for Sheffield, Nottingham and Derby, one for Birmingham and Wolverhampton, one for Bristol and Gloucester, two for Leeds and Bradford, and three for Liverpool and Manchester, making ten new judges in all. Each judge is to have 3,000*l.* a year with unlimited jurisdiction, except in Probate,

Divorce, and Crown cases, and is to occupy a position intermediate to that of a judge of the Superior Courts and a judge of County Courts. It is difficult to estimate the cost of this plan, but as each district judge is to have a staff, including a registrar and other ministerial officers, it cannot be less than between 40,000*l.* and 50,000*l.* a year, the only set-off provided being the extinction of the County Courts in the places where the District Courts are established. This experiment of creating a new grade of judges would be singularly unfair to the present judges of the County Courts, whose status would be greatly prejudiced if a new order of officials were interposed between them and the judges of the Superior Courts. The County Court judges have had unlimited jurisdiction in Bankruptcy ever since 1869, and twenty-four of them have had jurisdiction in Admiralty cases up to 300*l.* ever since 1868. Their original limit of 50*l.* has, therefore, been long since broken in upon, and the time cannot be far distant when both this limit and their salaries will have to be substantially raised, not only as a measure of justice to them, but also in order to relieve the pressure on the Superior Courts caused by the actions for small amounts which form the principal staple of the civil business at the assizes. Another fatal objection to Mr. Cowen's Bill is that it would enormously multiply appeals, and would necessitate so large an increase of the appellate staff as to seriously impair its authority.

Mr. Whitley's Bill, to establish continuous sittings of the High Court primarily in Lancashire, is much more practical than Mr. Cowen's, and would involve much less outlay. It embodies the views of the Lancashire men of business, who see in it a remedy for the length of time that has been allowed to elapse there between the recurrence of their assize periods. It must be admitted that they had reason to complain so long as they had only three civil assizes in the course of twelve months, but, as one more has been added this year, and the number is not likely to be diminished in future, their main grievance has been already redressed. If, in accordance with the suggestions of this paper, the circuits were remodelled and a third judge were sent down to Manchester and Liverpool whenever occasion required, all will have been done for those two great cities that can be done compatibly with their securing the services of judges of the first rank. Judges below the first rank they tell us they will not be content with, and yet it is difficult to see how their aspirations are to be satisfied under the prescribed conditions. If Mr. Whitley's Bill becomes law, its benefits, should they turn out to be such, cannot obviously be confined to any single county, and the localisation of the judges, instead of being transitory and partial, must before long become permanent and universal. This consummation, once reached, will, by lowering the standard of both Bench

and Bar, impair the efficiency of each. It will also neutralise the attractions now held out by the Bench, and will tend to efface the best characteristic of the Bar, namely, its thorough independence. Further, it will, as I believe, prove a misfortune to the country at large. We cannot revert to the halcyon days depicted by Blackstone, when 'justice' was brought home to every man's door, by constituting as many Courts of Judicature as there were manors or townships in the kingdom, wherein injuries were redressed in an easy and expeditious manner by the suffrages of neighbours and friends.' The exigencies of civil government require not only that law should be 'easy and expeditious,' but also that it should be uniform, and nothing is more calculated to destroy uniformity than to establish separate courts with separate judges, who have no means of consulting, or it may be communicating, with one another. Even when three separate Common Law Courts existed at Westminster, discrepancy of practice and decision grew up, although the judges of those courts had spent the best part of their professional life in practising in all of them indiscriminately. Local judges, too, would involve local bars, and from the leaders of the local bars the local judges would have to be chosen. To borrow a phrase from the naturalists, the variety of species once started would develop by domestication, and confusion will in the end become worse confounded.

Nor would the mischief stop here. Hitherto the criticism of the Bar has had a powerful influence on the Bench, but a permanent local judge would either hold himself superior to such criticism or would be in danger of becoming subservient to it. Hitherto, again, the Bar has been independent of the Bench, while paying it due deference and respect, but any one familiar with our courts well knows that, in that artificial atmosphere, the insulation of the practitioner operates prejudicially on the independence of the advocate. If a localised practitioner were to incur the displeasure of a localised judge, he would, however little he might merit it, be severely handicapped; if this displeasure ripened into settled dislike he might be forced to retire from his profession. Such is the high and generous character of the judges of the present day, that there is no reason to apprehend that they would abuse the fortuitous advantage in this respect which their position gives them, but it is impossible to say what might happen if they were to be permanently relegated to the provinces with entirely different surroundings. By the happy arrangement which distinguishes this country from middle and southern Europe, the interests of the English Bench and the English Bar are one, for our Bench is recruited from the ranks of the Bar, and the best qualities of the judge are only the outcome of the training and experience of the barrister. It is well that this solidarity should remain unshaken, and that a central Bench and a central Bar should

continue to co-operate as hitherto, distributing the benefit of their services throughout the length and breadth of the land. Localisation of the judiciary, whatever form it may take, must in the long run tarnish the lustre which the past and present luminaries of Bench and Bar have shed on our executive system by their joint action in dispensing substantial justice from the source of scientific principles.

MONTAGUE COOKSON.

THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY IN ENGLAND.

It is now more than seventeen years since Lord Sherbrooke, then Mr. Lowe, warned his countrymen against the perils of advancing Democracy, in the most remarkable series of parliamentary speeches delivered within living memory. In opposing the very moderate Reform Bill then under discussion, he assumed that every downward extension of the franchise was 'a step in the direction of Democracy,' and he proceeded to construct a hideous ideal of Democracy, by combining all the worst features of ancient city governments with all the worst features of modern empires, republics, and colonial legislatures in which universal suffrage prevails. He described this imaginary Democracy as tyrannical at home and aggressive abroad, the enemy of all superiority, and the slave of every selfish prejudice. He pictured to himself the so-called 'degradation of the suffrage' as inevitably involving a degradation of politics, and constantly lowering the standard of political morality. He maintained that if once the ignorant majority should become omnipotent, it would forthwith use its power to crush the educated minority, while it would prostitute itself before the flattery of demagogues and the bribes of millionaires. He foretold that democratic constituencies would assuredly return members of inferior character and intellect, little guided by public spirit or fixed principles, intolerant of administrative vigour in the Executive, and even of judicial independence on the Bench, obeying the caprices of popular sentiment, and incapable of appreciating a truly statesmanlike policy.

The year after these gloomy predictions were uttered, a 'degradation' of the suffrage beyond that which Mr. Lowe had denounced was effected by a Conservative Ministry, and votes were given to all rate-paying householders in boroughs, as well as to a limited number of lodgers. We have now had some fifteen years' experience of this democratic franchise, and the sentiments of the new voters have been tested by three general elections. For a while, the apparent results of the change were such as to disappoint both the hopes of its advocates and the fears of its opponents. The Parliament of 1868 contained a strong Liberal majority, and carried several great

measures which Lord Palmerston would probably have never introduced, even if the old constituencies would have backed their members in supporting them. But the reformed House of Commons differed little from its predecessors in personal composition, nor could any specially democratic tone be detected in its debates. In 1874 there was a reaction. The Parliament of that year was the most Conservative that had been elected for a whole generation, and the majority, instead of blindly seeking instructions from their constituents, yielded an almost passive obedience to Lord Beaconsfield. Still, the growing desire to conciliate the working classes made itself felt in such enactments as the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Act, while the action taken by Mr. Gladstone on the Eastern Question gave the first serious impulse to democratic interference with the conduct of foreign affairs. It is true that shopkeepers rather than labouring men crowded the indignation-meetings called to condemn the Bulgarian atrocities; it is perhaps true, also, that most of those who attended them were as ignorant of the real issues at stake as the working-class deputation which besought Lord Palmerston to espouse the cause of Poland, under the impression that it was a democratic cause. Still, the fact remains that great mass-meetings were, then, for the first time, urged by the first of English statesmen to take foreign policy under their own control, to drown the voice of Parliament, and to force the hand of the Government by a virtual *plébiscite*. The lesson has not been lost on the English, or on the Irish people. Thenceforward, Parliament has commanded less reverence in the eyes of the nation, and the same machinery which prevented Lord Beaconsfield from defending the integrity of the Turkish Empire was promptly set in motion to defeat Mr. Gladstone's own convention with M. de Lesseps respecting the Suez Canal.

The general election of 1880 was the sequel of his bold appeal to democratic sentiment, and a genuine expression of that sentiment. Whatever other influences may have contributed to swell the Liberal majority, and whether or not the enthusiasm then kindled has been justified by the event, the verdict returned by the constituencies in 1880 was a thoroughly popular and honest verdict—a democratic protest of the national conscience and common-sense against what most of the electors regarded as an immoral and reactionary statecraft. This verdict may possibly be reversed at the next election; personal and sectional discontents may again dissolve the cohesive power of Liberal principles and party spirit; the Irish legislation of 1881 and 1882 may prove to have alienated a considerable body of powerful Whigs; the Egyptian War and the moderation of the Government on certain domestic questions may have cost it the confidence of many extreme Radicals; the Affirmation Bill may be remembered against it in Scotland; Mr. Gladstone may retire and leave no successor capable of rallying an united Liberal Party; the

extension of household suffrage to counties may be relegated, after all, to a new Parliament. But all this, even if it restore the Conservatives to office, will not arrest the steady progress of Democracy in England; for that progress is independent of party vicissitudes, and is part of a secular movement which no statesmanship can do much to accelerate or to retard.

I. It is high time, however, to ask ourselves what is meant by that progress of Democracy which all recognise, and which is tacitly assumed in the current language of politics. In what sense, if any, is England becoming every day more democratic? The answer, though simple, cannot be embraced within the limits of a legal definition. 'Democracy,' or the rule of the people, is not a name for any particular form of government; it denotes a political and social force which may underlie almost any form of government. No doubt this force operates most naturally and powerfully through republican institutions; but there may be republican institutions without democracy, and democracy without republican institutions. The last French Empire was founded on a *plébiscite*, and even under the restored monarchy Democracy in France was described by Royer Collard as 'running with a full stream;' so profoundly democratic has French public opinion become ever since the Revolution. On the other hand, the ascendancy of privilege and authority—the principles of which Democracy is the negation—has seldom been more oppressive than under the earlier republic of Rome and the mediæval republic of Venice. Neither of these Republics could have stood the crucial test of a *plébiscite*. Cromwell, who could not even keep the peace with a free Parliament, would assuredly never have submitted the fate of his own republican Commonwealth to such a test; and, if anything in history be certain, it is certain that the Restoration of Charles II. was the expression of an essentially popular revolt against the austere and intolerant reign of Puritanism, conducted under republican forms. It is the absolute supremacy of the popular will over all other powers in the State that constitutes a perfectly democratic government, as it is the abolition of all social distinctions that constitutes a perfectly democratic state of society. Where these conditions are more and more nearly realised in any community, that community is growing more democratic, whatever be its constitutional machinery, and it is in this sense that we may properly speak of the progress of Democracy in England.

At first sight, indeed, the contrast between such an indirect rule of the people as is gaining strength in England and the direct rule of the people which prevailed in the more democratic republics of Greece and Italy, is so violent as almost to repel the idea of analogy. Let us take, for example, the graphic picture of Athenian Democracy in its golden age drawn by Mr. Freeman in one of his historical essays. In this typical Greek Democracy, all power, legislative,

executive, and judicial, was concentrated in the sovereign assembly of the people, where every citizen had an equal vote. The Senate, and even the Courts of Justice, were mere committees of this assembly, and held to be animated by the same passions; Archons and Generals were mere executors of its will. No division of powers was attempted.

Dêmos was himself King, Minister, and Parliament. He had his smaller officials to carry out the necessary details of public business, but he was most undoubtedly his own First Lord of the Treasury, his own Foreign Secretary, his own Secretary for the Colonies. He himself kept up a personal correspondence both with foreign potentates and with his own officers on foreign service; . . . he gave personal audience to the ambassadors of other States, and clothed his own wish just so great or so small a share as he deemed good of his own boundless authority. . . . He was his own Lord High Chancellor, his own Lord Primate, his own Commander-in-Chief. He listened to the arguments of Kleôn on behalf of a measure, and to the arguments of Nikias against it, and he ended by bidding Nikias to go and carry out the proposal which he had denounced as extravagant or unjust. He listened with approval to his own 'explanations;' he passed votes of confidence in his own policy; he advised himself to give his own royal assent to the bills which he had himself passed, without the form of a second or third reading, or the vain ceremony of moving that the Prytaneis do leave their chairs.

It is self-evident that Democracy of this Athenian type could only be developed in an urban community which also constituted a nation, and which had one and the same word for the 'city' and the 'State.' A city mob, clothed with executive functions, could not possibly govern the United Kingdom or the British Empire, however gifted the race of which its citizens might have sprung, and there is, happily, less prospect of the experiment being tried, since the institution of representative government—the most beneficent of all political discoveries—has enabled the many to rule through the agency of the few. The Democracy which is steadily advancing in England, though similar in its real tendency, is entirely different in outward character, and essentially modern in its origin. It may be traced with confidence to a variety of definite general causes, three of which are worthy of special notice.

1. One of these, clearly indicated by M. de Laveleye, is the effect of mechanical inventions on civilisation. The invention of printing alone has done more to break down class-barriers and democratise society than all the efforts of social reformers in ancient and modern times. When books were manuscripts, and each of them cost months or years of labour to produce, the perusal of them was practically the monopoly of priests, monks, and philosophers, from whom the rest of mankind were content to borrow their ideas. Even in the last century, when there were plenty of books, indeed, but hardly any newspapers in England, criticism on the management of public affairs, and especially of foreign affairs, was practically confined within a narrow circle of readers, scarcely to be numbered by tens of thousands, and mostly concentrated in London. Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*

and the *Letters of Junius* had, doubtless, a prodigious coffee-house circulation, and were probably devoured by a few hundred amateur politicians, male and female, in the long and dreary evenings which followed the early dinners in those country houses, which Fielding and others have portrayed so vividly. But for the instruction of the people at large such circulation was as nothing compared with that of any one among the many leading newspapers, metropolitan and provincial, which now collectively number their readers by millions. Whether they be chiefly regarded as forming, or as reflecting, popular opinion, these journals have created a healthy community of political ideas between the people and the so-called governing classes. Instead of looking upon statesmanship as an occult science, the humblest elector or non-elect who can read now feels himself almost taken into the councils of the Cabinet, and, however conscious of ignorance, finds his political judgment treated with respect by Parliament and the Press.

2. A no less powerful democratic force is the ever-increasing facility of locomotion. When labourers in the country lived and died under the shadow of their parish churches, never travelling beyond the nearest market town, and when even artisans seldom migrated from their native cities, being rooted there by custom as well as by the old law of 'settlement,' the power of combination remained dormant, and labour never measured its strength against capital except under an extreme sense of oppression. In these days, the labourer changes his residence as freely as the capitalist, no longer tramping on foot, but conveyed by the same train as his employer, while the spirit of Trades-Unionism, aided by this very cause, associates him with all his fellow-labourers throughout Europe and America. The constant tide of emigration setting towards the United States and the colonies, where society is equally democratic, reacts upon Great Britain itself, and introduces democratic ideas into families which, in the last generation, accepted without a murmur the paternal despotism of the squire and the parson. In becoming less stationary, the working classes are daily becoming more independent, and, in becoming more independent, they inevitably become a more important factor in the social and political community. Meanwhile Democracy, under these influences, is gradually assuming a more cosmopolitan character. National costumes have well-nigh disappeared in Europe, national prejudices are sensibly weakened, the dictates of national patriotism are often checked by sympathies of class or creed fostered by special organs of the press; and the statesman has sometimes to count not only with the demands of national, but also with those of international Democracy.

3. A third cause of democratic progress, which few can desire to arrest, is the spread of popular education. The Reformation, which is the real fountain-head of modern democratic ideas, gave the first impulse to this educational movement, as it also stamped with a

religious sanction the aspirations of social equality. The democratic influence of Protestantism is perhaps most clearly marked in Scotland, where Presbyterian church government and the system of parish schools were established together by the authority of John Knox. No doubt, the political effects of that system have been partly intensified and partly tempered by other conditions, such as the survival of the old clan-spirit, and the natural energy which has pushed members of the poorest Scotch families into the highest positions in Church or State. Still, it is the general diffusion of education during the last three centuries, and the association of all classes in common schools, which have mainly contributed to develop the sturdy yet sober character of Scotch Democracy. An exact contrast is furnished by the experience of Ireland, where Democracy is travestied by anarchy and terrorism, utterly inconsistent with the manly self-reliance of free citizens, and where the democratic sentiment of social equality is almost entirely wanting. Had wiser counsels prevailed in the reign of Elizabeth, and had national schools been planted all over Ireland as they were in Scotland, it is quite certain that Irishmen, Catholics as they are, would now be far more democratic in temper, and probable that they would be far more loyal subjects. As for England, it is hardly too much to say that democratic tendencies date from the extension of popular education. Such outbreaks as the Lord George Gordon riots in the last century, or the Luddite riots in the early part of this century, were in no sense democratic movements, but mere ebullitions of fanaticism and prejudice. Even the fierce spirit of class-hatred which inspired the Chartists, and survives in the pages of *Alton Locke*, was not truly democratic but essentially sectional and sectarian in its nature. This spirit has not been extinguished in England, but it has been sensibly modified by the progressive community of ideas between all classes which it is the special mission of education to propagate, and which is specially characteristic of true Democracy. In an educated population like that of the United States, the conflict of races, of parties, or of commercial interests, may be as bitter as possible, but class-antipathies can never become internecine, because there are no permanent divisions of classes, and because all citizens have a common stock of ideas.

4. But the operation of these and other general causes in furthering Democracy has been favoured by a negative condition which has not received sufficient attention. This condition is the internal decay of those forces which are essentially antagonistic to Democracy, Privilege, Authority, and Individuality. It is not only that Privilege, entrenched behind natural and artificial barriers, has been reduced to impotence by the destruction of these barriers; or that Authority, assuming a divine right to command, has been met by a revolt of human reason; or that Individuality has been weakened by the gravitation of modern life towards social, if not intellectual, equality.

It is also that faith in any principles whatever has been impaired by the influence of that prevailing scepticism which has shaken religious belief, and penetrated into every other department of thought. Not many generations have elapsed since Englishmen were content to brave torture or the stake rather than subscribe to some abstruse formula about the mysteries of religion which modern casuistry would cynically accept as unmeaning and therefore harmless. These men had the courage of their convictions, but it is vain to expect the courage of their convictions from men who have no deep and fixed convictions, such as sustained the martyrs of old. Three centuries ago an Englishman of like passions with ourselves would give his body to be burned rather than affirm or deny transubstantiation or the royal supremacy; it is now considered an almost heroic feat, as it is certainly a very rare feat, of political constancy for an English politician to refuse a seat in Parliament, or give up office, rather than assent to measures which he privately condemns. Thus it happens that when once the popular will has declared itself, or is supposed to have declared itself—often on very slight evidence—it meets with no resisting power. If any one is found strong enough to stand against the stream, believing some things to be intrinsically right and others intrinsically wrong, he is stigmatised as ‘weak-kneed’ by his more pliable fellows, who have no earnest convictions at all, and thenceforth passes for a theorist or crotcheteer. In a word, that which in France is called ‘opportunism,’ has become the guiding law of modern politics, and opportunism is but another name for subservience to democratic absolutism.

II. To enumerate all the symptoms of democratic progress in England would be a hopeless task, while some of them might be treated with equal propriety as causes. Of course, the most obvious instance of a change resulting, in part, from democratic pressure and contributing to strengthen that pressure, is the adoption of household suffrage, with the ballot, in borough constituencies. The effect of this change is felt in every borough election and in every parliamentary debate; it has been the chief motive-power in most subsequent reforms, and the chief agent in the political education of the people. Bearing this in mind, we may, however, find it more instructive to observe those less patent signs of our own times which most clearly indicate the course of the democratic movement in this generation, and its probable direction in the next.

1. Foremost among these must be mentioned the almost universal recognition of Promotion by Merit as the rule which should govern the whole public service, both civil and military. An exclusive, or at least a preferential claim, to fill the higher offices of the State, is a typical peculiarity of aristocracies. The old Roman patricians bore with tolerable patience other encroachments on their privileges, but they denounced the opening of the great executive magistracies

to plebeians as an insult to the gods themselves. The same notion is by no means extinct in Germany, and even in this country, but thirty years ago, the admission of candidates to the Civil Service and (still more) to the Army by competitive examination was justly resented as the thin edge of the democratic wedge. This is not the place to review the gradual triumph of the new system, which has naturally kept pace with the development of education. Much remains to be done before it can truly be said that eminent ability, combined with force of character, will enable its possessor to attain success in England, but enough has been done to give the masses a salutary assurance that no door of preferment is now closed against them. There are probably few villages from which some labourer's son has not been raised to a higher station by his own capacity; there is certainly no college in the universities where students who have risen from the ranks do not mix with young men of superior birth and wealth; and within the next thirty years this healthy process of natural selection cannot fail to leaven the whole upper grade of English society.

2. Another striking evidence—as it is also a cause—of democratic progress is the rapid multiplication of new elective bodies for purposes of local government since the Reform Act of 1832. The local institutions of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were democratic enough, and even now there is perhaps less of popular self-government in country districts than there was for centuries before, and for some time after, the Norman conquest. But there is far more than there was in the last century, or even in the early part of the present century, when the whole conduct of county business and parochial affairs was legally or actually in the hands of magistrates nominated by the Crown. The successive creation of elective Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, Highway Boards, Sanitary Boards, and School Boards, represents so many important changes in the reconstruction of popular self-government. Hitherto the working classes have taken much less interest in local than in parliamentary elections, but their interest is yearly increasing, and in the mean time a far more practical concern for their well-being is shown by local governing bodies. A notable feature of this democratic revival in local government is the growing popularity of Permissive Bills, to be applied at the discretion of the local authorities. A similar tendency in ecclesiastical politics is shown in the congregationalist movement, which has strangely allied itself with the ritualistic movement within the State Church itself. The very contrary was anticipated by De Tocqueville, who predicted a sacrifice of local, no less than of individual, independence to centralisation in England, as elsewhere, on the ground that all democracies crave for uniformity in administration, and that central governments are only too ready to grant it because it saves them all the trouble of studying local requirements. He little foresaw the democratic counter-currents which have brought about the demand for

Home Rule in Ireland, and for the settlement of great questions, like the liquor traffic, by a local *plébiscite*. Probably he was misled by a confusion between the love of equality and the love of uniformity, possibly he did not allow enough for the English preference of liberty to equality; at all events, experience shows that democratic forces in this country do not set entirely in the direction of centralisation.

3. There is another sense, however, in which the intervention of the central government is being more and more involved to compass democratic ends. The mass of the people have discovered that a resort to imperial legislation and the powerful machinery of imperial administration is the shortest and readiest method of getting a public benefit secured or a public abuse redressed. Hence the measures which have placed the Poor Law and National Education and Charitable Endowments under the superintendence of a central board; which have transferred the management of County Gaols to the Home Office; which have brought Factories, Mines, Shipping and Emigration, more or less, under the control of Government Departments; which have established National Savings Banks, and which have charged the State with the duty of guarding the health not only of British citizens but of British cattle. Democratic centralisation of this kind is sometimes quite legitimate, and implies no vulgar jealousy of local independence. Most of the functions now assigned to central boards can be discharged more efficiently and with less waste of power by such boards than by local authorities, and would long ago have been thus assigned had not the people mistrusted a central executive mainly conducted by the Crown and the aristocracy. Since the central executive has come to reflect the will of the people, there is no longer any motive for this jealousy, and the people find it convenient to superintend many of their own affairs through officials in Downing Street.

But it is vain to conceal from ourselves that democratic centralisation has another source in the wide diffusion of socialistic ideas. This is the most formidable symptom of democratic progress, as it is also the most novel. No essential connection exists between Socialism and democratic institutions. Great inequalities of fortune were tolerated in the Greek and Italian republics, and seem to excite little jealousy in the United States. There vast capitals are often amassed by plundering the public, while the very simplicity of domestic life favours accumulation, yet there is little trace of socialistic legislation. In England, on the contrary, the principle of Socialism was introduced into legislation by the Poor Law long before democratic forces were in the ascendant. Socialism is not a product of Democracy, but modern Socialism and modern Democracy are both fostered, to some extent, by the same industrial conditions. A very lucid explanation of this fact is given by M. de Laveleye in

his admirable essay on *Democracy and Political Economy*. He there shows how the same economical causes which promote social equality also give birth to hostility between masters and workmen. In proportion as machinery facilitates the organisation of industry on the grandest scale, and cheapens necessities as well as luxuries, it widens and deepens the gulf which separates capital from labour. The caste-like immobility of classes which prevailed in the middle ages has passed away with serfdom, trade privileges, and the regulation of wages by custom or Act of Parliament; but the unlimited competition which has succeeded it has introduced a struggle for existence unknown in the olden times.

This general competition is the cause of all progress, the mainspring of industrial activity, the source of our power; but it produces, too, an incessant agitation, a permanent restlessness, an universal sense of instability. No one is content with his lot; no one is sure of to-morrow. The rich man desires to accumulate more riches; he who lives by labour trembles for his very livelihood. . . . Economical progress has emancipated artisans from all disabilities; it has rescued them from the bonds of trade guilds; it has raised their wages and improved their condition; but, at the same time, it forms them into a class by themselves, massing them in vast bodies into enormous factories and fixed centres; it has given them new wants, and it has exposed them, without protection or security, to all the fluctuations of business, so often turned upside-down by the revolutions of industry, the crises of trade, and the stagnation of the markets.

Yet the franchise must be extended to all.

You give the power of choosing legislators, and so of making laws, to men who have no property, and whose wages are inevitably forced downwards to a minimum representing the bare necessities of life. You proclaim a legal equality, and the actual inequality which continues to exist causes more suffering, and becomes more irritating than ever.

The immense circulation of Mr. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* is an instructive commentary on these words, published five years ago. It is true that Socialism has little hold in the United States, and is directly at variance with the best tendencies of Democracy, but it is zealously advocated by the democratic press in Europe, and is likely to be stimulated by the advance of Democracy in England for many years to come.

Though socialistic ideas have taken deeper root on the Continent than in England, it is to be feared that England has special reason to guard against their propagation. The greatest weakness of party government, as it exists in this country, is the proneness of one party to bid against the other for democratic support, and it would not be difficult to show how many benevolent measures, containing the germ of Socialism, have recently owed their origin to this fatal competition. Of these, by far the most important and disastrous is the Irish Land Act of 1881. If the progress of Democracy should involve further and further applications of that evil precedent to agrarian and

commercial relations, the national character will assuredly become demoralised; State protection will usurp the place of self-help, and in the vain attempt to redress inequality by Act of Parliament we may end by quenching that spirit of liberty to which England owes so much not only of its present greatness, but of its capacity for a truly democratic civilisation.

4. A fourth and more hopeful symptom of advancing Democracy is the far more active and intelligent part taken in elections by the mass of the people, who in too many boroughs had been passive material in the hands of self-elected committees, or cliques of local busybodies. The so-called Caucus system is rather the expression than the cause of this activity, which is shown in the greater frequency of political meetings, and even in the curious growth of mimic Parliaments on the model of the House of Commons. But the Caucus system has assuredly done much to stimulate and to consolidate democratic organisation, giving a new political life to some of our more sluggish constituencies. In this it has been purely beneficial; it is mischievous so far as it tends to crush out personal independence and converts the representative into the mere delegate. It is one thing for the numerical majority of electors to claim the right of choosing a candidate for themselves, and of ascertaining that his general views are in harmony with their own; it is another to insist on dictating his vote on each particular measure, thereby annulling the grand advantage of representative government. Happily, this abuse of the Caucus system is likely to be checked by the natural good sense and independence of Englishmen; meanwhile, the system itself is, at least, a proof of a healthy democratic interest in national politics.

5. But the influence of democratic tendencies is equally manifest within the walls of Parliament itself. Lord Palmerston was not far wrong in surmising that, if the franchise were lowered, the actors of the political drama would probably remain much the same as before, but that they would play to the gallery, instead of to the pit and boxes. Several men of rough democratic fibre have forced their way into the House of Commons, but on the whole birth and wealth seem to hold their own in the open market of electioneering. The difference is that every question is discussed with a special regard for the claims and feelings of the million, sometimes verging upon undisguised popularity-hunting. Hence the protectionist spirit which has reappeared in Parliamentary debates. Whether it be the grievances of the Highland crofters, or the extension of polling hours to suit the convenience of labourers, or the abolition of imprisonment for debt, or Sunday closing, or any other subject which touches working-class sympathies, a sensitive anxiety is now shown to propitiate the poorest voters which used to be reserved for the prejudices of territorial aristocracy and commercial plutocracy. The same tender

solicitude for the comfort of the many, as against the privileges of the few, may be traced even in such comparatively trifling matters as the recent erection of street-refuges for the security of foot passengers, and recent arrangements for the more popular enjoyment of royal parks. This deference to 'Demos,' as Aristophanes called it, may be carried, as we have seen, to socialistic extremes, but it is often dictated by motives not far removed from that paramount concern for the greatest happiness of the greatest number which ought to be the first rule of statesmanship. There is a striking passage in Mr. Trevelyan's *Early Days of Charles James Fox* where he shows how intense is the sentiment of oligarchical freemasonry, and how closely it is brought home to each member of such an exclusive society as then governed England. Sometimes an honest statesman might be supported by this sentiment against the *civium ardor prava jubentium*; but, in the main, it must surely be safer and better for politicians to rely, as they now must, on the good opinion, not of a caste or a class, but of a much larger public, almost coextensive with the nation.

6. On the other hand, we cannot expect the same delicacy or sense of honour from those who are studying to please small tradespeople, artisans, and day-labourers, as from those who obey the unwritten code of cultivated and refined circles. The experience of ancient Greece and Rome proves that chivalry may attain perfection under a republican government, but it certainly does not flourish nowadays in an atmosphere of social equality, or among persons chiefly engaged in mercantile competition. *Noblesse oblige* is a maxim which finds no response in the *bourgeoisie* or the *prolétariat*. Hence the admitted decline of gentlemanlike feeling and manners in the House of Commons which Mr. Bright has not shrunk from pointing out, and which is most conspicuous in a large section of the Irish members. We are bluntly warned by a Radical publicist that the House of Commons *must* 'become the worst club in London, if it is to be a faithful mirror of popular political sentiment,' and the remark is too forcibly confirmed by the example of the American and colonial legislatures. In this country the name of gentleman is still held in honour, but conduct unworthy of a gentleman is no longer condemned as it used to be by the House of Commons itself, and public opinion is not in advance of Parliamentary sentiment. Indeed it appears that vulgarity of tone is rather aggravated in England by that fierce light of publicity, gathered into a focus by 'society papers,' which now beats, not on thrones only, but on every transaction of private life. This is among the least amiable symptoms of democratic progress, but it is, unhappily, not the least characteristic.

III. Such being the general causes, and the chief symptoms, of democratic progress, we have to consider what attitude a far-sighted

statesman ought to assume towards it, apart from the view which he may adopt on particular articles of the democratic programme. And, first, let us dismiss once for all the absurd and unworthy notion that democracy must be welcomed because, forsooth, its progress is decreed by Political Necessity. No illusion has been so potent or so mischievous in its effect on statesmanship, as this metaphysical bugbear, peculiar to modern thought, of Political Necessity. The ancients held that man was often the sport of a cruel Destiny, but that Destiny was supposed to be superhuman, and was practically excluded from their calculations. It has been reserved for modern political philosophers to cower before a destiny of their own invention—an idol which is created by public opinion in its own image, and of which those who bow down to it individually form a part. If people had but the nerve to brave the consequences of defying a destiny of this kind, and acting on the far sounder belief that 'man is man and master of his fate,' it would often turn out that what had been mistaken for an irresistible stream of Political Necessity was nothing but a movement got up by a small band of *doctrinaires*, and capable of being stopped by a very moderate display of energy and self-sacrifice. If, then, such were the character of the democratic movement in England, if it depended for its success mainly upon those imaginary laws of Nature which are really within human control, it would be the duty of a true statesman to confront it boldly, and, should it appear mischievous, to oppose it vigorously.

If, on the other hand, we have rightly interpreted the origin of this movement, we shall be compelled to recognise it as really irresistible in the political sense. It is irresistible in that sense, because it springs inevitably from causes, outside the sphere of politics, which have broken down the old barriers separating nations and classes, sapped the convictions which upheld privilege and authority, revived, though in a worldlier form, the sense of common brotherhood first proclaimed by the Gospel, and opened up the vision of a higher comfort and culture for the toiling and suffering masses of mankind. No one pretends that it is possible to arrest the development of mechanical invention, of locomotion, of trade, or even of education, and, unless the development of these forces can be arrested, the march of Democracy cannot be arrested. The existing Parliament may refuse the franchise to agricultural labourers, but it cannot prevent agricultural labourers becoming more intelligent or more independent; they must be enfranchised sooner or later, or their discontent will be a serious political danger, and, if they be enfranchised too late, the impulse given to Democracy will be all the greater. It was for this reason that De Tocqueville justly regarded the progress of Democracy as inevitable. He saw in it a political and social tendency inherent in the growth of modern civilisation, and he wisely set himself, not to preach against it, but to study its probable operation.

It does not follow, however, that because the progress of Democracy may be inevitable, in England as elsewhere, it is therefore an unmixed benefit, still less that nothing can be done to direct it. A true friend of Democracy as it ought to be will not shut his eyes to the vices of Democracy as it is. He will not fail to observe that, in destroying many superstitions and prejudices, it has put nothing in their place, and has encouraged a contempt for experience which bodes ill for the stability of democratic policy. Whatever his confidence in the people, if left to follow their own convictions, he will not ignore the risk of their falling a prey to the arts of politicians trading upon their weaknesses and pandering to their passions. He may see reason to hope that Jack Cade would now fail to impose upon an audience of English working men, but he would not trust every constituency to reject Jack Cade's doctrines clothed in a socialist garb, and he knows that candidates of infamous character have been the chosen favourites of the populace not only in America and the colonies, but much nearer home. Whether or not he deplors the visible decay of dogmatic faith among the masses in Great Britain, he cannot but apprehend that a people which no longer feared God might cease to regard man, and that unrestrained selfishness, rather than universal zeal for the public good, might result from a democratic regeneration of English society.

It is right that all these misgivings should be laid to heart by those who appreciate, and aspire to guide, the progress of Democracy in England. But it would be very wrong to let them obscure our view of those more favourable omens which justify, not political optimism, but a cheerful and courageous acceptance of the inevitable. Let us freely admit the besetting dangers and temptations of Democracy, but let us not forget the dangers and temptations which Democracy counteracts. If we must needs mistrust democratic ideas of economical justice, what shall we say of that system of taxation which, for want of democratic pressure, was the curse of France before the Revolution; and what of the Corn Laws and other commercial abuses which prevailed in this country until they were swept away by democratic pressure? Subservience to mobs tends, no doubt, to lower the standard of political morality, but is subservience to courts less demoralising; and were members of Parliament, after all, more high-minded in the lifetime of Sir Robert Walpole, when there was no democracy to flatter? Many small, and some large, constituencies are doubtless tainted with corruption, but do not the vast majority of electors vote honestly; and is not even the servile and venal residuum almost as pure as the select bodies which monopolised borough elections in the olden times? The democratic press of our own day may not be as moderate or scrupulous as we could desire, but can it be said that modern English journalism, as a whole, compares unfavourably with the coarse pamphleteering literature of which Swift and Junius produced

the choicest specimens; and have not the organs of sound political information been multiplied a hundred- or thousand-fold since the people have begun to read newspapers? These are not irrelevant questions; they bear directly on the past history of democratic progress, which is the most trustworthy basis for a forecast of its future tendencies. The prospect of liberty so ample as that which Englishmen now enjoy would have alarmed timid reformers of the last century quite as much as the prospect of greater political and social equality alarms those of the present age. Yet England, notwithstanding the much greater scale and complexity of its national life, is practically much easier to govern at this moment than it was in the evil days of court intrigue and parliamentary bribery. It was easier to govern after the Reform Act of 1832 than before it, and it became easier still after the Reform Act of 1867. Why should we doubt that future generations of English statesmen will learn to weather the admitted perils of advancing Democracy as skilfully as their fathers weathered the perils of personal government and oligarchy, or that a new order of political virtues will be developed under new social conditions?

One thing is certain, that it requires a more thorough political training, and a larger range of political knowledge, to lead a democratic nation and an almost despotic House of Commons, than it did to govern England as Walpole and Pitt governed it. The business then conducted by departments of State was comparatively simple, and a patrician minister of no extraordinary capacity might well appear to stand a head and shoulders above the people, when so few took an active part in public affairs, and political life was still a close profession. Unless democratic progress is accompanied by a constant growth in the political education of statesmen, government will assuredly become weaker and weaker to control popular impulses, and popular impulses, however genuine, can never be a safe regulator even of domestic policy, much less of imperial policy, so long as the masses are mainly engrossed by manual labour, and ignorant of nearly all that it concerns a statesman to know. Mr. Bright is fond of telling us that 'the people have no interest in wrong.' This is true, but it is equally true that mankind has no interest in vice or error. If human nature could be trusted to understand and pursue its own highest interests, without instruction or guidance, this world would indeed be a paradise, and we might do well to welcome the substitution of *plébiscites* for responsible government. Unhappily, it is far otherwise, and the future of Democracy mainly depends on the willingness of the omnipotent people to be led by highly trained and conscientious statesmen, on the future supply of such leaders, and on their willingness to serve the people upon such terms as Democracy will accept.

Now, it may be fairly urged that, in proportion as the suffrage is extended and the governing classes recruited from below, the choice

of materials for statesmanship will be increased, while the statesman will derive increased assistance from intelligent criticism. The men who now attain Cabinet office cannot be presumed to be the ablest politicians that Great Britain can produce, but only the ablest or most successful of those with leisure enough, fortune enough, and local interest enough, to find seats in Parliament, and force themselves into the front ranks. The progress of Democracy will open a larger field of selection, but will the multitude of electors avail themselves of it, choose the best candidates, and support the wisest statesmen? This is a question on which no prudent man will offer a confident opinion, for here the results of English experience materially differ from the lesson taught by the experience of America and the Australian colonies.

Hitherto, in this country, there have been few signs of a reluctance among men of high culture and social position to venture out on the open sea of politics, and not many signs of a reluctance in great popular constituencies to accept or even to prefer men of this type, when they can be induced to come forward. If, such men are sometimes deterred from offering themselves, it is not so much by the display or the fear of democratic jealousy as by the covert opposition of short-sighted and self-seeking wirepullers, who delight to honour the plausible money-maker, perhaps equally destitute of public spirit or political capacity, since they have no other ideal of merit than success and no other ideal of success than self-aggrandisement. No doubt rich candidates sometimes buy seats by corrupting poor electors, but they have to conduct their corrupt practices in secret, and an Act has just been passed, with the hearty approval of the public, which cannot fail to hinder corrupt practices in future. No doubt, great popular audiences will always be prone to follow demagogues, and to be unduly swayed by rhetorical ability, but English demagogues seldom venture to court popularity by appeals to base passions or sentiments, and the larger the constituency the higher, as a rule, is the general tone of electioneering speeches. Moreover, English society is not stratified in horizontal layers; nor do the working classes form a solid phalanx or mystic brotherhood swayed by one imperious will. The better they are known, the more they are found to comprise an infinite variety of interests, habits, and opinions, among which strong patriotic and Conservative instincts are by no means wanting. If we looked to Great Britain alone, we might be tempted to await the progress of Democracy with little anxiety, and to rely on the extension of national education as an adequate security against any risk involved in a further extension of the suffrage. But at this point we are rudely confronted with the experience of America and our own colonies. There barefaced appeals to selfishness, bordering on dishonesty, constantly win the confidence of large constituencies better educated, on the average, than our own; and even personal integrity is by no

means a qualification for political life. Let it be granted that Anglo-Saxon good sense, if not a higher principle, generally prevents these evil influences being carried to the extreme length of spoliation or repudiation; still the broad fact remains that, with the progress of Democracy, the standard of electoral purity and of public honour has apparently been lowered in highly educated communities. Education alone, then, at least in its narrower sense, is no effectual safeguard against the perils of advancing Democracy. Nor have we a right to assume that England will long be protected against them by her precious inheritance of sound traditions, so far as these traditions are mere survivals of institutions which Democracy is breaking down.

There is, however, another explanation of the contrast between the code of political morality recognised in England and that recognised in the United States or the colonies. These democratic communities have practically no foreign policy or imperial responsibilities, and politics are practically confined to conflicts and regulation of material interests. In this country, on the other hand, even the humblest elector is sometimes made to feel that he is a member of the great European family, and a partner in a world-wide empire, to govern which requires a wisdom beyond the shrewdness of a merchant or railway director. Moreover, new countries are far more emphatically 'nations of shopkeepers' than England, having comparatively few citizens with leisure, independence, and social prestige enough to rise above mercenary interests, or even to dispense with a salary for serving in Parliament. The advantage which England enjoys, in this respect, may well be weighed by the coming Democracy against the advantage of paying members, and thus opening Parliament to needy adventurers as well as to needy patriots.

At all events, our best hope for the future lies in cultivating and elevating the nobler conception of citizenship and statesmanship hitherto characteristic of England. Nothing but the maintenance of a high national character will avail to render the progress of Democracy conducive to national greatness or to national happiness. The standard of public virtue which may suffice for aristocratic government will not suffice for democratic government. The whole sphere of politics must be moralised, so to speak, and brought under the control of purer motives, if the more direct rule of the people in England is to be as successful as the older form of constitutional monarchy. If Democracy will not endure Privilege and Authority, it must learn to yield ungrudging loyalty to intellectual and moral ascendancy. If it is not to be actuated by a refined sense of honour, it must be actuated by a robust sense of duty. If it will not be controlled by any power independent of itself, it must deliberately erect barriers against its own autocracy, as, for instance, by a thorough reconstruction of local government, and the delegation to local bodies of a much larger jurisdiction. The richer classes, on their part, must

adopt the advice of M. de Laveleye, and combine plain living with high thinking and earnest work. The spirit of Christianity, democratic as it is, must be carried into political life, and the so-called laws of political economy must be reconciled with the dictates of benevolence, not by class legislation, but rather by the voluntary efforts of individuals and societies. Socialism must be combated, not by flinging away the rights of property, as sops to soothe the socialistic Cerberus, but, on the contrary, by far-sighted measures favouring a more equal distribution of property, and making as many citizens as possible shareholders in the national prosperity. If the House of Lords is to be upheld, it must be reinforced with life peers, and submit to such other modifications of its constitution as may convert it into an efficient and popular Second Chamber. If the Church is to be upheld, it must be made in fact, and not in name only, the Church of the people.

Such counsels as these will not prevail, or will be adopted too late, if men fitted by nature and position to lead Democracy cynically persist in holding aloof from politics. Electors cannot be justly blamed for mistaking copper for gold, if the gold is never offered for their acceptance. Nor can it be truly asserted of Democracy that it is the implacable foe of all superiority. It levels social and political inequalities, but it cannot level superiority of birth, of wealth, of intellect, of character, of energy, or of education; on the contrary, it gives free scope to each of these, and often rewards its fortunate possessor with unstinted homage. Science and art, literature and commerce, may and do flourish under the shelter of Democracy; it rests with their leading representatives to moderate and ennoble Democracy by heartily associating themselves with the people. Let it never be forgotten that, come what may, the mighty engines of Education and the Press must always remain in the hands of men far above the multitude in mental culture, if not in social position. The Universities have already done much in England, and may yet do far more, to promote the sentiment of fraternity by which equality should be consecrated. The London School Board, a standing example of unselfish public spirit, has appreciably humanised the dangerous classes of the metropolis, not only by reclaiming the street Arabs, but also by establishing a bond of sympathy, and a common ground of public action, between the higher and lower strata of the vast London population. It is in this direction, and in this spirit, that we must continue to move patiently and fearlessly, if we are to ward off the violent shock of democratic revolution by the gradual process of democratic evolution. For the vices of Democracy are only to be subdued by a vigorous development of its virtues; and those only will have strength to control the democratic movement who honestly and heartily embrace the democratic ideal of society.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY

No. LXXXII.—DECEMBER, 1883.

*COMMON SENSE AND THE DWELLINGS
OF THE POOR.*

I.

IMPROVEMENTS NOW PRACTICABLE.

IF in the midst of the excitement which has suddenly grown up with regard to the dwellings of the poor; if in the crowd of gigantic remedies which are suggested; if from visions of perfect homes such as one hopes may be realised some day, any one cares to turn to the consideration of measures of practical improvement which are now possible, and of steps which can immediately be taken towards the goal we all desire, this article may interest them. But it may be clearly stated at once that it embodies no scheme for suddenly providing perfect homes. Neither does it contemplate for a moment the disastrous policy of attempting to supply by the aid of the community a necessary of life (such as lodging is) for the working classes.

It seems dreadful to think that, with the public mind in a state of wild excitement, we may have schemes actually proposed which would be in effect to restore the old Poor Law system; to enable the improvident to throw the burden of his support upon the provident; by supplying houses at the cost of the public to tempt up to London a still larger number of migrants from the agricultural districts; and, what is worse, to undermine still further the dignified position of the working men of England, who have hitherto assumed

that the support of their families was to depend on their labour, their self-control, their wisdom, and their thrift.

Moreover, a Government or municipality can pay for nothing except by levying taxes. The question therefore resolves itself into one of how the work will be best and most cheaply done. Almost all public bodies do things expensively; neither do they seem fitted to supply the various wants of numbers of people in a perceptive and economical way.

Working men may be sure that neither Government nor any other public body can take care of their children as they can themselves. The cost of all things must be paid, and no payment brings so much effort as that rigidly demanded by the tax-gatherer, none gives so little pleasure in the result, for none meets less the various needs and desires of him who uses what is provided. Let working people fit themselves for better wages, and ask for them; let them go where work is plenty, and choose the work for which there is a demand; never let them accept a rate in aid of wages, whether in the form of houses, or of anything else. That which is supplied on a large scale gratuitously, or partially so, rarely meets their wants. Contrast the medical relief given by the Poor Law, or even by the hospital, with that provided when men pay their own doctor or choose him from the staff of a provident dispensary. Contrast the workhouse dole, with the wages earned, and then decide which is best; for, depend on it, both cannot be had. Whatever necessary of life is supplied under cost price on a large scale in the present state of the labour market in London will inevitably soon be deducted from wages.

Feeling sure that this is so, I dismiss all consideration of schemes which depend on sums voted by Government or municipality, except such as may still be required for sweeping away old abuses, that neither Government nor municipality ought to have allowed to grow up, and I will try to state what can now be done to improve the homes of the poor. I am by no means in the despondent frame of mind which seems to prevail just now, and I will endeavour to show, by figures generally known and accepted, that my hope is firmly based.

If heroic remedies are dismissed as unadvisable, no one can expect to immediately transfer families from homes such as those lately described in newspapers into ideal homes. For those to whom this thought is painful, there is this consolation: supposing we could so arrange all outward things as to re-house them, the people themselves are not fit to be so moved, *and can only very gradually become so*. So vital a truth is this, so inextricably does it colour all schemes affecting them, that it ought to form the chief subject of any article now written; but, for the moment, the public is so entirely engrossed with the side of the question as it relates to houses, landlords, and rents, that it seems useless to dwell on it. Any one who

cares to know what my experience on this subject has been, can see it in my little book, of which Macmillan is just bringing out a new edition. I only refer here to this branch of the subject to comfort those who, now the dark veil is lifted which hid from them the sight of the miserable homes which exist, long to think that at once these could be exchanged for such as they would like to see their poorer neighbours in.

But now suppose that, by waving a wand, you could suddenly arrange that all the families which you have pictured to yourself, as you read the newspaper descriptions, could have their homes thus far changed: that every foul drain should be put in order; that the old water-butts and neglected cisterns could be done away with, and the water-supply should be good, abundant, and easily accessible; that all those damp, dank kitchens should be emptied; that every room should be dry; that the tiny, fixed windows should give place to large ones opening top and bottom; that the rickety staircase up which you grope in the dark should widen itself, and become a firm, clean stone one; that the free air should blow up and down it; that every bit of rotten plaster and board should be made new; that the stifling wall blocking out light from the back rooms should be pushed back many a foot; and the narrow court in front widened; that you could give a common laundry to the tenants, and clear all the back yards of the dirty and crowded rooms which have been built out over them, and make the space into a playground for the children—that you could do all this without raising the tenants' rents a penny, nay, that you could probably reduce their rents 6d. or so a week. Would you care to do it?

I ask, because all this is possible now. Courts in various parts of London show it; balance sheets of buildings which have been thus altered show it; the figures quoted by Lord Salisbury with regard to the building societies show it. Would you care to do all this? I repeat; because, if you answer, 'No, not in the least, if I cannot give to every poor family three rooms each,' then your problem is much more difficult. I will not say it is hopeless but will you not at least grant me that the one step is worth something, especially if I show you, as I hope to do, that it will not at all prevent your taking the second step whenever it seems possible? Only you must be careful to select plans for buildings in which the number of rooms taken may be settled from time to time as it seems best. I will explain what I mean presently. First let us deal with the question of cost.

I asked a large number of clergy and other workers in the East End the other day what rents they considered the unsanitary and worst rooms in their districts fetched. Some answered 3s., some answered 3s. 6d. I wanted to know what they would say: some people quote even higher rents. I should myself have said 3s. to 4s. for large rooms, or 2s. 6d. for small. The rooms which I know in model dwellings paying fair

percentage—light, clean, dry, thoroughly healthy, with laundry and playground—rarely exceed 3s. and are very often cheaper. Surely as far as the financial problem is concerned there is no difficulty in entirely altering the whole character of the room and the house, and yet supplying the better article at the same price—might we not say at a less price? Take the figures quoted by Lord Salisbury. He says the Peabody Trustees supply rooms at an average of 4s. 4d. for two, that is 2s. 2d. for one. They, however, pay only 3 per cent.; suppose we add one-third to the rental, which is more, of course, than would be needed to raise the percentage to 4 per cent, as this would increase the whole incomings by one-third, and the interest is only a part—I do not know how large a part—of their outgoings. That would raise the rental to 2s. 11d. a room, a lower rent than that of rooms in the terrible houses we hope to sweep away. But this rental may be still further reduced. The Peabody Trustees have spent, we are told, 75l. per room on buildings; while the Industrial Dwellings Co. have only required 51l. a room, and a block has been to my knowledge built by others lately at under 50l. per room. This reduces the cost by one-third, leaving a good margin for higher interest, or lower rental than 2s. 11d., whichever is deemed advisable. Again the Peabody Trustees have thought it well to build no shops. This restriction need not be followed by others. In central situations, and in those inhabited by numbers of the poor, such as the site cleared in Whitecross Street, the ground floors might have been utilised for warehouses or shops at a high rental, which would have allowed the upper floors to be let at a lower rental, or to raise the percentage, whichever may be thought best.

'Yes,' say some of the objectors, 'but these results are obtained by those who build on land obtained under the Artisans' Dwellings Act, at heavy cost to the rates.'

Now, first, let us notice that the cost of that land has been enhanced by the expense of sweeping away old abuses, which are surely a very fair charge on the rates; secondly, that a part of the cost has been due to delay, and to cumbrous machinery. What would be thought of men of business who did as the Metropolitan Board of Works has, I believe, done—declared that they could not consider what they were going to erect on the ground till it was cleared, and who, when it was cleared, left it a year or two vacant? Thirdly, let us remember that, in estimating the cost, no set-off is usually made for the immensely increased return from the rise in assessed value. Sir S. Waterlow says that on the Bethnal Green estate, on which they cleared away 166 houses, the rateable value of which had been 1,227l. a year, the buildings substituted would be rated at 9,500l. The capitalised income at twenty years' purchase amounts to 41,360l., which is equal to the value of the land.¹ The same kind of increase would accrue in

¹ See Annual Report of proceedings at half-yearly meeting of Industrial Dwellings Company, August 1880.

many sites cleared under the Act. It is true that the cost is thrown on the metropolitan rates, and the return comes to the local vestry; it, however, affects London ratepayers, and ought to be taken into account.

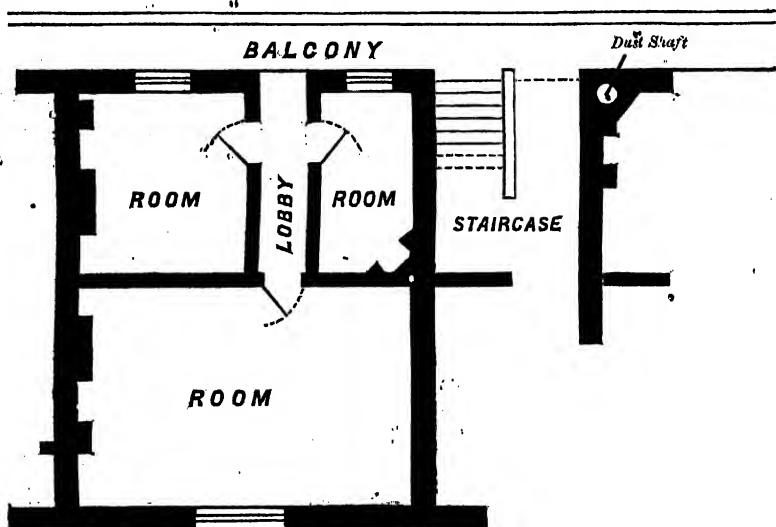
But, independently of the Artisans' Dwellings Act, land can be had at ordinary prices which allow of rooms being let at the prices quoted above. I have always rebuilt on land obtained in the open market, and I have several rooms let at 2s., and many at 2s. 9d. each, and these in blocks paying 5 per cent. net interest on the capital. It will, however, be truly urged that though there are good rooms in model buildings of all kinds to be had at less than 3s. a room, yet they cannot be had singly. That appears to me the main point to dwell on now. Had the plans for buildings on sites cleared under the Artisans' Dwellings Act been made with separate rooms, instead of suites of passage rooms, the complaint would not now be made that none of those displaced had been re-accommodated. On the contrary, *entirely avoiding overcrowding*, a very large proportion indeed of the very poor might have been admitted.² There are a great many large families in such a population, but every one has not a large family! And there is, so far as I know, in new buildings erected, hardly any accommodation for the small family that wants one room—the single room, as a rule, is built for widows or widowers. Again, no provision has been made for the numerous very poor families who have one son or daughter at work, who can pay for a second little room, but not for all the appliances usually placed in model tenements.

Great care should be taken to reduce the cost of building and maintenance, and to diminish chances of disease, especially if the intention is to try to house a more ignorant and destructive class of people, unaccustomed to the use of even simple appliances. These objects may be attained by not carrying the water and drains all over the building; these cannot be supervised so well unless they are more concentrated and more simply arranged than they usually are in model dwellings. The water should be on every floor, but not necessarily in every tenement. It is no hardship for tenants to carry water a few yards on a level passage or balcony. The closets should be on the stairs, and a vertical drain should descend from them, not going near any room.

There should be a large number of separate rooms. I have heard it urged against the construction of such rooms that it is unadvisable to perpetuate the homes consisting of single rooms; that every family ought to have two, and that we should aim at providing them. I most heartily agree; but it does not seem to me that the construction of blocks necessarily let in two- and three-roomed tenements is

² I am dealing now with the question entirely as one of finance and of space; whether the habits of the people would have permitted landlords to admit them into decent houses is another matter, with which I do not propose to deal here.

leading so straight to the desired end as the building of rooms which can be let separately, such as those drawn on the accompanying little plan. The two- and three-roomed tenements look hopelessly dear and unattainable to the labourer or costermonger; he never goes near them, but shrinks away into some back court or alley. But offer him one large room separable into compartments by curtains or screens, such as he has been accustomed to, with space for him to feel at ease and to gather in his friends, charge him the same rent as he has been used to pay, let him get at home there, and then, when first his boy or his girl, at about thirteen years old, goes to work, and he feels that a little more money is coming in weekly, urge him, as the very best thing he can do, to take a nice cheap little room next to his own and opening out of the same lobby, and you will find there is hardly one man out of twenty who will not



take your advice, even if he has to give up a pot of beer or two, or give his children fewer pence for sweets on Sunday.

So, at least, I have found; every court I ever bought has been a one-roomed court, and many a happy, pleasant little one-roomed home I know now; but, for all that, I have few one-roomed tenements when I look round after some years of work. By experience in the old houses one learns how to build new ones to fit the poorer people.

It will be noticed in looking at the little plan above that the important point is simple enough. A common stone-staircase leads to a balcony, from which little lobbies run. From each of these lobbies open three rooms. A family can take one, two, or three of these, as the tenant and landlord may agree. Depend on it, if houses were built like this, a great many poor would come into them. Again, it is a great point to make the rooms of different sizes. Whatever may

be the case with the more well-to-do artisan, our labourers do not want a bedroom and sitting-room each of the same size : they want a comfortable-sized living-room, in which they live and sleep, and a much smaller room or rooms so soon as either son or daughter need separation. In one block we have even rooms at 1s. 3d., quite small, but invaluable, either to let with a larger room or for an old widow, light, airy, and with a fireplace, but quite tiny.

How cheaply rooms built in the way above described can be built must depend on many circumstances, in a great degree upon the care and economy used in building and management. It is clear from the figures quoted that they can be let even cheaper than the unsanitary rooms in back courts. My own opinion is that they could be let at a price which would enable a labourer to take a second room whenever his children began to grow up. One step on a thoroughly sound footing, and which did not involve any charitable or rate-supported scheme, would seem to me incomparably better than any which should begin the downward course to a rate in aid of wages. Depend on it, if blocks such as I describe were multiplied, if the existing laws for demolition were put in force, if sanitary inspection were stricter, the present difficulty would be to a large extent overcome.

It need hardly be pointed out that any suggestion of the possibility of schemes supported or assisted by public money entirely postpones any extension of that healthy independent action on the part of those societies or individuals who have helped the working people by meeting their wants on a remunerative basis. It will be impossible for those who cannot risk the possibility of their capital being wholly lost to embark any more of it in undertakings which may be suddenly rendered unremunerative by being undersold by rate- or State-supported buildings. And if any one should answer that these societies have hitherto done little for the very poor, it may be answered that it is not many years ago since the idea that building for artisans could be remunerative was scouted as chimerical. It was long treated as hopeless ; then a few persons found out how such buildings could be made to pay ; then many recognised it ; now the ordinary builder knows it well. The same process has to be gone through before it is realised that houses for poorer tenants also will pay. A little patience, a little energy, conscientious economy as to detail, will prove it possible to provide for this class also on a remunerative footing. Only do not let those unaccustomed to the habits of the people sit at home and imagine what a poor man's family requires, but let experienced people supply the real needs first. The suite of rooms, the complication of drains, the expensive plan of carrying the water everywhere, the coal-cellar to hold a ton of coals, are some of them very nice : they are admirable for the mechanic who knows how to use them ; they may be added in time, but they

are not essential to health, they are costly, and they are not for a moment to be set in comparison with homes on an independent basis. It is interesting to hear of the scheme for Sanitary Aid Committees. Their action might be helpful in getting vestries to put the Sanitary Acts in force with regard to large and small matters; but those gentlemen who can join the vestries themselves will be in a far more powerful and more recognised position. In order to overlook the smaller matters I hope the regular district-visitors may be encouraged to become the visitors for the Sanitary Aid Committees. It would seem unadvisable to create a new staff of visitors for a special object, seeing how many organisations are already working in the homes of the people, and how much better it is to have the inspection that of a friend naturally going in and out of the house. It is most important to give the existing visitors definite work, and to make use of their frequent visits. The poor are very naturally getting impatient of the numerous unattached visitors who go among them, unless, indeed, they are reconciled by the gift of shillings, a practice of all others the most demoralising. The sanitary visitor who only goes occasionally will, moreover, have no chance of keeping the tenants up to their own duties, which is certainly at least half the battle. It is important for visitors to remember, too, that whatever is said to tenants as to requirements from their landlords should be well within the law; tenants have a right to give up their rooms, or to stay there and to require that things which the law orders should be done, but they have no right to follow advice such as one visitor gave them, I see—that they should remain and not pay rent!

Sanitary Aid visitors, if they have tact and judgment, will be very useful, but they will find themselves in a much weaker position than those working in houses where they represent the landlord, who, therefore, can not only remonstrate with the tenant, or incite the vestry to action so far as the law allows it, but can in the last resort dismiss the tenant if his habits are persistently dirty or destructive—a power which rarely need be exercised, but is silently felt, whose duty takes them naturally into every room weekly, and who can order repairs or improvements when they deem fit. For the large number of courts not so cared for, the visits of sanitary aid visitors would be very valuable. But visitors would be incomparably more useful if they would train themselves to undertake the management of houses, and collect rent in them for a landlord—be he rich or poor, so that he be good—thus obtaining a regular position and getting to know their tenants well. It may be more difficult work: it will be much more thorough.

For in the long run it will be found, when this burst of excitement is over, that, without training these poorest people, no improvement in their houses will be of much avail. Read the most harrowing description of the worst courts, and notice how many of the

sorrows would not be remedied by cheap, good houses; watch the people, and think what they would make of those good houses if they had them to-morrow; and then realise that the problem before you is far more difficult than the financial one; that it is more complicated than that of building; that you will have, before you can raise these very poorest, to help them to become better in themselves. Neither despair, nor hurry, but set to work with the steady purpose of one who knows that God is on his side, and that though He bids us work while it is called to-day, yet the great Husbandman is patient.

OCTAVIA HILL.

II.

THE MISCHIEF OF STATE AID.

THE sudden manifestation of public feeling in regard to the domiciliary condition of large portions of the working classes in our cities and great towns, and specially in London, is one of the healthiest signs of modern times. It is strange that this feeling has lain so long dormant, for the disclosure of the evil was made more than forty years ago, and ever since that date, the efforts of individuals, companies and associations have been unremitting to proclaim the mischief, to devise remedies, and, in some instances, to apply them.

The first effort on record was, perhaps, that of the Metropolitan Association, better known, from the services of its secretary, as Mr. Gatliffe's Society. Had this society been supported as it deserved to be, it would have removed much evil, and prevented a great deal more. The 'Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes' followed very closely; its object was not to accommodate the people on a large scale—such an undertaking would have been far beyond the power of a simple committee. It had in view the erection of model dwellings for all the varieties and grades of industrial life; it desired to show, in the buildings that it raised, what was necessary for the comfort, health, and decency of the inmates, and also the lowest figure at which the structures could be provided, and the rents imposed, consistently with a moderate, though fair, return of interest on the capital expended.

And it had another view: it wished to prove that, in such amelioration, the moral were almost equal to the physical benefits; and that, while numbers would decline or abuse the boon extended to them, many would accept it joyfully, and turn it to good account.

The issue has been as was expected—and doubtless all the several associations, and all private individuals engaged in a similar career, would now, if called upon, give this testimony to the same happy results in their own particulars.

Why these most satisfactory and unquestionable experiments

have failed hitherto to rouse the public sympathy, and why, even now, when attention is stirred, they are so little considered, it is difficult to understand, except in the words of Tacitus: '*Naturā tamen infirmitatis humanæ, tardiora sunt remedia quam mala.*' It is certainly not from want of advice or inventive power. New projects are given to the world every day; and while we admire the zeal of so many, and rejoice in it, there is a danger that all may be lost in such a rapid and almost angry succession of conflicting opinions.

Hitherto we have done too little; there is now a fear that in some respects we may do too much. •

There is a loud cry, from many quarters, for the Government of the country to undertake this mighty question; and any one who sets himself against such an opinion is likely to incur much rebuke and condemnation. Be it so. But if the State is to be summoned not only to provide houses for the labouring classes, but also to supply such dwellings at nominal rents, it will, while doing something on behalf of their physical condition, utterly destroy their moral energies. It will, in fact, be an official proclamation that, without any efforts of their own, certain portions of the people shall enter into the enjoyment of many good things, altogether at the expense of others. The State is bound, in a case such as this, to give every facility by law and enabling statutes; but the work itself should be founded, and proceed, on voluntary effort, for which there is in the country an adequate amount of wealth, zeal, and intelligence.

As an instance of enabling statutes on this subject there may be quoted the provisions of 14 & 15 Vict. chap. 34, passed in the year 1851. Here it will be observed that no more power is given than a permission to raise money on the security of the rates. The rents would be fixed at an amount sufficient to meet the interest on the loan, and a payment also for the gradual reduction of the debt. The working classes would be greatly aided thereby, inasmuch as the Act would do for them what they could not possibly do for themselves. It has never been brought into general operation; and probably by reason of the well-known and prevalent dislike to incur an immediate outlay with a view to a future economy. But Parliament has herein affirmed the principle of such action.

The statistics of one of the societies already mentioned, 'The Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes,' will prove that these efforts may be made on true commercial principles, with a moderate rent from the inmates of the dwellings, and a fair return to the proprietors.

1st. *Dyott Street House*, for 104 single men. The rents are paid weekly, not nightly: 2s. 9d. and 3s. 3d. for the week.

2nd. This payment gives to each a separate sleeping apartment,

supply of linen, gas, use of coffee-room, kitchen, fire, and a locker also.

Streatham Street, for families (houses with galleries). The highest rent 7s. 6d. per week—three rooms and all domestic conveniences of every kind. Lowest, 4s. 6d. per week, with like offices, and also use of wash-house, coppers, &c.

Basement, highest rent 4s. per week—two rooms; lowest, 2s. 9d. per week, one room.

The gas is on each gallery, basement, &c., from which no doubt many of the tenants enjoy an advantage, the lamps in many cases being opposite their windows. Water included.

Dyatt Street. The percentage on the outlay from profits received returns $3\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. The land on which the house stands was bought.

Streatham Street Houses. The percentage on the outlay averages $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The land on a lease at 50l. a year.

Hull Model Buildings, (Kingston-upon-Hull). Families, 32; rents from 2s. 10d., 3s., 3s. 3d., 3s. 6d. to 4s. 4d.; 104 individuals. The first amount is for two rooms, the last four for three rooms, with scullery, larder, and every domestic convenience in each. The percentage about the same.

The reader will observe that the many conveniences, included here under the rent, reduce it, in fact, below the sum indicated by the figures.

It is not necessary to encumber this paper with many such details. The instances given are representative instances, and the conductors of similar institutions would report, no doubt, that they had arrived at similar successes.

The rents of most of those horrible tenements which are now the subject of public consideration, are enormously high, and, though it is true that they are paid, it must not be assumed that they are paid with ease. The excess of rent is met by a proportionate abatement in the purchase of food, fuel, and clothing; were the rents, owing to a removal of a number of the inmates, brought down to one-half, the proprietors would still enjoy an unholy profit, and the people themselves so removed might obtain for 2s. 6d. a week, or a little more, that real comfort and accommodation which they now obtain only in name, for four or five shillings.

It has been asserted that improved houses, with all necessary arrangements for health and decency, improve the moral and physical energies of the inmates. This is true; they are more lively, more vigorous, more happy. They do more work, and they do it better and cheerfully; their industry is not crushed by a pestilential atmosphere; they have, it may be stated on the authority of the old Board of Health, fewer doctors' bills to pay; they save full twenty days of forced idleness every year, the necessary result of sheer exhaustion, which saving, at 2s. a day, of wages, (it should stand at that figure,

and not at 1s. 6d.), shows an increased income of forty shillings, in aid of the rent for their better dwellings.

The writer of this article, speaking to a woman who had been transferred from filth and misery to cleanliness and comfort, received for answer to a question how she liked her new house, 'Why, you see,' said she, 'I likes it much, for, somehow or other, I now seem to keep what I earns.' It is a picturesque remark, and contains much more than is conveyed by the words alone. Thousands, no doubt, similarly relieved, would give a similar reply.

The whole affair is a question of money; and, though it may be called Utopian to entertain the hope of raising an adequate amount, it is nevertheless permissible to consider the form in which it might be asked for, and, if obtained, the mode of distribution.

Were a central committee formed in the city of London, consisting of gentlemen of power, wealth, and influence, who would undertake to organise such a movement, form local committees (for local committees there must be in the several districts), and issue an appeal, there would be in the present day—few can doubt it—a ready and ample response. These gentlemen would determine how far they could proceed without new legislation; though additional laws, if required at all, would be required rather for the completion, than for the commencement, of the work.

Meanwhile the powers already in existence should be called into operation. They are far greater than most people are aware of. 'It would be a good thing'—the quotation is from a letter written by a most learned and able lawyer—'if the Local Government Board would issue a summary or handy-book, expressed in simple language of the laws relating to the building of houses, to nuisances in relation to health, and to the powers of local authorities. I am sure such a book would be more useful than much legislation.' It would, indeed, be a very good thing if the Board would so do, and add moreover its injunctions for immediate attention to such counsel.

Vestries have enormous authority. All vestries are not alike. Though some, from a variety of reasons, are utterly motionless, others are better, and require only some external pressure to rouse them to action.

The medical officers of health, by whomsoever appointed, should be removable only with the consent of the Secretary of State. This point may, perhaps, require the intervention of Parliament, but it is an indispensable provision.

These tenements should be subjected, in many respects, to the inspection of the police, in the same way as the common lodging-houses. Against this arrangement it has been urged that 'every man's house is his castle,' and that the privacy of the dwellings of the very poorest is as dear to them as to the rich. If this argument be admitted in the case of one or more rooms occupied by a single

family, it cannot be urged in the case of a room occupied by more than one family. Such a room has acquired the character of a common lodging-house, and is affected by all the moral and physical evils that ravaged those miserable abodes before they were brought under police regulations.

The effects of such activity alone would speedily be visible; and though very far short of what is to be accomplished, would give much alleviation to many of the people.

Should private bounty and private zeal be insufficient for the great issue now sought, it might then be necessary for the Government to interpose, and use the money of the State for the improvement of the domiciliary condition of some portions of the labouring classes by placing them in new homes at eleemosynary rents; but such interposition must not take place until every effort has been made, every expedient exhausted, and indisputable proof given that, if the State does not do the work, it will never be done at all.

The mischief of it would be very serious, it would assume many menacing forms, and be of wide extent. It would, besides being a kind of legal pauperization, give a 'heavy blow and great discouragement' to the spirit of healthy thrift now rising among the people. The statements of the last few years, compared with those that preceded them, show an improvement that is almost marvellous in the habits of the population. The wise and considerate measures to give facilities for the investment of savings, specially those introduced at the Post Office by Mr. Fawcett and his predecessors, are greatly changing the character of the English nation, generally regarded, hitherto, as that of the most wasteful in Europe.

But much of the old spirit remains, and, under the influence of bad example, it would regain its ascendancy. A dialogue between the writer and a peasant lad, in receipt of good wages, will illustrate this assertion:

'You are young, strong, getting a round sum every week for your labour; you have no one to provide for but yourself. Why not lay by a little? It will enable you to marry, get on in the world, and perhaps be quite independent; but if you do otherwise, you may fall into poverty.'

'My money is mine, and I've a right to spend it as I like, and if the worst come to the worst, there's the work'us.'

'Exactly so: no one denies your right to do as you like; but you have no right to spend other people's money, which you do by going into the workhouse after having so sadly squandered your own.'

This sentiment, it is to be feared, is still the sentiment of thousands, nay, tens of thousands, in this country; nor will it be expelled, or modified, by the gigantic hints, given in speeches and pamphlets, of the depth and extent of State-benevolence.

It is a melancholy system that tends to debase a large mass of the

people to the condition of a nursery, where the children look to father and mother, and do nothing for themselves.

These are simply the speculations of a single individual; and many will, of course, reject his conclusions; nor would he have obtruded them on general notice, had he not thought that he also might, among the multitude of contributors to the public knowledge, give here, as elsewhere, the result of many years of labour and investigation.

SHAFTESBURY.

POSTSCRIPT.

The writer has just read the Inaugural Address by Mr. Giffen, on the progress of the working classes, given in the *Times* of November 21. He ventures to express a hearty concurrence with the statements in that admirable paper. The enormous capital now held by the Co-operative Associations (a fact which Mr. Giffen appears to have omitted) is a most striking and satisfactory proof of what can be achieved by the energies of active, intelligent, self-relying, and thrifty men.

III.

THE EXISTING LAW.

It is admitted on all hands that there is a considerable population in London the conditions of whose life, both moral and physical, are deplorably bad—so bad as to constitute an offence against the laws of humanity, and a danger to the welfare of the State. It is likewise universally assumed that it is both the interest and the duty of the community to do something to alleviate the sufferings and better the circumstances of the population to which we have referred. So far all are agreed. *Things are very bad, and something must be done.* The only important points upon which there seems any doubt are in the first place as to how bad things actually are, and in the second place, granted that something must be done, what that something ought to be.

With regard to the first of these questions this is not the place to speak.

The actual extent of acute misery and want in the metropolis can only be accurately ascertained by careful official inquiry, though it may probably be fairly estimated from the reports of those well-informed and devoted investigators who have given up their lives to acquiring information upon this head. As to the latter question, however, there really seems room for a profitable addition to the sources of information already available to the general public.

Those who have studied the long and varied correspondence which has followed the publication of Lord Salisbury's article, and which has had for its object the suggestion of remedies for the existing condition of things, cannot fail to have been struck by the apparently general conviction that the evils which were to be dealt with were incapable of adequate treatment by any existing laws, and must be dealt with, if at all, by new methods constructed *ad hoc*.

It may be that the ever-increasing complications of our society will eventually render necessary the introduction of new methods and new principles in order to cope with new and special difficulties; but meanwhile it will not be amiss to take stock of the means which are already at our disposal for meeting the evils with which we have to

contend. The result of such an investigation will probably be a surprise to some, for it is no exaggeration to say that there is scarcely a single item in the long catalogue of vices to be eradicated, and material obstacles to be removed, that has not already been recognised and taken into account in the passing of legislative enactments by Parliament. It is abundantly worth while to try and make this clear, and to show to every one who desires to take part in the work of reform what are the exact facilities which are at this moment at his or her disposal, either as an individual, or as a member of society acting through recognised corporate bodies.

Let us consider briefly what, by universal admission, is the nature of the evil to be contended with. It is this, that there exists at the present moment, in the heart of the wealthiest city in the world, a large number of human beings whose lives from birth to death are, and must be, a long series of misery, hopelessness, and immorality; a mass of men and women, who from the nature of their surroundings, both physical and moral, are inevitably committed to an existence of crime and disorder from which, under our present arrangements, there is no possibility of their ever emerging, and which, terrible in itself, constitutes a grave danger to the community.

No one fortunately is unwise enough to suggest that misery, crime, or suffering, can be permanently eliminated from the lot of our country; but, on the other hand, all are ready to admit that it is within the duty and within the power of society to give to all its members alike the chance of escaping from a condition in which all hope of amelioration is practically excluded.

So far there is practical agreement. It is conceded also that the ways in which the misery of which we have spoken can be reached are twofold, the one material, the other moral. It is not too much to add that a tolerably universal conviction has been reached, to the effect that where matters have reached the pitch which has recently been described by those who have studied the phenomena of outcast London, it is essential that material relief should be made a condition precedent of effective moral improvement.

This being so, it will be advisable to consider first what are the forms in which material relief can be most advantageously administered, and how far we require additional machinery for the purpose.

The principal and obvious necessity that at once suggests itself is that of providing proper dwellings for the very poor, in lieu of their present habitations, and to that subject the present article will be confined. To do this adequately, three processes are essential. There must be power to compel those who are the owners of such dwellings to put them into such a condition as to be fit for habitation, and to maintain them in that state. Secondly, there must be power to destroy those buildings which, either through the default of their owners, or through inherent defects, are incapable of

being made to afford proper accommodation; and lastly, there must be power to replace the dwellings thus destroyed by others properly constructed. Do these powers exist at the present day? can they be put in force by any reasonably simple process? and can those most interested in their enforcement insist upon their being made use of?

The answer to all these queries must undoubtedly be in the affirmative. It will be useless to attempt an historical survey of the steps by which the powers at present existing have been obtained and perfected; the study is not without its value, as it throws great light upon the causes of failure in the past, and partly accounts for the smallness of results up to the present time. But all that is really essential for our present purpose is a categorical statement of the law as it now stands.

For the three purposes of regulation, demolition, and reconstruction there are in existence four Acts,¹ or groups of Acts, all applicable under somewhat different conditions to areas in the Metropolis. Most of these Acts have been amended and re-amended, in every case with the object of securing greater efficiency and less expenditure and a simpler method of procedure. The most recent amendments are as late as the year 1882. At the present moment these Acts confer powers for effecting each of the requisite purposes. Let us first consider the methods they provide for *putting in repair, maintaining and regulating existing dwellings*.

Supposing that in any locality there are a number of dwellings in an unsanitary condition, barely fit for habitation, and crowded to excess, there can be no doubt that all these conditions would exist in defiance of and in spite of definite legislative provisions easily put in force. Let us see what the remedies are. A nuisance is proved to exist: it not only may but must be removed. 'If the Local Authorities (i.e. the Vestry) find a nuisance to exist or to have existed when notice given, and although since removed is likely to recur, they shall cause complaint to be made to a justice, and he shall issue summonses, and, if proved, make order for abatement or discontinuance and prohibition and for costs.'² Moreover, the justices are to order sufficient privy accommodation, to make the premises safe and habitable, to cleanse, to whitewash, or to do such other works as are necessary, or, if they think the nuisance likely to recur, may order steps to be taken to prevent its recurrence; and finally if the nuisance is such as to render the house unfit for human habitation, may prohibit its being used at all until it is rendered fit, and declared to be so.³ This is in itself a valuable provision, but the question at once arises, how and by whom can it be put in force?

¹ The Sanitary Acts, including the Public Health Act 1866, Torrens's Acts, the Artisans' Dwellings Acts, and the Street Improvements Acts.

² Nuisances Removal Act 1855, 18 and 19 Vict. c. 121, s. 12.

³ Sect. 13.

The answer is simple. In the first place, there already exists in every part of the Metropolis a body charged by statute with the duty of putting this very law in operation in respect of the matters mentioned. 'It shall be the duty of the authority,' says the statute, 'either by itself or its officers, to make inspection of the district to ascertain what nuisances exist, and to enforce the provisions to abate.'⁴ Plainly, if the nuisances exist unabated, the local authority has failed in its duty. But this is not all, and here arises the opportunity of the 'man in the street,' who stands inactive ready to give a helping hand, but wholly unaware of any method by which he can usefully apply his energies. 'On complaint to a justice by any inhabitant of the parish or place in the district of the existence of any nuisance on any private or public premises the person by whose act, default, permission, or sufferance the nuisance arises, or if such person cannot be found, the owner or occupier, may be summoned,'⁵ and the inquiry will then proceed.

Again, if the proper authority neglects its duty, there is yet another way of providing for its enforcement other than that of individual pressure. The chief officer of police within a district may, under the direction of the Local Government Board, remove a nuisance where there has been a failure of the local authority,⁶ and in this case the expenses may be recovered from the defaulting authorities.⁷

Nor is the power of the local authorities limited to cases where the nuisance has arisen through the act or default of the owner or occupier of the premises. Where it is plainly shown that he is not responsible, they may abate the nuisance themselves at the cost of the rates.⁸

So far we have dealt with the removal of nuisances in the ordinary sense of the word. But the word nuisance, in its legal acceptation, has a wider and more useful meaning. 'Overcrowding,' the evil, against which nine-tenths of the recent outcry has been directed, is distinctly and emphatically declared to be a nuisance within the meaning of the Sanitary Acts, and removable as such; and the power to deal with overcrowding is given, it must be observed, with regard to all buildings, and is not confined to those special areas to which we shall shortly refer. Disease, the terrible accompaniment of overcrowding, is likewise made the object of a special provision as follows:—'If the local authority think, on the certificate of any medical practitioner, that the cleansing and disinfecting of any house or part of a house would tend to prevent infectious disease, they shall require the owner to do the work under a penalty of ten shil-

⁴ Public Health Act 1866, 29 and 30 Vict. c. 90, 20.

⁵ Act of 1860, 23 and 24 Vict. c. 77, s. 13.

⁶ 23 and 24 Vict. c. 77, s. 16.

⁷ 37 and 38 Vict. c. 89, s. 19.

⁸ 29 and 30 Vict. c. 90, s. 21.

lings a day,' or may themselves do it and charge the expense on the owner.

In addition to these extensive powers, which, liberally interpreted, provide most ample means for dealing with the unsanitary condition of many parts of London, there are also special provisions still more effective, which come into operation in areas specially prescribed by the Local Government Board. This Department may, at its discretion, declare any part of the Metropolis to be under the operation of Section 35 of the Public Health Act of 1866.⁹ The result of which is that the local authority in the district named is at once empowered to make regulations for the following purposes:—

1. For fixing the number of lodgers in tenement houses.¹⁰
2. For the registration of such houses.
3. For their inspection and cleanliness.
4. Enforcing the maintenance of proper and sufficient sanitary appliances.
5. For ventilation and drainage.
6. For the separation of the sexes.

Such is a brief summary of the actual machinery at present existing for securing decency and proper sanitary precautions in dwellings in London. In most cases the law can be put in motion by any private individual residing in the district. In all cases it is the duty of a recognised authority to enforce it, and behind that authority there is, in the event of any default, a permanent Department. The remedy in every case is a summary one, and the cost is made to fall where it ought to fall—namely, upon the owner or occupier of the premises dealt with.

Everybody, however, who is acquainted with the poorest parts of London is aware that there are streets, in many cases whole quarters, where no remedial measures are of the slightest avail, and where demolition and reconstruction are the only real means of introducing a satisfactory state of things. This fact has long ago been recognised by the Legislature, and ample provision has been made for pursuing the course indicated. To a certain extent demolition and reconstruction must go hand in hand. In the earlier legislation this truth was alternately ignored altogether or too strictly insisted upon, and in consequence Acts otherwise most admirable failed of their full effect. These shortcomings, however, have been remedied by recent amendments,¹¹ and it is with the Acts as amended that we are now concerned.

The Acts which regulate the demolition and reconstruction of condemned houses may be divided into two portions, those which

⁹ 37 and 38 Vict. c. 84, s. 47.

¹⁰ 'Tenement houses' are houses the whole or part of which is let in lodgings, or occupied by members of more than one family.

¹¹ Amendment of Torrens's Act 1879; Amendment of Artisans' Dwellings Act 1882.

deal with single houses or small districts, and those which deal with large areas. The former are known as Torrens's Acts, the latter as the Artisans' Dwellings Acts. There are also various other means, such as those furnished by the Street Improvement Acts, and some of the Railway Acts, which, in consideration of their involving considerable clearances, have been made to embrace some of the precautionary provisions included in the measures above mentioned.

Before, however, summarising the powers given under later and better-known legislation, reference must be made to a much earlier attempt to solve some of the difficulties which are at present so pressing. As early as 1851, an Act was passed, to which Lord Shaftesbury has recently referred.¹² Its object is 'to encourage the establishment of lodging-houses for the labouring classes,' and it gives powers to the vestries to adopt the Act at the cost of the rates, and with power to borrow. Vestries of two or more parishes may combine. Lands may be appropriated, purchased, or rented; and buildings suitable for lodging-houses erected, fitted up, and furnished. After seven years' trial, if found too expensive, they may be sold. Here, again, there is an opportunity for individual enterprise, for under the Act, the initiative is to be taken by ten or more ratepayers, who may require a meeting to be summoned to decide as to the adoption of the Act. According to Lord Shaftesbury, this useful measure has only been put in force in one instance. It is hard to say why so little advantage has been taken of it, but it is probable that the process of summoning a special meeting for the purpose of sanctioning an addition to the rates is not a satisfactory one.

But to return to the recent Acts already referred to. The object of Torrens's Act is clearly stated in section 14 of the amending statute of 1879,¹³ which declares the objects of the Act to be:—1. 'The providing, by the construction of new buildings, or the repairing of existing buildings, the labouring classes with suitable dwellings situate within the jurisdiction of the local authority.' 2. 'The opening out of closed or partially closed alleys or courts, inhabited by the labouring classes, and the widening of the same, by pulling down any building, or otherwise leaving such open spaces as may be necessary to make such alleys or courts healthful.'

The Act gives power to the local authorities to give notice to the owner of any property specified in an order, to repair or demolish, and the owner may within three months require the local authority to purchase such property. Compensation fixed by arbitration is to be given to the owners. Originally the powers of taking property were confined to 'premises in a condition or state dangerous to health so as to be unfit for habitation,'¹⁴ but now, by the amending Act¹⁵ of

¹² *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 26, 1883.

¹³ 42 and 43 Vict. c. 64.

¹⁴ 31 and 32 Vict. c. 130, s. 5.

¹⁵ 45 and 46 Vict. c. 54, s. 8.

1882 power is given to remove also what are called 'obstructive' buildings, that is buildings which, though not in themselves unfit for human habitation are so situated that by reason of their proximity to or contact with any other buildings, they cause one of the following effects:—

1. They stop ventilation, or otherwise make, or conduce to make such other buildings to be in a condition unfit for human habitation; or
2. They prevent proper measures, from being carried into effect for remedying the evils complained of in respect of such other building.

A very valuable provision is contained in these Acts whereby local authorities are empowered to lay down by-laws for the regulation of the houses which they may construct on the land required.

In the case of Torrens's Acts the initiative lies with the local authority, *i.e.* the vestry, and in this fact lies one of their main defects, for not only are the vestries from their very nature ill-adapted to the proper execution of the work demanded, but there is also a natural reluctance on the part of those representing the interests of small and usually, from the nature of the case, poor areas, to burden the ratepayers with the cost of carrying out the Act, which, as has been said, falls on the locality, and not on the whole metropolis. It is true that, by the amending Act of 1882, power is given to the guardians, in default of proper action on the part of the local authority, to complain to the Metropolitan Board of Works, whose duty it is in all cases to do the work where the vestries have failed,¹⁶ and to charge the cost upon the latter. It is doubtful, however, whether this principle of double responsibility is a wise one.

As has been said, Torrens's Act applies to isolated cases and small areas. We now come to the consideration of the still more important measures which have been passed, with the view of dealing with the evils of overcrowding on a large scale. These are the well known 'Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act of 1875 and the amending Acts of 1879 and 1882.¹⁷

In this case the initiative also lies with the local authority, whose duty it is, on the representation of their medical officer to the effect that a certain area within their jurisdiction is in an unhealthy and dangerous condition, to submit a scheme to the Secretary of State providing for the clearance, alteration, and reconstruction, of the offending dwellings. On the confirmation of the scheme, power is given to demolish, to build, or cause to be built on the sites cleared, artisans' dwellings as laid down by the Act. Up to the present time areas amounting in all to forty-three cases have been dealt with under the Act.¹⁸ The chief difficulties which have hitherto hindered

¹⁶ 42 and 43 Vict. c. 64, s. 12.

¹⁷ 38 and 39 Vict. c. 36; 42 and 43 Vict. c. 63; 45 and 46 Vict. c. 54.

¹⁸ Parliamentary return dated August 10, 1883. Out of 33 schemes submitted 15 have been approved, 14 rejected, 1 partially accepted, and 3 are still under consideration.

the due application of the Acts are well known to the public. They are the difficulty of providing for the inmates of the overcrowded dwellings who were displaced, a duty which the law originally made a *sine qua non* of the carrying out of a scheme, and in the second place the enormous loss entailed upon the ratepayers by reason on the one hand of the excessive compensation paid for the old tenements, and on the other hand by reason of the small prices realised for the land, the natural result of the limitation of the market.

These defects have long since been appreciated by Parliament and endeavours have been made to remedy them. By the amending Act of 1882 much greater latitude is given in regard to the re-housing of the displaced occupants, and power is given to the local authorities to appropriate for the purpose any lands belonging to them which are suitable to the purpose, and also to purchase such lands if required.

With regard to the second great difficulty, that of cost, an attempt has also been made to make the Act more economical and consequently more efficient. And this brings us at once to the question of compensation which has furnished the ground for so many of the complaints and suggestions which have recently appeared in the press. It is declared on all hands that no compensation is justly due to owners who have allowed their premises to fall into a condition which the proper authority has declared to be unfit for human habitation. It is not too much to say that at the present moment this is the view which the law takes. In the first place, the very existence of the premises in such a condition is, as we have seen, a nuisance which the owner may be forced to abate at his own cost. In the second place, the amended compensation clauses of the Acts now in force are to all appearances most carefully worded to enable, and indeed to compel, the arbitrator to give the widest possible extension to the principle of non-compensation where there has been a dereliction in public duty.

The following is the basis on which compensation under the Artisans' Dwellings Act is now to be assessed:—

Whenever the compensation payable in respect of any lands, or of any interests in any lands, proposed to be taken compulsorily in pursuance of this Act, requires to be assessed, the estimate of the value shall be based upon the fair market value as estimated at the time of the valuation being made of such lands, and of the several interests in such lands, *due regard being had to the nature and then condition of the property and the probable duration of the buildings in their existing state, and to the state of repair thereof without any additional allowance in respect of compulsory purchase*¹⁹ of an area, which, in the opinion of the arbitrator, is included in a scheme as falling under the description of property named in the 3rd section of the Act.

¹⁹ 38 and 39 Vict. c. 36, s. 19, as amended by 45 and 46 Vict. c. 54, s. 4.

The third section thus defines property for which no allowance is to be made above its bare value, where it is shown—

That any houses, courts, or alleys, are unfit for human habitation; that diseases indicating a generally low condition of health have been prevalent, and that such prevalence may reasonably be attributed to the closeness, narrowness, and bad arrangement, or the bad condition of the streets and houses, or groups of houses; or to want of light or ventilation, or proper conveniences, or to any other sanitary defects, or to one or more of such causes . . . and that such evils and sanitary defects cannot be remedied except by an improvement scheme.

It would be hard to conceive a more complete authority for dealing with neglected and over-rented properties than is here set forth. Granted that no allowance is made for compulsory purchase; that the cost of restoring the dwellings to a habitable condition is deducted, that the rent received from inmates who by their crowded condition constitute a statutory nuisance, is also left out of the account, and lastly that credit is given for the increased value of the premises owing to the improvements, and there appears very little reason why in a large number of cases the question of compensation might not be altogether got rid of.

But enough has been said to prove that, as far as the work can be done by law at all, there is ample law for the purpose. It will be instructive to give a typical case of what might be done if the provisions of our statutes were actually put in force.

Let us take some of the definite statements which have recently been made as to the actual condition of the very poor in the crowded portions of London, and, using them as examples, let us consider what are the remedies which the law, as it exists, can afford in each particular case.

Much attention has been attracted by a striking pamphlet which, under the title of 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,' has given a graphic picture of some of the realities of life among the slums. The story which is there told is not in itself a new one, nor is it necessary in referring to it to endorse the exact conclusions at which the author wishes us to arrive. Nevertheless, as it is perhaps the most recent and, at present, the most familiar recapitulation of the facts to which it relates, it furnishes a useful text on which to frame our investigations.

Let us take, for instance, the description given by Mr. Sims of some of the tenements which he visited and the horrors of which he has described with so much force, and let us proceed to inquire how far any of the particular evils to which he calls our attention are within the scope of express legislative provisions made for their removal, and how many of them would have been impossible had there been any proper activity in enforcing those provisions. This is the account which Mr. Sims gives of the condition in which he finds some of the houses and courts which he visited:—

You have to ascend rotten staircases which threaten to give way beneath every step, and which in some places have already broken down. You have to grope your way along dark and filthy passages swarming with vermin . . . eight feet square; that is about the average size of very many of these rooms: walls and ceilings are black with the accretions of filth which have gathered upon them through long years of neglect.

And this, be it remembered, in face of Section 20 of the Act of 1866, under which it is the *duty* of the local authority, either by itself or its officers, to make inspection of the district, to ascertain what nuisances exist, and to enforce the provisions to abate.

Mr. Sims continues: 'In every room in these rotten and reeking tenement houses is a family—often two. In one cellar a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs.'

Again, we find, in the Act previously referred to, the duty imposed upon the local authority to make regulations, *inter alia*, for fixing the number of persons who may occupy a house, or part of a house, which is let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family, for the inspection and keeping the same in a cleanly and wholesome state; and these powers may be enforced by summary process.

In another room visited by an informant of Mr. Sims was a man ill with small-pox—his wife just recovering from her eighth confinement—and this in the face of the power given to the local authority, on certificate of any medical practitioner, to cleanse and disinfect any house, or part of a house, if, in his opinion, such an operation would tend to prevent infectious disease.

A little further on, we read of a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening because she lets her room for immoral purposes until long after midnight. But such a case as this, horrible enough it may be admitted, has already been anticipated and provided for by the provision of the Industrial Schools Act, by which children lodging with prostitutes or frequenting their company not only *may* be, but *must* be, sent to an industrial school; and the same may be said of those children who are referred to as growing up in a life of dishonesty and crime, the outcome of their constant association with the criminal classes. They, too, under the provisions of the Act referred to, ought, if the law were properly put into force, to be removed from such associations under the powers given for dealing with children frequenting the company of reputed thieves.

And so, the further we continue, the plainer it becomes that we are face to face with an accumulation of horrors which the law regards, and has long regarded, as preventible evils, and to remove which it has made extensive provision.

One other conclusion is also inevitable, that the law as it exists is

not, and never has been, put in force. This is not the place to discuss the reason; it is sufficient to note the fact, and to suggest an early change for the better. There is a cry for more legislation. It is not wanted. If legislation can do anything, there is already sufficient law. Very powerful machinery is in existence; what is required is the steam to set it in motion. Indeed, we may go further, and say that there is no lack of steam, but that what is wanted is proper compression. It is to be hoped that the energy and goodwill of which there has been so much evidence lately may not be allowed to evaporate. If strong voluntary committees were formed with the express object of putting the existing law into operation, a great deal of good might be effected. It has been already pointed out that the outlets for private and individual effort are numerous, and the unity of action which would be one of the best results of the creation of a vigilance committee could not fail to further indefinitely the earnest but isolated efforts of solitary workers.

It would be idle to appear too sanguine about the power of legislation to do anything like all that is required. No measures, however comprehensive, can take the place of or do away with the need for personal intercourse between the well-to-do and educated members of the community and the very poor.

Society scarcely knows how much it owes to the silent labours of the personal friends of the poor. To keep an actual touch in some way, however slight, with the actual life of the poor, ought to be the constant aim of any public man who attempts to legislate for their wants.

Moreover, there is another direction in which we must expect and be prepared for disappointment. Build what houses we like, make what improvements we choose, we shall always have to deal with a class whose earnings are the wages of sin, and who live and are known to live for the profits of immorality and crime. These unhappy people must live, and no re-housing scheme can be carried out without raising the difficult question of how they are to be provided for, and how far the State or its representatives, whether public or private, are justified in making provision for their accommodation.

But while recognising and admitting the difficulties, there is still great reason to be sanguine of doing much with the means we already have. Two errors must be avoided. In the first place, we must avoid the mistake of pretending that there is or can be any specific; no remedy is too large to be tried, none so small that it should be neglected. In the second place, we must strive to prevent the great problem of the distress of our countrymen being degraded to the level of a mere party question. Already, over-zealous friends have assumed that because two statesmen have at the same time turned their attention to the solution of the problem, that one must needs be under-

taking to *answer* the other. The suggestion is as uncharitable as it is in all probability untrue.

If the work of regeneration had nothing else to recommend it, it would deserve an approval for the simple reason that it affords a common ground on which men of all beliefs and all parties may unite, and find sufficient occupation. These are the two dangers to be guarded against. It is to be hoped they may be seen beforehand and avoided.

It has long been known that there was energy and goodwill ready and anxious to come to the aid of 'outcast London.' If, as it appears, there is also an efficient machinery ready to be put in motion, there seems good reason to hope that before many years are past the wealthiest, and probably the most philanthropic, city in the world may no longer contain within it the most startling instances of moral and physical degradation that history records.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

IV.

A WORKMAN'S REFLECTIONS.

A WELL-REMEMBERED NOBLEMAN once said 'None can tell so well what would suit, and serve, and please a class as men of that class themselves.' Whether this dictum is perfectly true as regards those in my walk of life, under all circumstances, I shall not venture to affirm, but with respect to the great problem of housing the poor, especially in the Metropolis, which is now agitating the community, it is presumed that a personal experience of the miseries of overcrowding and an acquaintance with some at least of the residents in what is termed 'Outcast London,' will enable an individual to advance something not altogether unworthy of consideration at the present time. Myself, wife, and family of four young children (one born there) were once 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' in two wretched little rooms at no great distance from odoriferous Belleisle, redolent of the defunct remains of spavined and worn-out nags of all ages and sizes. Moreover, we were once residents in Old Bethnal Green, having neighbours to the right and left of us, whose intimacy, without being extremely fastidious, we speedily found it not desirable to cultivate too closely. Beyond this, long familiarity with the regions round about Club Row, Brick Lane, Minories, and other equally unsavoury localities, is further adduced as some title to a hearing on a question which so deeply concerns, not only us and our families, but the community at large. If I may venture to submit one other claim to be heard hereon, it is that twenty years ago I undertook to bring this very subject before a public meeting at the West End, under the presidency of a noble marquis. When the time came there was neither chairman nor audience. The topic and the individual were alike at a discount. The breeze, so far as regards the topic, has now set in the other direction.

It is very gratifying to observe the awakening of the public to a sense of their obligations towards the abject poor clustered in the purlieus of modern London and elsewhere. There is, however, too much reason to fear that in this newly-aroused zeal for the social welfare of the less cultivated and less prosperous members of the

community, more harm than real positive good will result. In a letter written by the Rev. A. Mearns (who is credited with the parentage of *The Bitter Cry*), acknowledging a number of communications, he states that, 'One friend proposes to board a dozen, another a much larger number, of children to be taken from the slums of London, and placed somewhere in the country; another offers to clothe thirty such children, and several promise to send warm winter garments for distribution.' Now, it is with no desire to check the flow of benevolence, or quench the activities of personal services, that attention is called to the risks of an excess of charity. To pity and sympathise with the much-neglected and grossly-abused childhood of our cities and large towns is but natural, yet if, in the exercise of that sympathy, idle, vicious parents are relieved of their obligations to their offspring, a double wrong is perpetrated, though doubtless done unwittingly. It is a wrong to the State, because it encourages brutal fathers and mothers in their reckless animalism and thoughtlessness. What care they so long as their miserable progeny are shunted off their hands into some comfortable quarters? It is a wrong to the decent, honest poor, whose children but too often lack, not alone the humblest comforts, but sometimes the necessities of life. Let parentless waifs be cared for, if you will, by philanthropy, but surely it is more within the province of the State to rescue the juvenile denizens of our slums and alleys, whose parents are within reach, and compel the latter to contribute towards the maintenance of those whom they have recklessly brought into existence. This part of the great problem is too wide for further consideration here, although it is by no means one of the least of the manifold perplexities connected with 'Outcast London.'

Other effects of an excess of unwise charity will be to enfeeble the self-helping capacities of the poor. There is no use in mincing the matter. The lot of the indigent poor is rendered a thousandfold more deep and intense by their own habits. They curse their poverty, and make it more remediless by intemperance. Even in the matter of homes, of which such sickening accounts have been published, a vast proportion are improvable. Temperance, thrift, household virtues and economies, these are more potent instrumentalities for the uplifting of the indigent than the most prodigal liberalities of the affluent. The wisest philanthropy is that which studies and works to stimulate, encourage, and call forth the self-helping power of the people themselves.

In my reflections upon the intense overcrowding where the poor do congregate, I am met with more than one extreme perplexity. This overcrowding, we are told, arises from low wages and high rents; the incomings of the poor not being commensurate with their requirements, if they are to observe the commonest decencies of life. It is very pertinent to our inquiry to consider this same

question of wages. Is not the low remuneration of our indigent poor an indication of an excess of labour where it is not required? According to the canons of political economy, the price of labour is regulated by supply and demand, low wages indicating a plethora of labour, and *vice versa*. If this be so, then would it not be far wiser and more judicious to encourage migration and emigration from districts where there is a congestion of labour, rather than attempt to improve the surroundings of the latter? No doubt there are formidable difficulties in the way of removing such a number of the labouring poor as would appreciably affect the current rate of wages. Multitudes are unfitted for such a removal. They have become so thoroughly acclimatised to their present mode of existence, with its miserable, wretched surroundings, that severance therefrom would be almost a punishment, and, if carried out, could hardly fail to end in failure. It is very humiliating to confess to a feeling of hopelessness with regard to the moral and social uplifting of any portion of the community, but assuredly the most hopeful prospect for no small number of indigent poor of our crowded areas, especially the more mature, is that *they will ere long die off out of the way*. Cold-blooded this, but unhappily it is too true.

There are, however, others who might, under other skies and other conditions, exchange their misery and poverty here, for comfort and prosperity yonder, but whether it is the duty of the State to effect the change, remains an open question for the present, for after all, it may be that that large body of underpaid labouring poor, in the Metropolis especially, is necessary to the commercial enterprise, manufacturing industry, trading interests, and the production of the thousand and one of those minor conveniences regarded as essential to the ease, comforts, enjoyments, luxury, refinements, and general well-being of the middle and upper classes. If, however, this be so, then there is the uncomfortable but inevitable reflection that all these have been in the past, and are now being in the present, obtained by so much of that vast ocean of sin, social misery, and moral degradation, as is fairly and honestly attributable to ill-remunerated labour. In other words, the opulence and luxury of one section of the community has been built upon the moral and social ruins of the other. If this be so, may I ask what is the debt owing by the opulent to 'Outcast London'?

This question of an excess of labour, coupled with overcrowded dwellings, is further complicated by the presence of Irish immigrants, or descendants of that nationality, whose habits, mode of life, and expressive but not too choice vocabulary, renders them undesirable neighbours. It is no libel to say that these are the least improvable of our town populations. They are the terror and perplexity of Officers of Health wherever they congregate. As to their dwellings, with comparatively few exceptions, the condition thereof is simply unspeakable, whilst as regards their attitude towards sanitary and

other measures designed for their benefit, in common with the rest of the community, it is most discouraging. Having at one period been engaged in carrying out sanitary improvements in various towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire, I can speak from a personal knowledge of the Irish quarters therein. If my views respecting the present and future condition of a large section of our indigent poor be tinged with pessimism, it is not only because of my knowledge of squalid London, but of my personal experiences when working daily to render the surroundings of crowded courts and alleys more clean, sweet, and wholesome. None but those whose business it is to explore and deal with those surroundings can form any conception of their disgusting repulsiveness. The difficulty hereof is intensified by bitter religious animosities, one illustration of which may be given. On one occasion I felt impelled to remonstrate with a bevy of Irish dames, who were evidently delighted that the two conveniences common to about a dozen families, which, with infinite labour, had been thoroughly disinfected, cleansed, and left decent and wholesome over night, with new seats, &c., were at my visit next morning in a state of indescribable filth and nastiness. The concentrated bitterness with which one of these women replied to me, 'Sure, an' d'ye think we're going to sit on that same sate where bloody Protestants sits?' and the applause which followed, could scarcely fail to disenchant the most enthusiastic and hopeful of reformers. It revealed an intensity of antagonism to improvement, even in the matter of common decency, so deep-seated as to be almost if not altogether beyond the possibilities of removal. Unfortunately, this religious antagonism is by no means rare or strange amongst our Irish Catholic neighbours. And it needs no prophet to predict that so long as it prevails, the real improvement of this section of the community is well-nigh impossible. How to arrest, check, or overcome this deplorable element, is by no means one of the least of the many perplexities associated with the great problem before us.

Regarding excessive rents, it is no doubt very easy to indulge in violent diatribes against landlord greed and selfishness; but after all, property owners are not wholly to blame in this matter. The system of short leases and high ground-rents, which brings an enormous revenue to the coffers of many a proud patrician, is far more responsible for the existing state of things than has yet been dreamed of. Under this system, the owner of house property not only requires a fair interest for the capital invested therein, but, reasonably enough, he looks for the return of his capital as well. The man who invests a thousand pounds in dwellings, which at the end of a specified number of years pass to the freeholder, a heavy ground-tax or rental meantime being paid during the whole of those years, is not likely to be satisfied with a simple five per cent. on his outlay. This system of short leases is one of the most cunningly-

devised schemes ever invented for making the rich still more rich by what has been happily designated 'unearned increment,' that increment, to an enormous extent, being in the first instance unhappily drawn from the miserable earnings of the poor in the shape of an enhanced rental for the wretched dens called homes. Be it furthermore remembered, that whatever the losses or gains of the property owner, in the collection of his rents, *ground landlords at any rate have no bad debts.*

From the view here presented, it appears that the system is more to blame than individuals. Still, the latter cannot be wholly excused. If, therefore, property owners are to be subjected to the ordeal of censure, then I respectfully submit that those who toil not, neither do they spin, who have no responsibilities, no risks or losses, but who draw their pound of flesh to the last fraction, should not be forgotten.

The obvious remedy for these short leaseholds is their enfranchisement, as proposed by Mr. Broadhurst. It is, however, a question whether such enfranchisement would tend to any improvement in the homes of the metropolitan poor in the near future, or conduce to the reduction of rents for years to come. Still, this is one of the reforms imperatively required before the great problem of decently housing the poor can be effectually solved.

For, whatever deductions may be made for possible removals, it must be admitted that a very large increase of dwellings suitable for the working poor is urgently required at the present time, to enable them to observe the commonest decencies of life. In examining the nature or character of the required dwellings, the probable area of the necessity to be met, and the best means of meeting that necessity, it will be seen that the latter is largely dominated by this short-leasehold system.

Respecting the nature or character of the required dwellings—that is to say, the extent of accommodation needful therein for the preservation of morals and health, it may be safely asserted that the latter is all but, if not wholly impossible, where families live and sleep in one single room. Nor, in the case of most families, will there be much improvement by the occupation of two rooms. It is utterly vain to expect purity of morals and ordinary decency, where boys and girls above a certain age sleep in the same apartment. This also holds good with respect to either boys or girls occupying the same dormitory along with their parents. Under either circumstances moral contamination, as well as physical injury, is the inevitable result. It is wholly and absolutely impossible to over-estimate the importance of this aspect of the question. From the loose sexual relationship in families occupying one sleeping apartment, there has sprung an infinity of moral depravity amongst the working poor which the Church has failed to realise. Why is it that the stupendous

efforts to evangelise the masses—the missioning and revival services—are so barren of permanent results? This, more than anything else—the moral uncleanness of the home life of the poor. It is idle to preach the gospel to those who herd together under conditions inviting and provoking sensuality. The spiritual life cannot take root and flourish amid surroundings fatal to moral health. We must improve the domestic environments of the children of the poor by providing separate dormitories for the sexes. This is a *sine qua non*, an indispensable condition in the provision of workmen's dwellings in the Metropolis and elsewhere.

In considering the area of necessity to be met, or actual number of new dwellings required to appreciably relieve overcrowding in the Metropolis, there are not, so far as I am aware, any positive data on which to base an estimate. It must be conjecture. In my judgment there are not less than fifty thousand families, or in round numbers a population of a quarter of a million souls, within the metropolitan area, for whom new accommodation is required, if the danger and reproach of the existing state of things is to be averted. To provide the needful accommodation for this vast population, let us assume block buildings to be the chief resource. My personal preferences are in favour of self-contained or cottage tenements, but owing to the impossibility of obtaining building sites for cottages where required, or the prohibitory cost thereof, we are driven back on the former. Now with regard to buildings of this nature and character, there are fortunately safe data for our guidance in the annual reports of the trustees of the Peabody benefaction. From the report for the year 1879, it appears that 2,355 separate dwellings of one, two, and three rooms, were provided, accommodating a population of 9,905 individuals, at a total cost of 549,984*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, or in round numbers 233*l.* per suite, and 55*l.* each resident. Adopting the same scale of buildings, and the same cost of suites of rooms, it would require the enormous total of nearly twelve millions sterling to provide the requisite accommodation for the estimated number of families now living in overcrowded dwellings. It is quite clear that neither private enterprise nor philanthropy, however active, can cope with the full extent of this gigantic requirement. With regard to the Government or local authorities undertaking the formidable task of providing adequate shelter on the scale and to the extent indicated, even were it desirable (which is open to grave doubt), the probabilities are exceedingly remote. From whence are the necessary funds to be drawn? By increased taxation of the community? My Lord Marquis in his baronial hall at Hatfield could (I don't know whether he would) bear the infliction with equanimity; but men in my position, the hard-working, struggling artisan, as well as the multitude of small tradesmen, bravely endeavouring to provide things honest in the sight of all men—these are they who would find additional taxation a burden

not easy to be borne. The taxgatherer is too familiar a figure in our doorways already.

In my humble judgment, it is not so much Government aid, as a vigorous development of the self-helping power of the people, that is needed at the present time. That the former has a function to perform in the matter I admit, not to do the work that is required, but to remove the difficulties and obstructions which prevent its being done.

It does not seem to have occurred to many of the recent writers and speakers on this question, that immediately above that appalling mass of abject poor now known as 'Outcast London,' ever on the verge of pauperism, or more or less tainted therewith, there is a still larger area of decent, respectable, working poor, most worthy of consideration, who could, and would, help in the solution of this complex problem, if the conditions were rendered available. Vast numbers of the industrial population thus referred to are not necessarily compelled to reside in the immediate neighbourhoods of their several occupations, convenience more than anything else being, as a rule, the determining factor. If this question of convenience can be overridden by more potent considerations, and the removal of the family hearth to the suburbs effected, then there will be more room for those compelled to remain behind. Assuming the possibilities of removing twenty thousand families, of a total population of one hundred thousand souls, to reside in cottage-dwellings outside, but sufficiently near the Metropolis, that would, at any rate, afford opportunity for appreciably relieving that terrible congestion of human beings in cramped and unhealthy areas. Many schemes for effecting such removals gradually have been propounded, and some, such as that of the Artisan Dwellings Company, carried into effect with satisfactory results. But these do not reach or affect the class it is most desirable to help. The surrounding conditions are not sufficiently stimulating, or free from difficulties. Convenience, which, as has been seen, largely determines so many to reside as near as possible to their several occupations, must be met by cheap and abundant facilities for locomotion to and from the suburbs. Here the Government can well help, not by providing, but insisting on the provision of means and opportunities for overcrowded workers getting into the country beyond. But the mere opportunity of getting to and from suburban dwellings is not all. However abundant the facilities for locomotion, personal convenience or nearness to employment will always win the day unless some very stimulating conditions are brought into exercise. In acquisitiveness—the love or desire to possess property—in the ambition, coupled with increased opportunities, to become one's own landlord, we shall secure a potent factor in the solution of the great problem.

It may be said that all this has been anticipated by existing

building societies, with no special or marked result. When, however, the conditions under which these societies carry on operations are examined, the reasons for their partial success will be apparent. There are two distinctive kinds of such societies in existence: permanent and terminable. The former, in addition to members' subscriptions, receives money on deposit or loan, and is thus able to make advances at any time for the purchase of house property, securing the repayment by means of a mortgage. The full value or cost of such property, however, is not advanced, generally it is three-fourths or four-fifths. Thus on a house costing or valued at 200*l.*, a permanent building society will only advance 150*l.* to 160*l.* towards the purchase, *the balance of cost having to be provided somehow from other sources.* On the other hand terminable societies, such as the Star-Bowkett, advance the full amount of the purchase money of a house to members, but only as subscriptions and repayments accumulate. These advances, or appropriations as they are termed, are determined either by ballot, or by sale amongst the members. Under the balloting arrangement, which may be regarded as one of chance or hazard, a man may have to wait, and some *must* wait, years before obtaining an advance, it not infrequently happening that the member who least requires it has the winning number. The alternative of this arrangement is a sale amongst the members, of the appropriation or amount to be advanced, which we will suppose to be 200*l.*, for the immediate use of which, thirty pounds and upwards is sometimes offered. Thus in the case of a man seeking assistance, whether from a permanent building society or purchasing an appropriation from a terminable one, in order to become the owner of a house worth 200*l.* he must be prepared to find at the outset thirty, forty, or fifty pounds. That this should not be an insuperable difficulty to tens of thousands of metropolitan workmen is perfectly true, but it is equally true that there are vast numbers of those whom it is most desirable to help, to whom it is an insurmountable barrier. It is too frequently the case that men only realise the advantage of having a house of their own when surrounded by a family, and consequently less able to save or put by for effecting the purchase. The great requirement is, some clearly defined arrangements whereby a man could enter into possession of a house, without the necessity of himself providing the required deposit in a lump sum, and then by capitalising the rent, ultimately pay off or discharge the total cost.

There are, however, other difficulties in the way of working men becoming the builders or owners of their houses. The question of site is a knotty one. Some landowners decline to let land for such dwellings, naturally enough preferring that a larger value in timber and bricks should be placed on the same area. Then, too, the 'respectables' of the immediate neighbourhood not infrequently oppose, and that successfully, the erection of working-class dwellings,

the builders and furnishers of palaces and palatial mansions being evidently regarded as unfit to live in contiguity with their own handiwork. Apart, however, from these aspects of the question, it is certain that under existing circumstances, the obtaining of sites whereon working men might be induced to rear their own dwellings in the immediate neighbourhood is practically impossible. Here, again, I think that the Government might usefully step in and help. The suggestion offered is that the Department of Woods and Forests should acquire, say one hundred acres of building land in close proximity to each of six or eight principal railways radiating from the Metropolis. This land to be surveyed and laid out in allotments, with proper roads, &c., such allotments to be let on building leases to working men at a low chief rent in perpetuity. Assuming that, in addition to the necessary streets or roads, each acre of land would admit of the erection of fifty four-roomed cottages, with the usual conveniences, garden space, &c., there would thus be from thirty to forty thousand cottage sites available. Estimating the cost of such land, and the laying out, &c. thereof at one thousand pounds per acre, an annual rental of twenty shillings per site would give an ample return. Considering that a Governmental loan of eight millions sterling was offered to a foreign company in order to increase the waterway across the Isthmus of Suez, surely one-tenth part only of that sum might be well and usefully spared for encouraging or stimulating a spirit of self-help among the metropolitan working community, by the offer of sites for cottages in perpetuity on easy terms? Failing other sources for obtaining the necessary funds, it is further suggested that such might be secured by the sale of Crown lands, farms, &c., in Hainault Forest and elsewhere.

But beyond the provision of sites, it would be necessary to arrange for advancing the one-fourth or one-fifth of the cost or purchase money. This might be done by an association which would advance the necessary deposit on loan, the balance being obtained through the ordinary channels of what are known as building societies, it being held desirable to utilise all existing facilities as far as possible. It might be found practicable for permanent building societies to advance the total cost of a dwelling, accepting the security of the association for the deposit money, leaving the balance to be covered by the usual mortgage. Furthermore, the association might provide plans or designs, also supervision by efficient clerks of works, care being taken that the buildings be well and substantially erected, and the contract faithfully adhered to. These are points on which a working man wants help, because the majority understands but little of an architect's plans and details, and whatever knowledge they may have of contractors' work, their influence and control will be slight.

In some cases employers might be induced to guarantee the deposit of one-fourth or one-fifth for men in their employ as an acknowledgment of steady faithful service. A man is not likely to

be a less useful servant on arriving at the dignity of being his own landlord. Good substantial roomy cottages, containing living room, scullery or kitchen, three dormitories, one for parents, one for girls, and one for boys, could be erected in blocks of four for about 140*l.* each.

Such are the salient points of the suggested scheme. Under it, men by capitalising their rents would be enabled to become the owners of their own residences, an attainment of which, under existing circumstances, there is not the remotest probability. It is, unfortunately, too true that vast numbers of our working population never save because what they can spare appears so little. By this plan many would be inducted into a habit of thrift which would in all probability become permanent or fixed. The small savings added to the amount of rent usually paid would uplift thousands of families into a position of comfort, respectability, and comparative independence utterly unattainable under other conditions.

To summarise these reflections:—

1. If the wretchedly miserable remuneration of the humblest class of workpeople is, according to the canons of political economy, due to an excess of labourers competing for employment, the reasonable conclusion is that measures to diminish or reduce the pressure are necessary. Yet State-aided emigration of towns' populations is a subject of extreme difficulty, requiring much careful, judicious thought and further investigation before being entered upon.

2. If, however, on the other hand, excessively ill-paid labour is more or less occasioned by the intense competition of tradesmen and employers, each intent on outstripping his neighbours in cheapening that which is required by their customers or society generally, then the labourer is defrauded of his due. Those who render useful and necessary service to the community, in whatever capacity, have a just claim for such remuneration as will, at the very least, provide the absolute necessities of life—wholesome food, decent shelter, comfortable raiment, and means of warmth for themselves and families. Where needful or indispensable labour is unable to provide these, it is an indication of a wrong somewhere. The opulent and prosperous have to consider how far their comforts and enjoyments have been purchased by the miseries and wretchedness of the poor.

3. Removal of neglected children from their abject surroundings, however desirable, is a perilous experiment. It would be an incalculable misfortune for the hardworking, struggling poor to become discontented by seeing vicious neighbours relieved of their parental obligations, and the children thereof better fed, better clothed, better housed, better educated, and with brighter prospects and opportunities than their own. It is meet and right to sympathise with the grossly neglected childhood of our cities and large towns, but unwisdom in the practical expression thereof is much to be feared and deprecated.

4. The question of overcrowding is intensely complicated by the presence of the Irish Catholic element, whose obstructiveness to social reform is not amenable to ordinary influence. I have expressed hopelessness in regard thereto, but remembering how religiously this section of the community observe the commands of their Church to abstain from animal food on Friday, there will surely be no irreverence in suggesting that cleanliness, thrift, and the domestic economies should be placed in the same category with fasts. What a change would come over some of the worst districts of London, Liverpool, Manchester, and the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, if the virtues of everyday life were as stringently observed, as abstinence from a particular kind of food on a particular day in the week! The latter at its best appears a very negative kind of virtue.

5. Excessive rents are very largely the outcome of short leaseholds and heavy ground charges, influences hitherto little recognised. This factor in the great problem requires probing to the bottom. It must not be omitted from inquiry should the suggested Royal Commission be appointed.

6. To assist in relieving overcrowding, especially in the Metropolis, block buildings such as those erected by the Peabody trust are necessary. It is not, however, needful, nor would it be wise, for the Government to undertake such erections. The trust named is doing its work well. It has been materially assisted by a Government loan, and in that direction might be still further helped. That is a very different thing to doing the work. The function of the Government should be to encourage and help others to undertake the needful work, and this, especially,

7. By providing the working poor with the first requirement for becoming their own landlords, sites for houses. Cottage dwellings have their part to play in the rehousing of the London poor. In my judgment it is the most important, if not an absolutely essential, part. There is real danger that the feverish activities of benevolent men and women, which have been aroused by the 'Bitter Cry of Outcast London,' will encourage the downtrodden to regard their social uplifting as a work to be done for them, instead of being themselves the active agents in ameliorating their condition. The slough of despond will never be filled up if such a feeling is evoked. The plan or arrangement herein suggested—Government aid to secure sites, and quasi-benevolent help to facilitate the securing possession of roomy dwellings, with a definite prospect of becoming the undisputed owner thereof, would, it is respectfully submitted, be one of the most effectual means towards solving the great problem yet suggested. By substituting municipal authorities for the Government in providing sites, this plan would be practicable in all our provincial cities and large towns, with a general advantage to the community.

WILLIAM GLAZIER.

[NOTE.—The subjoined letter from the author (a stranger to the Editor) accompanied his manuscript, and is given by his consent to authenticate his position as a working artisan.

37 Virginia Street, Southport :

November 14, 1883.

Sir,—By this post I venture to forward a communication on the great problem to which statesmen, divines, and social reformers are devoting so much attention. It is submitted with much diffidence. Written in the intervals of labour at the bench, its literary shortcomings are but too palpable or evident to myself. My one sole apology for forwarding it is, that I do honestly think the suggestions towards the end deserving of consideration. If you decide to accept the paper, subject to your own decision I should prefer its publication under the signature at the end. My avocation as a building operative brings me much into contact with Irish labourers. As a matter of policy I don't want to excite their ill-will. Although they do not resent any plain speaking personally uttered, they would be sure to tackle me for publishing my opinions on themselves. Nevertheless, whatever is the rule with regard to the names of writers must be applied to me. With many apologies

I am yours obediently,
WILLIAM GLAZIER.

In a second letter the author waived his request to be pseudonymous, and added :

I am well known in this town, and other parts of Lancashire, as a working artisan, and may be seen almost any day following my avocation either at the bench or some out-door job. Not having been to school since I was twelve years of age (I am now fifty-eight), the difficulty I experience in endeavouring to express myself concisely, consecutively, and in fairly understandable English, can hardly be conceived by your educated readers.

Ed. Nineteenth Century.]

OUTCAST RUSSIA.

THE JOURNEY TO SIBERIA.

SIBERIA—the land of exile—has always appeared in the conceptions of the Europeans as a land of horrors, as a land of the chains and *knot*, where convicts are flogged to death by cruel officials, or killed by overwork in mines; as a land of unutterable sufferings of the masses and of horrible prosecutions of the foes of the Russian Government. Surely nobody, Russian or foreigner, has crossed the Ural Mountains and stopped on their water-divide, at the border-pillar that bears the inscription ‘Europe’ on one side, and ‘Asia’ on the other, without shuddering at the idea that he is entering the land of woes. Many a traveller has certainly said to himself that the inscription of Dante’s *Inferno* would be more appropriate to the boundary-pillar of Siberia than these two words which pretend to delineate two continents.

As the traveller descends, however, towards the rich prairies of Western Siberia; as he notices there the relative welfare and the spirit of independence of the Siberian peasant, and compares them with the wretchedness and subjection of the Russian peasant; as he makes acquaintance with the hospitality of the supposed ex-convicts—the ‘Siberyaks’—and with the intelligent society of the Siberian towns, and perceives nothing of the exiles, and hears nothing of them in conversations going on about everything but this subject; as he hears the boasting reply of the Eastern Yankee who drily says to the stranger that in Siberia the exiles are far better off than peasants in Russia—he feels inclined to admit that his former conceptions about the great penal colony of the North were rather exaggerated, and that, on the whole, the exiles may be not so unfortunate in Siberia, as they were represented to be by sentimental writers.

Very many visitors to Siberia, and not foreigners alone, have made this mistake. Some occasional circumstance—something like a convoy of exiles met with on the muddy road during an autumn storm, or a Polish insurrection on the shores of Lake Baikal, or, at least, such a rencontre with an exile in the forests of Yakutsk, as

Adolf Erman made and so warmly described in his *Travels*—some occasional striking fact, in short, must fall under the notice of the traveller, to give him the necessary impulse for discovering the truth amidst the official misrepresentation and the non-official indifference: to open his eyes and to display before them the abyss of sufferings that are concealed behind those three words: Exile to Siberia. Then he perceives that besides the official story of Siberia there is another sad story, through which the shrieks of the exiles have been going on as a black thread from the remotest times of the conquest until now. Then he learns that, however dark, the plain popular conception of Siberia is still brighter than the horrible naked truth; and that the horrible tales he has heard long ago, in his childhood, and has supposed since to be tales of a remote past, in reality are tales of what is going on now, in our century which writes so much, and cares so little, about humanitarian principles.

This story already lasts for three centuries. As soon as the Tsars of Moscow learned that their rebel Cossacks had conquered a new country 'beyond the Stone' (the Ural), they sent there batches of exiles, ordering them to settle along the rivers and footpaths that connected together the blockhouses erected, in the space of seventy years, from the sources of the Kama to the Sea of Okhotsk. Where no free settlers would settle, the chained colonisers had to undertake a desperate struggle against the wilderness. As to those individuals whom the rising powers of the Tsars considered most dangerous, we find them with the most advanced parties of Cossacks who were sent 'across the mountains, in search for new lands.' No distance, however immense, no wilderness, however unpracticable, seemed sufficient to the suspicious rule of the *boyars* to be put between such exiles and the capital of the Tsardom. And, as soon as a blockhouse was built, or a convent erected, at the very confines of the Tsar's dominions—beyond the Arctic circle, in the *toundras* of the Obi, or beyond the mountains of Daouria—the exiles were there, building themselves the cells that had to be their graves.

Even now, Siberia is, on account of its steep mountains, its thick forests, wild streams, and rough climate, one of the most difficult countries to explore. It is easy to conceive what it was 300 years ago. Even now it is that part of the Russian Empire where the arbitrariness and brutality of officers are the most unlimited. What was it, then, during the seventeenth century? 'The river is shallow; the rafts are heavy; the chiefs are wicked, and their sticks are big; their whips cut through the skin, and their tortures are cruel; fire and strappado; but the men are hungry, and they die, poor creatures, at once after the torture,'—wrote the *protopope* Avvakum, the fanatic priest of the 'old religion' whom we met with the first parties going to take possession of the Amor.—'How long, my master, will these tortures last?' asks his wife as she falls attenuated on the ice of the

river, after a journey that already has lasted for five years.—‘Until our death, my dear; until our death,’ replies this precursor of the steel-characters of our own times; and both, man and wife, continue their march towards the place where the *protopope* will be chained to the walls of an icy cellar digged out by his own hands.

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the flow of exiles poured into Siberia has never ceased. During the first years of the century, we see the inhabitants of Uglitch exiled to Pelym, together with their bell which rang the alarm when it became known that the young Demetrius has been assassinated by order of the regent Boris Godunoff. Men and bell alike have tongues and ears torn away, and are confined in a hamlet on the borders of the *toundra*. Later on they are followed by the *raskolniks* (nonconformists) who revolt against the aristocratic innovations of Nikon in Church matters. Those who escape the massacres, like that ‘of the Three Thousand,’ go to people the Siberian wildernesses. They are soon followed by the serfs who make desperate attempts of overthrowing the yoke freshly imposed on them; by the leaders of the Moscow mob revolted against the rule of the *boyars*; by the militia of the *streletsy* who revolt against the all-crushing despotism of Peter I.; by the Little Russians who fight for their autonomy and old institutions; by all those populations who will not submit to the yoke of the rising empire; by the Poles—by three great and several smaller batches of Poles—who are despatched to Siberia by thousands at once, after each attempt at recovering their independence. . . . Later on, all those whom Russia fears to keep in her towns and villages—murderers and simple vagrants, nonconformists and rebels; thieves and paupers who are unable to pay for a passport; serfs who have incurred the displeasure of their proprietors; and still later on, ‘free peasants’ who have incurred the disgrace of an *ispravnik*, or are unable to pay the ever-increasing taxes—all these are going to die in the marshy lowlands, in the thick forests, in the dark mines. This current flows until our own days, steadily increasing in an alarming proportion. Seven to eight thousand were exiled every year at the beginning of this century; 18,000 to 19,000 are exiled now—not to speak of the years when this figure was doubled, as was the case after the last Polish insurrection—making thus a total of more than 600,000 people who have crossed the Ural Mountains since 1823, when the first records of exile were taken.

Few of those who have endured the horrors of hard labour and exile in Siberia have committed to paper their sad experience. The *protopope* Avvakum did, and his letters still feed the fanaticism of the *raskolniks*. The melancholy stories of the Menshikoff, the Dolgorouky, the Biron, and other exiles of high rank have been transmitted to posterity by their sympathisers. Our young republican poet Ryléeff, before being hung in 1827, told in a beautiful

poem, 'Vainarovsky,' the sufferings of a Little Russian patriot. Several memoirs of the 'Decembrists' (exiled for the insurrection of December 26, 1825), and the poem of Nekrasoff, 'The Russian Women,' are still inspiring the young Russian hearts with love for the prosecuted and hate to the prosecutors. Dostoevsky has told in a remarkable psychological study of prison life his experience at the fortress of Omsk after 1848; and several Poles have described the martyrdom of their friends after the revolutions of 1831 and 1848. . . . But, what are all these pains in comparison with the sufferings endured by half a million of people, from the day when, chained to iron rods, they started from Moscow for a two or three years' walk towards the mines of Transbaikalia, until the day when, broken down by hard labour and privations, they died at a distance of 5,000 miles from their native villages, in a country whose scenery and customs were as strange to them as its inhabitants—a strong, intelligent, but egotistic race!

What are the sufferings of the few, in comparison with those of the thousands under the cat-o'-nine-tails of the legendary monster Rozguldéeff, whose name is still the horror of the Transbaikalian villages; with the pains of those who, like the Polish doctor Szokalsky and his companions, died under the *seventh thousand* of rod strokes for an attempt to escape; with the sufferings of those thousands of women who followed their husbands and for whom death was a release from a life of hunger, of sorrow, and of humiliation; with the sufferings of those thousands who yearly undertake to make their escape from Siberia and walk through the virgin forests, living on mushrooms and berries, and inspired with the hope of at least seeing again their native village and their kinsfolk?

Who has told the less striking, but not less dramatic pains of those thousands who spin out an aimless life in the hamlets of the far north, and put an end to their wearisome existence by drowning in the clear waters of the Yenisei? M. Maximoff has tried, in his work on *Hard Labour and Exile*, to raise a corner of the veil that conceals these sufferings; but he has shown only a small corner of the dark picture. The whole remains and probably will remain unknown; its very features are obliterated day by day, leaving but a faint trace in the folk-lore and in the songs of the exiles; and each decade brings its new features, its new forms of misery for the ever-increasing number of exiles.

It is obvious that I shall not venture to draw the whole of this picture in the narrow limits of a review article. I must necessarily limit my task to the description of the exile as it is now—say, during the last ten years. No less than 165,000 human beings have been transported to Siberia during this short space of time; a very high figure of criminality, indeed, for a population numbering 72,000,000, if all exiles were 'criminals.' Less than one-half of them, however,

crossed the Ural in accordance with sentences of the courts. The others were thrown into Siberia, without having seen any judges, by simple order of the Administrative, or in accordance with resolutions taken by their communes—nearly always under the pressure of the omnipotent local authorities. Out of the 151,184 exiles who crossed the Ural during the years 1867 to 1876, no less than 78,676 belonged to this last category. The remaining were condemned by courts: 18,582 to hard labour, and 54,316 to be settled in Siberia, mostly for life, with or without loss of all their civil rights.¹

Twenty years ago, the exiles traversed on foot all the distance between Moscow and the place to which they were despatched. They had thus to walk something like 4,700 miles in order to reach the hard-labour colonies of Transbaikalia, and 5,200 miles to reach Yakutsk. Nearly a two years' walk for the former, and two years' and a half for the second. Some amelioration has been introduced since. After having been gathered from all parts of Russia at

¹ Our criminal statistics are so imperfect that a thorough classification of exiles is very difficult. We have but one good work on this subject, by M. Anuchin, published a few years ago by the Russian Geographical Society, and crowned with its great gold medal; it gives the criminal statistics for the years 1827 to 1846. However old, these statistics still give an approximate idea of the present conditions, more recent partial statistics having shown that since that time all figures have doubled, but the relative proportions of different categories of exiles have remained nearly the same. Thus, to quote but one instance, out of the 159,755 exiled during the years 1827 to 1846, no less than 79,909, or 50 per cent., were exiled by simple orders of the Administrative; and thirty years later we find again nearly the same rate—slightly increased—of arbitrary exile (78,676 out of 151,184 in 1867 to 1876). The same is approximately true with regard to other categories. It appears from M. Anuchin's researches that out of the 79,846 condemned by courts, 14,531 (725 per year) were condemned as assassins; 14,248 for heavier crimes, such as incendiarism, robbery, and forgery; 40,666 for stealing, and 1,426 for smuggling, making thus a total of 70,871 cases (about 3,545 per year) which would have been condemned by the Codes—although not always by a jury—of all countries in Europe. The remainder, however, (that is, nearly 89,000), were exiled for offences which depended chiefly, if not entirely, upon the political institutions of Russia: their crimes were: rebellion against any serf-proprietors and authorities (16,456 cases); nonconformist-fanaticism (2,133 cases); desertion from a twenty-five years' military service (1,651 cases); and escape from Siberia, mostly from Administrative exile (18,328 cases). Finally, we find among them the enormous figure of 48,466 'vagrants,' of whom the laureate of the Geographical Society says:—'Vagrancy mostly means simply going to a neighbouring province without a passport'—out of 48,466 'vagrants,' 40,000, at least, 'being merely people who have not complied with passport regulations' (that is—their wife and children being brought to starvation, they not having the necessary five or ten roubles for taking a passport, and walking from Kalouga, or Tula, to Odessa, or Astrakhan, in search of labour). And he adds:—'Considering these 80,000 exiled by order of the Administrative, we not only doubt their criminality; we simply doubt the very existence of such crimes as those imputed to them.' The number of such 'criminals' has not diminished since. It has nearly doubled, like other figures. Russia continues to send every year to Siberia, for life, four to five thousand men and women, who in other States would be simply condemned to a fine of a few shillings. To these 'criminals' we must add no less than 1,500 women and 2,000 to 2,500 children who follow every year their husbands, or parents, enduring all the horrors of a march through Siberia and of the exile.

Moscow, or at Nijni-Novgorod, they are transported now by steamer to Perm, by rail to Ekaterinburg, in carriages to Tumen, and again by steamer to Tomsk. Thus, according to a recent English book on exile to Siberia, they have to walk 'only the distance beyond Tomsk.' In plain figures, this trifling distance means 2,065 miles to Kara, something like a nine months' foot journey. If the prisoner be sent to Yakutsk he has 'only' 2,940 miles to walk, and the Russian Government having discovered that Yakutsk is a place still too near to St. Petersburg to keep these political exiles, and sending them now to Verkhoyansk and Nijne-Kolymsk (in the neighbourhood of Nordenskjöld's wintering-station), a distance of some fifteen hundred miles must be added to the former 'trifling' distance, and we have again the magic figure of 4,500 miles—or two years' walk—reconstituted in full.

However, for the great mass of exiles, the foot journey has been reduced by one-half, and they begin their peregrinations in Siberia in special carriages. M. Maximoff has very vividly described how the convicts at Irkutsk, to whose judgment such a moving machine was submitted, declared at once that it was the most stupid vehicle that could be invented for the torment of both horses and convicts. Such carriages, which have no accommodation for deadening the shocks, move slowly on the rugged, jolting road, ploughed over and over by thousands of heavily loaded cars. In Western Siberia, amidst the marshes on the eastern slope of the Ural, the journey becomes a true torture, as the highway is covered with loose beams of wood, which recall the sensation experienced when a finger is dragged across the keys of a piano, the black keys included. The journey is hard, even for the traveller who is lying on a thick felt mattress in a comfortable *tarantass*, and it is easy to conceive what the convict experiences, who is bound to sit motionless for eight or ten hours on the bench of the famous vehicle, having but a few rags to shelter him from snow and rain.

Happily enough this journey lasts but a few days, as at Tumen the exiles are embarked on special barges, or floating prisons, taken in tow by steamers, and in the space of eight or ten days are brought to Tomsk. I hardly need say that, however excellent the idea of thus reducing by one-half the long journey through Siberia, its partial realisation has been most imperfect. The convict barges are usually so overcrowded, and are usually kept in such a state of filthiness, that they have become real nests of infection. 'Each barge has been built for the transport of 800 convicts and the convoy,' wrote the Tomsk correspondent of the *Moscow Telegraph*, on November 15, 1881; 'the calculation of the size of the barges has not been made, however, according to the necessary cubical space, but according to the interests of the owners of the steamers, MM. Kurbatoff and Ignatoff. These gentlemen occupy for their own purposes two com-

partments for a hundred men each, and thus eight hundred must take the room destined for six hundred. The ventilation is very bad, there being no accommodation at all for that purpose, and the cabinets are of an unimaginable nastiness.' He adds that 'the mortality on these barges is very great, especially among the children,' and his information is fully confirmed by official figures published last year in all newspapers. It appears from these figures that eight to ten per cent. of the convict passengers died during their ten days' journey on board these barges; that is, something like sixty to eighty out of eight hundred.

'Here you see,' wrote friends of ours who have made this passage, 'the reign of death. Diphtheria and typhus pitilessly cut down the lives of adults and children, especially of these last. Corpses of children are thrown out nearly at each station. The hospital, placed under the supervision of an ignorant soldier, is always overcrowded.'

At Tomsk the convicts stop for a few days. One part of them—especially the common-law exiles, transported by order of the Administrative—are sent to some district of the province of Tomsk which extends from the spurs of the Altay ridge on the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north. The others are despatched farther towards the east. It is easy to conceive what a hell the Tomsk prison becomes when the convicts arriving every week cannot be sent on to Irkutsk with the same speed, on account of inundations, or obstacles on the rivers. The prison was built to contain 960 souls, but it never holds less than 1,300 to 1,400, and very often 2,200, or more. One-quarter of the prisoners are sick, but the infirmary can shelter only one-third, or so, of those who are in need of it; and so the sick remain in the same rooms, upon or beneath the same platforms where the remainder are crammed to the amount of three men for each free place. The shrieks of the sick, the cries of the fever-stricken patients, and the rattle of the dying mix together with the jokes and laughter of the prisoners, with the curses of the warders. The exhalations of this human heap mix with those of their wet and filthy clothes and with the emanations of the horrible *Parasha*. 'You are suffocated as you enter the room, you are fainting and must run back to breathe some fresh air; you must accustom yourself by-and-by to the horrible emanations which float like a fog in the river'—such is the testimony of all those who have entered unexpectedly a Siberian prison. The 'families room' is still more horrible. 'Here you see,' says a Siberian official in charge of the prisons—M. Mishlo—'hundreds of women and children closely packed together, in such a state of misery, as no imagination could picture.' The families of the convicts receive no cloth from the State. Mostly peasant women, who, as a rule, never have more than one dress at once; mostly reduced to starvation as soon as their husbands were taken into custody, they have buckled on their sole cloth when starting

from Arkhangelsk or Astrakhan, and, after their long peregrinations from one look-up to another, after the long years of preliminary detention and months of journey, only rags have remained on their shoulders from their weather-worn clothes. The naked emaciated body and the wounded feet appear from beneath the tattered clothes as they are sitting on the nasty floor, eating the hard black bread received from compassionate peasants. Amidst this moving heap of human beings who cover each square foot of the platforms and beneath them, you perceive the dying child on the knees of his mother, and close by, the new-born baby. The baby is the delight of, the consolation to these women, each of whom surely has more human feelings than any of the chiefs and warders. It is passed from hand to hand; the best rags are parted with to cover its shivering limbs, the tenderest caresses are for it. . . . How many have grown up in this way! One of them stands by my side as I write these lines, and repeats to me the stories she has heard so many times from her mother about the humanity of the 'scelerates' and the infamy of their 'chiefs.' She describes to me the toys that the convicts made for her during the interminable journey—plain toys inspired by a good-hearted humour, and side by side, the miserable proceedings, the exactions of money, the curses and blows, the whistling of the whips of the chiefs.

The prison, however, is cleared by-and-by, as the parties of convicts start to continue their journey. When the season and the state of the rivers permit it, parties of 500 convicts each, with women and children, leave the Tomsk prison every week, and begin their foot journey to Irkutsk and Transbaikalia. Those who have seen such a party in march, will never forget it. A Russian painter, M. Jacoby, has tried to represent it on canvas; his picture is sickening, but the reality is still worse.

You see a marshy plain where the icy wind blows freely, driving before it the snow that begins to cover the frozen soil. Morasses with small shrubs, or crumpled trees, bent down by wind and snow, spread as far as the eye can reach; the next village is twenty miles distant. Low mountains, covered with thick pine forests, mingling with the grey snow-clouds, rise in the dust on the horizon. A track, marked all along by poles to distinguish it from the surrounding plain, ploughed and rugged by the passage of thousands of cars, covered with ruts that break down the hardest wheels, runs through the naked plain. The party slowly moves along this road. In front, a row of soldiers opens the march. Behind them, heavily advance the hard-labour convicts, with half-shaved heads, wearing grey clothes, with a yellow diamond on the back, and open shoes worn out by the long journey and exhibiting the tatters in which the wounded feet are wrapped. Each convict wears a chain, riveted to his ankles, its rings being twisted into rags—if the convict has

collected enough of alms during his journey to pay the blacksmith for riveting it looser on his feet. The chain goes up each foot and is suspended to a girdle. Another chain closely ties both hands, and a third chain binds together six or eight convicts. Every false movement of any of the pack is felt by all his chain-companions; the feebler is dragged forward by the stronger, and he must not stop: the way—the *étape*—is long, and the autumn day is short.

Behind the hard-labour convicts march the *poselentsy* (condemned to be settled in Siberia) wearing the same grey cloth and the same kind of shoes. Soldiers accompany the party on both sides, meditating perhaps the order given at the departure:—‘If one of them runs away, shoot him down. If he is killed, five roubles of reward for you, and a dog’s death to the dog!’ In the rear you discover a few cars that are drawn by the small, attenuated, cat-like peasant’s horses. They are loaded with the bags of the convicts, with the sick or dying, who are fastened by ropes on the top of the load.

Behind the cars hasten the wives of the convicts; a few have found a free corner on a loaded car, and crouch there when unable to move further, whilst the great number march behind the cars, leading their children by the hands, or bearing them on their arms. Dressed in rags, freezing under the gusts of the cold wind, cutting their almost naked feet on the frozen ruts, how many of them repeat the words of Avvakum’s wife:—‘These tortures, ah dear, how long will they last?’ In the rear, comes a second detachment of soldiers who drive with the butt-ends of their rifles those women who stop exhausted in the freezing mud of the road. The procession is closed by the car of the commander of the party.²

As the party enters some great village, it begins to sing the *Miloserdnaya*—the ‘charity song.’ They call it a song, but it hardly is that. It is a succession of woes escaping from hundreds of breasts at once, a recital in very plain words expressing with a childish simplicity the sad fate of the convict—a horrible lamentation by means of which the Russian exile appeals to the mercy of other miserales like himself. Centuries of sufferings, of pains and misery, of persecutions that crush down the most vital forces of our nation, are heard in these recitals and shrieks. These tones of deep sorrow recall the tortures of the last century, the stifled cries under the sticks and whips of our own time, the darkness of the cellars, the wildness of the woods, the tears of the starving wife.

² The Russian law says that the families of the convicts are not submitted to the control of the convoy. In reality they are submitted to the same treatment as the convicts. To quote but one instance. The Tomsk correspondent of the *Moscow Telegraph* wrote on November 3, 1881:—‘We have seen on the march the party which left Tomsk on September 14. The exhausted women and children literally stuck in the mud, and the soldiers dealt them blows, to make them advance and to keep pace with the party.’

The peasants of the villages on the Siberian highway understand these tunes; they know their true meaning from their own experience, and the appeal of the *Neschastnyie*—of the ‘sufferers,’ as our people call all prisoners—is answered by the poor; the most destitute widow, signing herself with the cross, brings her coppers, or her piece of bread, and deeply bows before the chained ‘sufferer,’ grateful to him for not disdaining her small offering.

Late in the afternoon, after having covered some fifteen or twenty miles, the party reaches the *étape* where it spends the night and takes one day’s rest each three days. It accelerates its pace as soon as the paling that incloses the old log-wood building is perceived, and the strongest run to take possession by force of the best places on the platforms. The *étapes* were mostly built fifty years ago, and after having resisted the inclemencies of the climate, and the passage of a hundred thousand of convicts, they have become now rotten and foul from top to bottom. The old logwood house refuses shelter to the chained travellers brought under its roof, and wind and snow freely enter the interstices between its rotten beams; heaps of snow are accumulated in the corners of the rooms. The *étape* was built to shelter 150 convicts; that being the average size of parties thirty years ago. At present the parties consist of 450 to 500 human beings, and the 500 must lodge on the space parsimoniously calculated for 150.³

The stronger ones, or the aristocracy among the convicts—the elder vagrants and the great murderers—cover each square inch of the platforms; the remainder, that is, double the number of the former, lie down on the rotten floor, covered with an inch of sticky filth, beneath and between the platforms. What becomes of the rooms when the doors are closed, and the whole space filled with human beings who lie naked on their nasty clothes impregnated with water, will be easily imagined.

The *étapes*, however, are palaces when compared with the *half-étapes*, where the parties spend only the nights. These buildings are still smaller, and, as a rule, still more dilapidated, still more rotten and foul. Sometimes they are in such a state as to compel the party to spend the cold Siberian nights in light barracks erected in the yard, and without fire. As a rule, the *half-étape* has no special compartment for the women, and they must lodge in the room of the soldiers (see Maximoff’s *Siberia*). With the resignation of our ‘all-enduring’ Russian mothers, they squat down with their babies

³ The Russian law, which mostly has been written without any knowledge of the real conditions it deals with, forbids to send out such numerous parties. But, in reality, the normal party numbers now 480 persons. In 1881, according to the *Golos*, 6,507 convicts were sent in sixteen parties, making thus an average of 406 convicts per party. N. Lopatin gives us the figure of 480 as the average size of parties.

wrapped in rags, in some corner of the room below the platforms or close by the door, among the rifles of the escort.

No wonder that, according to official statistics, out of the 2,561 children less than fifteen years old who were sent in 1881 to Siberia with their parents, *'a very small part survived.'* 'The majority,' the *Golos* says, 'could not support the very bad conditions of the journey, and died before, or immediately after, having reached their destination in Siberia.' In sober truth, the transportation to Siberia, as practised now, is a real 'Massacre of Innocents.'

Shall I add that there is no accommodation for the sick, and that one must have exceptionally robust health to survive an illness during the journey? There are but five small hospitals, with a total of a hundred beds, on the whole stretch between Tomsk and Irkutsk, that is, on a distance which represents at least a four months' journey. As for those who cannot hold out until a hospital is reached, it was written to the *Golos*, on January 5, 1881:—'They are left at the *étapes* without any medical help. The sick-room has no bedsteads, no beds, no cushions, no coverings, and of course nothing like linen. The 48½ *kopecks* per day that are allowed for the sick, remain mostly in full in the hands of the authorities.'

Shall I dwell upon the exactions to which the convicts are submitted, notwithstanding their dreadful misery, by the warders of the *étapes*? Is it not sufficient to say that the warders of these buildings are paid by the Crown, besides the allowance of corn flour for black bread, only with three roubles, or 6s. per year? 'The stove is out of order, you cannot light the fire,' says one of them, when the party arrives quite wet or frozen; and the party pays its tribute for permission to light the fire. 'The windows are under repair,' and the party pays for having some rags to fill up the openings through which freely blows the icy wind. 'Wash up the *étape* before leaving, or pay so much,' and the party pays again, and so on and so on. And shall I mention, too, the manner in which the convicts and their families are treated during the journey? Even the political exiles once revolted, in 1881, against an officer who had permitted himself to assault in the dark corridor a lady marched to Siberia for a political offence. The common-law exiles surely are not treated better than the political ones.

All these are not tales of the past. They are real pictures of what is going on now, at the very moment when I write these lines. My friend N. Lopatin, who made the same journey two years ago, and to whom I have shown these pages, fully confirms all the above statements, and adds much more which I do not mention only for want of space. What really is a tale of the past—of a very recent case—is the chaining together of eight or ten convicts. This horrible measure, however, was abolished in January 1881. At present, each convict has his hands chained separately from his comrades.

But still, the chain being very short, gives such a posture to the arms as renders the ten and twelve hours' march very difficult, not to speak of the insupportable rheumatic pain occasioned in the bones by the contact of the iron rings during the hard Siberian frosts. This pain, I am told and readily believe it, soon becomes a real torture.

I hardly need add that, contrary to the statements of a recent English traveller through Siberia, the political convicts perform the journey to Kara, or to the places where they are to be settled as *poselentsy*, under the same conditions as, and together with, the common-law convicts. The very fact of Izbitskiy and Debagorio-Mokrievitch having exchanged names with two common-law convicts, and having thus escaped from hard labour, proves that the English traveller's information was false. Nicholas Lopatin, whom I have already mentioned, and who has been condemned to settlement in Siberia, performed the journey on foot, in company with a dozen, or so, of comrades. It is true that a great number of Polish exiles of 1864, and notably all noblemen and chief convicts, were transported in carriages, on posting horses. The numerous political exiles, transported to Siberia by order of the Administrative, also perform the journey in the same way—where there are posting horses. But, since 1866, the political convicts (condemned by courts to hard labour or exile) have mostly made the journey on foot, together with common-law convicts. An exception was made in 1877–1879 for the few who were transported to Eastern Siberia during those three years. They were transported in cars, but following the line of the *élapes*. Since 1879, however, all political convicts—men and women alike, and many exiled by order of the Administrative—have made the journey precisely in the way I have described, very many of them chained, contrary to the law of 1827.

When writing his book on *Hard Labour and Exile*, M. Maximoff concluded it with the wish that the horrors of the foot-journey he had described might become as soon as possible matter of history. The transport of convicts on barges was then just inaugurated, and this measure had saved the State, during the first year, a sum of 40,000*l*. The Ministry of Justice was earnestly pressing at that time all honest men to tell what they knew about the exiles, and announced its readiness to undertake a complete reform of the whole system. There was no lack of men ready to devote their lives to ameliorating the sad fate of the exiles and to erasing for ever from our life the black reminiscence of exile in Siberia. But M. Maximoff's wish has not been realised. The Liberal movement of 1861 was crushed down by the Government; the attempts at reform were considered as 'dangerous tendencies,' and the transport of exiles to Siberia has remained what it was twenty years ago—a source of unutterable sufferings for nearly 20,000 of people.

The shameful system, branded at that time by all those who had

studied it, has maintained it-self in full; and, whilst the rotten buildings on the highway are falling to pieces, and the whole system disintegrates more and more, new thousands of men and women transported for such crimes as those, 'the very existence of which' was doubted twenty years ago, are added annually to the thousands already transported to Siberia, and their number is increasing every year in an awful proportion."

P. KRAPOTKINE.

(To be concluded.)

RECREATION.

THE kinds of recreation are so many, and their relations to health, to business, and to pleasure are so numerous, that it would be impossible to write briefly of them all. I shall limit myself to the influences of active recreations on our power and will for work, and to the methods by which it may be believed that those influences are usually exercised. I shall not include among the effects of recreations the promotion of the general health, though it may be counted as one of the most frequent and most important; neither shall I speak of the mere pleasure which they give, or of their relations to our social life, or of their utility to any except really working people; but amongst these I shall have in mind people of all ranks and all ages who work hard, whether of necessity or of choice. Happily for us, the working classes are not nearly all in one social group.

In the general meaning of active recreation we include two chief things: namely, the cessation of the regular work of our lives, and the active occupation, whether of body or mind or both, in something different in which we find pleasure. From both alike we expect and may obtain refreshment, that is, renewed fitness for our regular work. In the former of these parts of recreation, speaking generally, the structures of our body which have been at work are left at rest or are exercised in a different manner; in the latter, those which have not been at work are brought into activity.

These two parts of recreation may be said to be adjusted to two different necessities of our economy. It is a rule, with very few exceptions, that for any structure of our bodies to be kept in fitness for its office it must be sometimes exercised; and it is a rule, without exception, that in every exercise there is waste or alteration of structure, however immeasurably small, which must be repaired during rest. In all active recreations justly so called both these necessities are complied with, but in different proportions; and, for the repair which is to be accomplished during rest, recreation is not enough. This must be achieved in sleep. Recreation and sleep, together, give the complete refreshment of which, however dimly, we can be conscious in the feeling of fitness for renewed activity in the work at which we may have been fatigued. It is not always mere slang when

a man, after recreation and sleep, says that he feels very fit. He is so. As in some previous weariness and fatigue he was dimly conscious of the waste or impairment of structures which made him unfit or unwilling to continue at work, so, now, he becomes conscious, however dimly, of their restoration; and this may increase to a consciousness not only of their fitness for activity but of their need of it, and then to a desire which can hardly be restrained. He may feel that he must do something, even though there be no necessity for him to resume his regular work.

I said that I should speak of only active recreations, but it may be held that there is some measure of activity even in such rest as comes short of profound sleep. And many people seem content with recreation of this least active kind. They like the mere sitting-by and doing nothing; the letting their minds wander anywhere with no more use of meaning than in a dream: or they are content with the mere gossip and the easy talk of society; and, if they were really capable of considering, they would probably decide that they find in these things sufficient recreation. Others, much better than these, are content with quietude in their peaceful homes; they feel refreshed enough in the common events of a happy domestic life, and in the Sunday's rest with all the tranquillity that it may bring; and some of them ask, 'Are not these things enough for recreation? Need we do more than finish our assigned day's work and then be quiet, and then sleep, and be just fit for the same work to-morrow?'

It may be enough for some; and some measure of quietude, especially in home-life, some time daily spent in neither work nor play, some time in silence and reflection and in that which may best come after them: all these and the quietude and gentle occupation of the Sunday are, indeed, excellent recreations and helps to the next day's work. None should altogether neglect them. But for real working men and women, whether they be rich or poor, and whatever be their occupation; these are not enough. To give but one evidence of their insufficiency, the customs of the most vigorous people in the most vigorous nations of the world are against being content with them; and these customs, which have grown up naturally, show the just conviction that when we have finished a day's or, it may be, nearly a whole year's work, it is good to have some other active occupation of mind or body, or of both together, even though it be more fatiguing than the work itself was.

There is scarcely a greater contrast between men and the lower animals than in this matter of recreation. Young animals may play, springing or running hither and thither, evidently enjoying the exercise of both their muscles and their minds; but the elder, who may be compared with men, even with very young men, rarely show such signs of mere spontaneous activity. Those that work for us work and then rest; those that are free, seek their food and obey

the instincts and other necessities of life and then they, too, rest. Man alone refreshes himself by changing his method of activity ; man alone has habitual active recreations. And it may be generally observed, among the several races of men, that those which are the most highly cultivated, and whose occupations are the most various, strong and intellectual, have the most numerous and most active recreations.

A story has often been told of an Oriental who watched some English gentlemen playing cricket, and who said, when he was asked his opinion of the game, that he thought it a very good one, but could not see why the rich men did not pay poor ones to play it for them, while they might sit-by and watch it. He had not learned the happiness of a willing great activity, or its use in restoring fitness for work. Englishmen, more than any, seem to have learned this ; and it may surely be observed, among the nations of Europe, that those which are most laborious and successful in enterprise, most business-like, most vigorous in commerce and in intellectual culture, are those in which the most active recreations of mind and body are most prevalent. I say of mind and body ; for there are recreations of which the best part is that they require for their full enjoyment the most steadfast direction of the mind while the body is at rest. Such are those in which music and the fine arts are intensely enjoyed by some whose days are passed in the routine of any very different mental occupation or in muscular work. It would be as unreasonable to call these mental recreations inactive as it would be to attribute idleness to the profoundest thinker or to the most watchful judge, who sits for hours listening attentively and arranging in due order in his mind all the confusing evidence and contrary arguments which he hears. If we could have one estimate of all active efforts it might be in the amount of will employed in each of them ; and mental attention, whether in business or in recreation, may involve at least, as strong and as long an act of the will as any muscular exercise.

What, then, are the chief constituents of active recreation : of this retirement from work that fatigues, and this occupation in other things that refresh, even though, after another manner, they may fatigue ? The chief and the essential thing is the change ; and the love of recreation is among the examples of the enormous motive-power exerted in the world by the desire for change. It is often spoken of as a mere infirmity, a foolishness, that should be resisted ; and so it often is and with some people may be always so : but with those who are honest and hard-working it is no folly. The desire for change is as much a part of our very nature as is the desire for sleep or for food ; it is, as an instinct, to be scrupulously, however cautiously, obeyed ; and one of the best methods of obedience is in well-chosen recreations after business.

Can we, then, in all the varieties of recreation pursued by the

people of this country find any characters possessed by all, or which it is desirable that they should have? Crowds every year return from vacations of all kinds after all kinds of work: some have been shooting, some fishing, some climbing, some sailing; some studying pictures, some architecture; and, though many have done this or that only because it is a fashion among their friends, yet, doubtless, many more have chosen the recreation which they love best. And far more numerous than these who have come back from their vacations are the crowds, the thousands, who every night are seeking recreation, after their various day's work, in theatres and clubs, in card-playing, music, singing, and a hundred more amusements. All these are seeking change from the daily work; all are seeking pleasure; many will not find it, and many will not feel fitter for their next day's work; but many will, having chosen recreations well suited to them, even though they may not have been conscious of any good reasons for the choice and have only obeyed some natural inclination.

Now, I think that if we look for the characteristics which may be found in all good active recreations, and on which their utility chiefly depends, we shall find that they all include one or more of these three things: namely, uncertainties, wonders, and opportunities for the exercise of skill in something different from the regular work. And the appropriateness of these three things seems to be, especially, in that they provide pleasant changes which are in strong contrast with the ordinary occupations of most working lives, and that they give opportunity for the exercise of powers and good dispositions which, being too little used in the daily business of life, would become feeble or be lost.

In their daily work—speaking generally and roughly—most people become tired of routine and sameness; they know their business, and there is in it little to surprise them; they can reckon on what is coming; they know how and when each day's work will end. They get tired of all this, and wish for something very unlike it; and so they long for uncertainties; they enjoy to watch something they are not sure of, to see the settlement of a doubt, the unveiling of a mystery.

Herein is a great part of the refreshing change, the recreation, found in games of chance. The toss of a halfpenny brings refreshment to the routine of the schoolboy or the errand-boy in that every time he tosses he creates an uncertainty, enjoys it for a moment, and then decides it. To the elder man the deal at whist and every hand he plays bring similar pleasure in uncertainties; and the counting of the tricks decides them; and the pleasures and uncertainties accumulate to the end of the rubber or of the whole evening's play. Other pleasures mingle with these; the exercise of skill, the reckoning of chances, and many more, including, perhaps, the winning of

money or repute; but with them all and under them is the occupation in uncertainties, and its pleasure is the more refreshing the more it is in contrast with sameness in the daily work.

Doubtless there is much of the same pleasure in all sports; in fishing, shooting, and the like. Will the fish bite? Will the bird fall? There is the uncertainty; and then comes the decision; and in any case, hitting or missing, the mind which has been wearied in a dull routine is refreshed. It is the same in cricket and lawn-tennis and all the like popular games. Mingling with the other pleasures that they give, and the other good they do, there is the refreshing pleasure of a continuous succession of uncertainties and decisions, a pleasure which seems to reach its acme in some of the amusements that are attended with frequent risks of limbs or even of life. The contrast with the ordinary occupations of vast crowds of all ranks and ages and occupations is complete; and from this contrast comes a great part of the true recreation, the re-fitting for the work. Doubtless, some of the refreshment of reading novels and romances, whether real or in fiction, is of the same kind. Else, why should nearly every one who reads them feel that his pleasure is marred by hearing what the end of the story is, and by thus having his uncertainty prematurely settled?

These may be examples enough. I believe that if any one will think over the whole class of what are fairly called active recreations, he will find that a chief part of nearly every one is of this kind: the unveiling of a mystery, the issue of some chance, the settlement of an uncertainty. Every one who works enough to need or deserve refreshment should see that some of his recreations have in them this element; and let him observe that of all the recreations of this kind those are the best which, together with the element of uncertainty or chance, offer the largest proportion of that other element of which I spoke—the opportunity of exercising skill. In all games and sports the more the results depend on chance, and the less they depend on the skill of the players, the more is the gambling. Duly guarded, the love of recreation among uncertainties may lead to the promotion of admirable skill, whether of mind or limbs; and if, on the one side, it may make itself vile by gambling, on the other it may ennoble itself by strengthening the mental disposition which moves men to experiments in science, and even to the highest methods of research. In all these a great part of the happiness is in the watching and decision of uncertainties, in the unveiling of hidden truth: and all whose work gives them too little opportunity for such happiness should have it in their play.

Next to uncertainties as parts of recreations I named wonders, meaning to include the objects of all forms and degrees of wonder, from quiet admiration to utter astonishment or awe. Of course the issue of a chance or of a game of skill may excite wonder; and its use

for recreation may be thus enhanced, but we may think of the recreation due to wonders as something distinct. Their fitness for recreation is as evident as that of uncertainties, and similar. Whatever most men's daily work may be, or wherever they may pursue it, they become so accustomed to it, so familiar with all around them, that they may cease to wonder at anything within their range. They may have their work in the midst of glorious scenery, among mountains, or by the sea, or in their own rooms among marvellous beauties of art; but they observe little or nothing of all this: or they may be working at any of the applications of the wonderful discoveries of recent times, but they have long ago ceased to be astonished at them. Some of us may, indeed, upon reflection or in calm thinking, be moved by the wonders among which we have been living: they are very happy times when we can so meditate; but usually and habitually we are seldom conscious of any stirring wonders in our customary work. The finding and observing of them elsewhere is, therefore, a real recreation, and a chief part of a very large number of the mental refreshments which we most earnestly seek and most thoroughly enjoy. And happily it is so: for the contemplation of wonders may give occupation and, thereby, strength to one of the noblest parts of our minds; the part which not only, as Aristotle pointed out, first leads to studious research, but that which is exercised in the highest admiration and reverence and which acts, together with the imagination, in the forming of the highest ideals towards which we can ever strive.

It is easy to find instances in which the greatest charm of recreation is in the wonder to which they move us. I watched one in myself some weeks ago when I went over the electric-lighthouse on the Lizard Point, enjoying and feeling refreshed by all the wonders that I saw there: the wonders of the burners that would give the light of many thousand candles; and of the multiplied reflectors and lenses by which, of all this light, none might be wasted, but all sent right out to shine for miles over the sea; the admirable cleverness and precaution by which, if the electric light were, by any accident, hindered, a huge paraffin lamp, with its concentric wicks, would instantly take its place; and then the wonders of the fog-horn with its great reservoir of air so condensed by steam-pressure that, being let go, it would blow a blast upon the horn which should be heard out at sea miles beyond the distance at which in the dense fog the light could be seen.

I wondered at all this and was refreshed; and I wonder still as often as I think of it, and thus constantly renew my recreation. And I think, too, of the contrast between myself and the keeper of the lighthouse who showed it me. He was an admirably intelligent workman, complete in his knowledge of the machinery; as complete in his knowledge as I was in my ignorance; proud, too, of the work in

which he was engaged and happy, I think, in its utility. But to him it was no wonder; he showed it with all the quietude of routine, and spoke rather wearily of the hours spent in watching it. To him there was no recreation in it all; it was the object of his daily work.

The same charm of wonder and the same kind of contrast may be found in a thousand other instances. We enjoy the surprises of conjuring tricks, which to the conjuror himself, I suppose, give no stirring pleasure; and of fireworks, and the stories and actings of perilous adventures. More worthily, we may enjoy and be refreshed by the marvels of skill in art, in music, or in singing. When we listen to a long-sustained high note—such as Albani can sing or Joachim can play—we are refreshed not only by the beauty of the sound, but by the wonder that it can be produced; and it is this which most refreshes us when, long afterwards, we can recall the sound. It is after the same manner that we are refreshed by glorious scenery, the grandeur of mountains, of cataracts, of floods of light at sunset: they move us to wonder, and we enjoy them and they refresh our minds, though those who live among them may be unmoved. And so it is when we leave home and find recreation in the strange sights and customs of other cities; and foreigners come here and are as happy in their wonder at the things which we are tired of looking at. What would not one give to be able to come to London as a stranger and be surprised at the sights that, unless in careful thinking, we now care nothing for?

I named a third chief element in recreations: the opportunities which they give for the exercise of skill in something which is different from our regular work. This may be in either mental or muscular work or both. One who has been all day busy in reading may refresh himself in composition; another turns from teaching to learning, and enjoys it the more for the contrast; another, most wisely, from the routine of business to some difficult research in science or in history; another from literature to music or the fine arts, whether in the practice or in the critical study of them. All these changes are the daily recreations of large numbers of the more cultivated classes: and they are matched in the instances of those who turn from their day's manual work, or the routine of life in offices or shops, to the mental work offered to them in colleges and evening classes. The labour of their study may be greater than that of their work; it may increase their fatigue; yet after sleep they may be conscious of an increased fitness for the business of their lives by reason not only of the knowledge they have acquired, but of their mental recreation.

But the most obvious examples of this part or method of recreation are in muscular exercises: in athletics; in the acquirement and exercise of skill in cricket or lawn-tennis, or on cycles of whatever wheels, or in the finer manual skill at billiards or in music. Any of

these may be studied as patterns of active recreation; for they include all the three chief conditions for refreshment. Think, for example, of the delight and power of a game of cricket after a day's work, for one employed at a desk, or in reporting, or bricklaying, or mere buying or selling at fixed prices. There is the new activity with muscles wanting freer and more willing movements; the conscious acquirement or exercise of skill; there is the decision of an uncertainty at every ball, at every run; the wonder at some dashing hit, at some strange result of the whole game.

Or, for another example, think of the recreation when one who has spent months in writing, or reading, or in Parliament, or in city business, climbs some high mountain: the uncertainty as to the difficulties he will meet with; the decision when, with each effort, so unlike those of his old daily work, he surmounts them one by one; the marvels of the ever-changing scenery; the decisive skill of the last climb, the final certainty, the awful beauty of the scene. Here is complete contrast with the routine life of the past months. He may never before have been so thoroughly tired, but next day he may be conscious that he never before was so thoroughly refreshed in both mind and body. After a vacation spent in pleasures such as these, he may come home and rightly call himself 'very fit' for the old work; he may even be so conscious of his fitness that he may enjoy the showing of it, and may love the work that he hated.

It would be easy, if it were not for their number, to show in how many of the most popular active recreations the three things which I have indicated are, in different proportions, combined. They may be overlooked or forgotten in the mere enjoyment of change, or of pleasure, or of a partial freedom from responsibility; but there they are, and I believe that the happiness and utility of recreations may be nearly estimated by their amount: there are lives in the monotony of which they alone may sustain a good spirit of enterprise, of reverence, and of willing effort.

But, even if this be admitted, the question yet remains as to what it is that makes different groups of persons choose especially one or other of all the recreations in which these three things are combined. Why should there be any choice? Why, for example, in a long vacation or on a Bank-holiday, do some prefer to travel by sea and some by land? Why do some prefer hunting or fishing; and some seek the treasures of art and some of literature? Why do some fell trees and some only walk and wander like tramps and vagabonds, and some, or at least two of whom I have heard, leave their comfortable houses that they may break stones by the roadside? It is, perhaps, impossible to tell; because in this, as in everything in our social life, the influences of education, fashion and custom are incalculable, and are commonly more potent than our natural inclinations. But it seems at least not improbable that the devotion of

many of us to some of the most active recreations and our choices among them, are determined by inherited natural dispositions, and by the survival in us of instincts which, in our distant ancestors, were appropriate to the first necessities of life. They had to hunt and fish and entrap their food; they migrated and wandered and rested where they could; they cleared forests and made paths; and these things they did with instincts which were parts of their very nature, and which with the rest of their nature they transmitted. We have inherited them; they are variously distributed amongst us, in various combinations and proportions; and now that they cannot be satisfied in our ordinary work, we may become, at times, restless till they can be satisfied in our recreations. And so, I suppose, according to their several principal inheritances, one chooses one pursuit, another chooses another; and thus the pursuits that were the necessities of the uncivilised life, the hunting and fishing, the tree-cutting and vagrancy, become the almost unconsciously chosen pleasures of the civilised. Many, indeed, seem indifferent to them, as if the inheritance had died out; and these find their recreations among other and comparatively modern and more tranquil methods of activity. Here, too, it is hard to say, or even to guess, what determines choice when choice is made, not guided or compelled. But probably it is in these, also, determined by inborn dispositions. For, as the occupations of men increase in number and variety, so do their natural appropriate powers and dispositions; and such of these as are not fully exercised in the business or chosen duties of life may find their satisfaction in the chosen recreations.

But, whatever be the natural disposition, there are some rules regarding active recreations which it is well for all to observe: for all, at least, who must work or who wish to work as well as play.

First, recreations should not only be compatible with the business or duty of life but absolutely and far subordinate; and this, not only in kind but in number and quantity. Their utility and, sometimes, even their only justification is that they may increase the power and readiness for work; beyond this they should not be allowed to pass.

Then, they should chiefly exercise the powers which are least used in the work; and this, not only for pleasure but for utility. For there are few daily occupations which provide sufficient opportunities for the training of all the powers and dispositions which may be usefully employed in them and of which the full use, though not necessary for an average fitness, may be essential to excellence in the business of life. They, therefore, that work chiefly with their minds should refresh themselves chiefly with the exercise of their muscles; manual workers should rather rest and have some study, or practise some gentle art or strive to invent; or, for one more example, they whose days are spent in money speculations and excitement had better try to be happy in passionless thinking, in

listening to sweet sounds, in quiet reading, or in slowly smoking; and so on.

It adds to the utility of every recreation if its events can be often thought of with pleasure; so that the mind may be sometimes occupied with them not only in careful thinking, but in those gaps or casual intervals of time in which, both during and after work, it is apt to wander uselessly. Especially is this true of mental recreations; they may thus prolong their happiness and their utility from day to day or year to year; as often as they are remembered the mind may be refreshed far more than it is in the mere vacancy of thought. And there may be as much refreshment in looking forward; as, for example, in planning a good holiday or, at the best, in trying, by the light of either faith or science, to anticipate the final decision of the doubts which now beset us, or the wonders that will be revealed, or the new powers that will be exercised, in the far distant future.

It is an excellence in recreations if they lead us to occupy ourselves in pursuits which give opportunities of gaining honest repute and personal success. Competition is good in all virtuous pleasures as well as in all work: the habit of being in earnest and of doing one's best may be strengthened in recreations and then employed in its still better use in work.

And in agreement with this it is a great addition to the happiness and utility of a recreation if it enables us to do or to acquire something which we may call our own. In this is a part of the advantage which any one may find in giving part of his spare time to some study, some branch of art, some invention or research which may be recognised, at least among his friends, as being, in some sense, his own. The study itself must be the first and chief refreshment, but its pleasure is enhanced if with the knowledge or the skill which it attains there is mingled some consciousness of personal property.

Similarly, and for a like reason, the happiness of a recreation is increased if it leads us to collect anything: books, sketches, shells, autographs, or whatever may be associated with the studies or the active exercises of spare times or even with those of business. I think that none who have not tried it can imagine how great is the refreshment of collecting and of thinking, at odd moments, of one's specimens and arranging and displaying them. There are few good recreations, few daily occupations with which something of the kind may not be usefully mingled.

In recommending these which may seem selfish things one is reminded of what Pascal says: '*On ne voyageroit pas sur la mer pour ne jamais en rien dire, et pour le seul plaisir de voir, sans espérance de s'entretenir avec personne;*'¹ and I suppose that in most of our recreations we are conscious of increased pleasure if we are on the way towards anything which we may talk of afterwards or which we may

¹ *Pensées*, 1^{re} partie, art. v.

show with some kind of self-applause. But the desire of self-satisfaction is not always or altogether evil in either business or pleasure. In both alike it may be turned to the happiness of others as well as of one's self; and it is so in many of the active recreations of games in which sides are taken, as especially in cricket-matches, rowing-matches, football, and the like. They are admirable in all the chief constituent qualities of recreations; but, besides this, they may exercise a moral influence of great value in business or in any daily work. For without any inducement of a common interest in money, without any low motive, they bring boys and men to work together; they teach them to be colleagues in good causes with all who will work fairly and well with them; they teach that power of working with others which is among the best powers for success in every condition of life. And by custom, if not of their very nature, they teach fairness: foul play in any of them, however sharp may be the competition, is by consent of all disgraceful; and they who have a habit of playing fair will be the more ready to deal fair. A high standard of honesty in their recreations will help to make people despise many things which are far within the limits of the law.

And, for one more general rule, it is an excellent quality in recreations if they will continue good even in old age. Talleyrand is reported to have said to one who told him that he did not care to learn whist: 'My friend, you do not know how unhappy an old age you are preparing for yourself.' I think the experience of men of my calling would confirm this by the instances they see of unhappy rich old men who have retired from business and have no habitual recreations. None seem so unhappy as do some of these. They used to enjoy the excitement of uncertainty in their business; now, everything is safe and dull: then, mere rest after fatigue was happiness; now, there is no fatigue, but there is restlessness in monotony: they used to delight in the exercise of skill and in the counting of its gains; now, the only thing in which they had any skill is gone: they have no work to do, and they do not know how either to play or to rest.

It is well, therefore, that all should prepare for the decline of power in recreations, as well as in much graver things. There are many that do not lose their charm or their utility as we grow older. Talleyrand named one of the best; and whist may be deemed representative of them in that it provides that the mental activity of each hand is followed by the quietude of each deal. Another is in the refreshment of collections; for there are many whose value constantly increases as they become older, and with all of them the pleasure is enhanced the further we can look back in the memory of the events associated with each specimen, and can recollect the difficulty of obtaining it, and the joy of first possession. Or, there may be a change of active recreations; the elderly cricketer may take to golf and

become sure that it is in every way the better of the two; the old hunting man may ride to cover more cautiously. Or, with less activity, there may be the happiness of reading or meditation, of music or any of the fine arts; these, if they have been prudently cultivated, do not become wearisome in old age. If these and other like things fail, it may be a sign that it is time to leave-off work; but so long as a man can work, so long will he be right if he will spend some of his leisure times, wisely and actively, in recreations; they may make him both more fit to do his work and, at the last, more fit to leave it.

JAMES PAGET.

*EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE
MARQUIS TSÉNG.*

THE following extracts are translated from a Diary recently published by the Marquis Tséng, Chinese Minister to England and France. The narrative, which embraces a period of little more than half a year, beginning with the date of the Minister's appointment in Peking and ending shortly after his arrival in London, is chiefly occupied with a description of the various incidents of the voyage and the places visited on the way. Only those portions of the work have been translated which seemed to reflect the writer's views on matters of general interest. There is, perhaps, no living Chinaman who is better qualified to express an opinion on foreign questions than the accomplished author of these papers. As the son of the celebrated statesman, Tséng Kuofan, he has seen much of official life in his native country, and to the experience thus acquired he has, in later years, added an advantage rarely possessed by his countrymen, a practical acquaintance with our language and national habits.

Canton.

J. N. JORDAN, Translator.

I. FEELINGS BEFORE STARTING ON HIS MISSION.

The Ministers, Shén and Pao, called upon me in Peking and stopped a long time. They expressed their concern at the length of the journey and the perils of the voyage, and soothed me with kind and comforting words. I felt that the journey, though distant, was not, in these days of rapid steam-communication, attended with more trouble or hardship than one performed by a fellow-officer in going to his post in Yünnan, Kansuh, or some other remote province of the Empire. The sea-voyage had, no doubt, its risks, but still man's portion of ill or good in this world is allotted at his birth, and there is no escape from the inevitable. Neither of these considerations had given me much concern since I received my appointment. What really did alarm me was the weight of responsibility attached

to the post, which was greater than my poor abilities were fitted to undertake. My father's reputation had spread to the lands beyond the sea, and any mistake which I, his son, might commit would involve his fair name. His Excellency Kuo, too, had gained the esteem and respect of foreigners, and in now becoming his successor I was deeply apprehensive that, compared with him, any shortcomings would be only too apparent. These fears haunted me night and day. My friends argued that the fact of my father's services being so well known in Western countries would render my mission a comparatively easy task. Others said that the Minister Kuo had pioneered the way, and that I had only to follow in his footsteps. They all tried to console me by presenting the bright side of the picture, but paid no heed to the other side.

II. NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

The French and English are both fond of lauding their own national customs, and of finding flaws in those of other countries. My French interpreter jeered at the English, and my English interpreter ridiculed the French.

A Chinese going to Europe suffers from two difficulties, to which he finds it very hard to accustom himself: one is the confined nature of the house-accommodation, the other the high price of everything. In the West, the cost of ground for building purposes is enormous, and the consequence is that people are obliged to live in houses eight or nine storeys high. Not only this, but so sparing are they of land in constructing their houses, that there are generally one or two pits underground, which serve as kitchens and wine-cellar. Their parks and gardens, however, are laid out on a most extensive scale, and care is taken to copy nature in all its wild simplicity. These resorts of amusement and pleasure vary in size from one to three miles in circumference. Here they show no disposition to stint themselves in the matter of land, and bestow much care upon the neat arrangement of such places, thereby embodying the maxim transmitted by Mencius, that, 'if the people are made to share in the means of enjoyment, they will cherish no feelings of discontent.' Both France and England are at one in the above respect.

The English excel in their use of ways and means for the acquisition of wealth; the French delight in extravagance and waste. With the former, the result of the general eagerness to get rich is that everything, however inferior in quality, is high-priced, while with the latter, extravagance has become a national habit, and prices know no bounds. Such is the difference between the two countries, a difference, however, which entails the same inconvenience upon the traveller in either case.

III. PROPOSALS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CHINA IN HER RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

At Shanghai I met Chang Huan-lun, a young man of great promise and extraordinary attainments. He submitted to me six propositions, which evince such originality of thought and such depth of insight, and are so different from the random assertions one often hears, that I reproduce them here. They are as follows:—

1. The necessity of contracting a firm alliance with England, for the purpose of repelling Russian aggression.

The condition of Europe at the present day is analogous to that of China in the time of the seven States. Russia represents the State of Ch'in, England the State of Ch'i, and Turkey that of Wei. As long as the people of Ch'in were prevented from carrying out their designs upon the State of Wei, they were unable to make encroachments upon the other States; and in like manner, as long as Russia is kept from having her way in Turkey, she will be unable to override the rest of Europe. The people of Ch'in made terms with the State of Ch'i, with the aid of which they annihilated the State of Wei, and it was by this alliance that the Ch'in eventually succeeded in annexing the whole six countries. But, on the contrary, England, whilst ostensibly protecting Turkey, in reality acts as the safeguard of the whole of Europe, and it is England's intervention that alone prevents Russia from carrying out her designs upon Turkey. At the Berlin Congress the representatives of the other Powers maintained an attitude of indecision and indifference, evidently under the impression that the protection of Turkey and the defence of India were matters which concerned England only. This was in a sense true enough, but it ignored the fact that India's danger was England's danger, and that danger to England meant danger to the whole of Europe. Nor is it only Europe which is so affected; China is exposed to equal danger. If China could patch up the roof before the rain comes on, and secure the friendship of England, she would, with England on her side, have nothing to fear from the aggressive designs of Russia. Now, Chinese Turkestan and Ili are close to India, and the success of Russian attempts to coerce China in that quarter would be fraught with trouble to England. It may therefore be possible at some future date to gain England's assistance in effecting an amicable arrangement. If England puts forth all her might to protect Turkey, is it improbable that she would make some slight effort to aid China? To this some may object, and say that Russia and England are alike in their rapacious tendencies, and that there is no likelihood of gaining England to our side. This argument ignores the fact that England, though still to outward appearance powerful, is gradually losing the substance of her strength, and that

her present policy is directed towards maintaining her high position by peaceful measures. She is far different now from what she was in Tao Kuang's reign,¹ and there would be no difficulty in coming to an understanding with her.

2. The importance of adopting an honest and straightforward course of policy in our international relations, with a view to removing feelings of mutual distrust.

For close upon 200 years China has held intercourse with European countries; she has learned and adopted Western methods, and yet still she shows a studied indifference to Western people. Among all classes, from the highest to the lowest, this feeling remains as strong as ever. Western nations are well aware of its existence, and often decline to meet us frankly in the treatment of international matters. In the West, countries which may have been bitter enemies in the past are ever ready to come to each other's assistance in any question which involves China. Foreign nations are strong in their power of united action, while China stands alone, weak and friendless. If we were able to drive them from our doors, we might afford to ignore their existence; but now that they have gained an entrance into our very homes, can we expect, if we treat them with contempt when all is well with us, to find them cordial friends when trouble arises? An open and frank course of conduct in times of peace would insure a ready exchange of confidence in times of trouble. Their treatment of Japan may be adduced as evidence. The Japanese have gone so far in their imitation of Western ways as to alter their calendar and change their national costume; and though foreigners laugh at their folly, still they are always ready to lend them a helping hand in time of need.

Trouble frequently arises from Englishmen travelling and preaching in the interior, and the mischief, once done, is hard to repair. It would be advisable to come to some satisfactory arrangement with England on the subject. Travellers should be required to procure passports, and as an additional precaution, the officials of the places to which they resort should send the local elders with them to prepare the people for their reception. The foreign consuls, too, might be asked to keep their countrymen under proper control, and not allow them to proceed without authority into the interior, under penalty of forfeiting their right to recognition. Though Western Governments do not comply in all respects with the rules of International Law, still such rules, if properly enforced, ought to insure the permanence of dynasties, by linking together the strong and weak among nations in a common bond, and so prove a treasure to those who guide the destinies of the world.

3. The advantages of embracing every opportunity of meeting Western scholars, so as to profit by their intercourse and conversation.

¹ Referring to the period of our first war with China, 1841-2.

Western officials especially ought to be received with civility and politeness. International questions are too numerous, and national peculiarities are too marked, to admit the hope of all differences being effaced; still, if Western scholars were certain of a cordial and sincere reception, they would gladly give us the benefit of their opinions, and by constant intercourse with them we should gradually penetrate their inmost thoughts.

One step for which foreigners take much credit to themselves is the establishment of schools throughout China. Now, there are many foreigners who would be glad to devote themselves to the study of Chinese literature, and if China founded an educational establishment, with a competent staff of Chinese professors, for the instruction of such, foreigners could no longer claim for themselves a monopoly of good deeds, and the undertaking, whilst entailing little expense, would earn for us the gratitude of Western rulers. Moreover, a scheme of this kind would be attended with further advantages. In course of time, the students who had attained a knowledge of Chinese literature might be stimulated, by the prospect of gaining a reputation for themselves, to translate foreign books for diffusion in China. Again, in the West, the power of public opinion is second only to that of the Government, and the direction it received from those we had trained might possibly be of use to us in some future difficulty.

4. The advisableness of keeping ourselves informed from time to time of the price and quality of Western mechanical appliances, so as to avoid falling victims to fraud in purchasing them.

If China is to establish foundries, open mines, and engage in similar enterprises, it will be necessary for her to make extensive use of machinery. The machinery hitherto purchased has sometimes been of inferior quality, often unsuitable, and generally exorbitant in price. Contracts have been regarded as a mere empty form, and disputes have generally ended in the seller recklessly repudiating his responsibility. What I would now propose is, that a Chinese officer should be specially appointed to note the constant changes in the machinery market, and to effect purchases on safe terms for China.

5. The translation of treatises on foreign systems of Government, with a view to the adoption of what may be found useful therein.

Their political systems have, undoubtedly, much that is good and admirable, but it is the fashion nowadays, in speaking of Western countries, to ascribe their greatness to the abundance of their natural resources and the superiority of their weapons of war. People who hold such an opinion fail to see that the ascendancy of Western nations is due, not to the extent of their wealth, but to the sympathy which exists between the people and the governing classes, and in this respect they are exemplifying the maxims of China's sages of old.

Hitherto, only books on mechanical science and technical subjects have been translated into Chinese; it would be well to add to these treatises on medicine, agriculture, &c. In my humble opinion, a nation's prosperity or decay is determined by the character and talents of its people, and these again are qualities which depend in a great measure upon the early training imparted to its youth. As in China of old, so in Europe at the present day, there are preliminary schools to which children are sent at an early age. We have, it is true, at this very time an Educational Mission abroad, but the expense of its maintenance is too great to be continued, and the education imparted to a hundred youths or so cannot permeate the masses of the people. A much better plan would be to make translations of the educational curriculum in use in the West, and establish schools, first at the Treaty Ports, and then gradually all over the Empire, upon a system based on a due admixture of foreign and Chinese methods. The expense would be less than that of the Educational Mission, and the advantages would be immeasurably greater.

6. The arrangement, in the interests of China, of some satisfactory understanding with England for the stoppage of the opium traffic.

China has never hit upon a fixed or effective method of dealing with this question. When the matter has been pressed with urgency, it has resulted in a breach of friendly relations; when it has been dealt with leisurely, it has gradually been allowed to drop out of consideration altogether. The coast-line of China is so vast, and so indented at every point with creeks and inlets, as to render the prevention of smuggling no easy matter. Opium being the great staple of their commerce, it is not to be expected that British merchants will willingly sacrifice the certainty of present gain for the sake of a profitless reputation in the future. I have been informed that an Anti-Opium Society has been established by the people and gentry in England, and that representations on the subject have been frequently addressed by it to the Chinese Minister in London. It may be that the Heart of Heaven, moved to sympathy with the misery inflicted upon China, has prompted the members of this Society to espouse their good cause; but, as long as the British Government refuses to yield in the matter, it is to be feared that the efforts of this handful of men will prove a mere delusion, like the picture of a cake to a hungry man. Still, as they have embarked upon this project, they have doubtless some ideas on the subject, and there can be no harm in inviting an expression of their views. Gain is a powerful consideration with Western countries; if England could be induced to substitute the cultivation of cotton, tea, or silk for that of opium, there might perhaps be some hope, provided she obtained an equivalent profit, of her changing her course of action.

Reports point to a decrease in the mineral wealth of which Great Britain has hitherto had the monopoly. Now, China has countless

stores of unworked treasure hidden away beneath her soil, and the possibility suggests itself of effecting an exchange on this plan. This, however, would depend upon circumstances, and the change is one which it will require time to effect. All that man can do is to make some slight effort to win back the Heart of Heaven.

Of the above propositions, the first, which deals with the relations of England and Russia, cannot be accepted in its entirety; and, as to the sixth, respecting the suppression of the opium traffic, there will be difficulty in securing such a successful solution of the question as is there indicated. The views expressed in the remaining clauses agree in the main with the opinions I have always held.

Respecting the Educational Mission discussed in the fifth proposition, I remember being present when the heads of the Mission were paying a visit to my father, before they started for America. The opinion I then expressed on the merits of the scheme was almost identical with that stated above. The result, I said, of sending Chinese youths, who had not studied their own classics, to devote themselves exclusively to the acquisition of Western knowledge in a country like America, where rulers and officials alike sprang from the same class, would simply be to contribute so many citizens to the United States, and to furnish the foreign firms at the Treaty Ports with compradores and interpreters. China, I insisted, would reap no advantage from the scheme. The project was too far advanced at the time to be arrested, but the prediction has been verified by the results.² The advantages derived by the youths who have gone to America fall far short of the success attained by the pupils of the Túng Wên Kuan,³ and of the Government arsenals at Shanghai and Foochow.

IV. M. GAMBETTA'S VIEWS RESPECTING MISSIONARY QUESTIONS.

My French interpreter told me that Gambetta, the new President of the Chamber of Deputies, was a man of just views, who would not be disposed to show undue partiality to the Catholic priests, and said that it would be well to cultivate his acquaintance, so as to facilitate

² The students of the Mission here referred to returned to China towards the end of 1881, the reasons given for their recall being much the same as those stated by the writer. 'Although the boys have not learned all the useful arts and sciences of America, they adopted all its bad customs,' were the words of the Commissioner sent to report on the subject. The lads are now at Tientsin engaged in various ways. Some of them are employed in the working of the new telegraph line, some are studying medicine under a foreign doctor, and others are receiving instruction in engineering, mining, &c., while all are said to be much dissatisfied with the treatment they have received since their return to China.

³ Government schools at Peking and Canton for the instruction of Chinese in the various branches of foreign education.

the settlement of any missionary complications which might arise in the future. I have often heard it stated that the wife of the late Emperor Napoleon attached great importance to the priesthood, and that this is the reason missionary-questions have given such trouble in the past. Since the establishment of the Republic the influence of the priests has been on the wane, and one now meets with plenty of people ready to abuse them. While on board the steamship *Amazone*, I met a French naval captain, who volunteered the statement that there was not a single respectable person in the Church. My French interpreter and the captain of the steamer both reproved him at the time for making use of such extravagant language, but the interpreter afterwards told me in private that it was true enough that there were few good men and virtuous women to be found in Roman Catholic establishments. Frenchmen like himself, however, he added, could not but take exception to such strong language as that used by the French naval officer, especially when uttered in the presence of a large number of people, the majority of whom were English. None had a better knowledge or a more thorough abhorrence of the priesthood than Frenchmen themselves. From the above it may perhaps be predicted that cases connected with the priesthood will be easier to deal with in the future.

I subsequently went to call upon Gambetta. Since the establishment of the Republic in France, the control of State affairs has devolved upon the Presidents of the two Assemblies. The Presidents have only the power of affixing their signatures and giving their approval. Their position is analogous to that of the Governors and Viceroys in China, who receive reports from their immediate subordinates, the Financial and Judicial Commissioners, and express their opinion thereon. A Governor or a Viceroy can, however, denounce and degrade his subordinates, and if he wishes any particular line of action to be adopted, he can impart his views to them, and require them to shape their reports accordingly. A President has no such powers; and though his position is a very exalted one, his authority is inferior to that of his compeers in China. The President of the Chamber of Deputies lives in Paris. I managed to get an introduction to him through a friend, and appointed a day to see him. We had a very friendly conversation. The impression I gathered from what he said was that ordinary international questions between our two countries presented little difficulty, and that the wrangling and differences of opinion which occasionally occurred were due to the trouble created by an unreasoning priesthood. He said that he was not disposed to allow the priests unbridled licence. Missionary questions would henceforth be fairly dealt with, and no partiality would be shown to the priests. The object he had in view was to cement more closely the friendly relations existing between

our respective countries. I venture to doubt, however, whether reliance can be placed on such language; still, judging from what the French officer stated on board the *Amazon*, and Gambetta's present utterances, the influence of the priests would seem to be declining.

V. THE PANAMA CANAL.

When I got home I found M. de Lesseps waiting for me. He referred to the great success of the Suez Canal, and said that America was now proposing to open up water communication between two points on the east and west for the transit of ships. The scheme was now under public discussion, and no decision could be taken just yet. A general meeting was convened for a certain date, at which every one was entitled to express his views. He invited me to send a deputy to the meeting to hear the discussion. I replied that, owing to the continuous famines and dearth which had visited the northern provinces of China during a succession of years, I could not undertake to subscribe capital for the object, but that I would gladly send an officer to attend the meeting, if that was all that was required. Lesseps said that no subscriptions would be asked from any of the foreign envoys attending the meeting, and that, the enterprise being one of great moment, the object was to arrive at a just conclusion by aid of the collected wisdom of many. On this understanding I readily assented to his request.

VI. ORIGIN OF BALLS.

I accepted an invitation to go to President Grévy's one evening. The invitations were issued some days beforehand by his wife. At about eleven o'clock we retired to the ball-room, where dancing was kept up for a long time. In the West, men and women follow their own choice in making marriage alliances, and the original idea in instituting dancing parties was to facilitate the arrangement of such contracts.

VII. FRENCH TASTE FOR CHINESE ARTICLES.

Though French porcelain and French embroidery are daily improving in quality, still there is a perfect rage in every household in France for Chinese embroidery and old articles of Chinese porcelain. I am quite unable to assign any reason for this. They lavish admiration upon Chinese articles, and try every means of improving their own, which they still consider poor in comparison with ours. It is not only the common people that cultivate this art, but even the official classes regard it as an important part of their duty to pay attention to the

matter. The principle would seem to be the same as that adopted by the Chow dynasty in appointing public inspectors of handiwork. If those who are nowadays charged with the care of China's interests were likewise to bestow some attention on the improvement of such trivial articles of manufacture, the result could not fail to benefit the commercial interests of her people.

VIII. WESTERN ARTS AND CIVILISATION DERIVED FROM CHINA.

One evening, in conversation with Sung Shêng, he expressed his belief that the systems of government and civilisation prevailing in the West bear a close resemblance to the institutions of China in the time of the Chow dynasty. Lao Tsze, he said, after serving as a Minister of that dynasty, had gone to the West and transplanted the laws and usages of China into Western soil. The assertion does not, unfortunately, admit of positive proof, but the idea is one of some interest and novelty. I remarked, in reply, that Europe, having been once inhabited by wild tribes, had in all probability derived its literature and political systems from Asia, whence they had gradually spread westward, and this I considered the explanation of the resemblance between European habits and ways and those of China in olden times. I used to tell my French interpreter in jest that China's sacred Emperor descended in an unbroken line through history, and that even as regards Presidents we had Yao and Shun,⁴ the best that ever existed. This was of course merely a joke, but still it is plain that all Western institutions have existed in the past in China. For example, in the West articles of household use are invariably carved and engraved with taste and neatness, the idea being derived from the inscriptions found upon goblets, cups, and like utensils of antique date in China. It may be said that steamers, steam-engines, and such ingenious contrivances were unknown in past ages. By such an assertion, however, the fact is ignored that mechanical ingenuity depends upon material resources, and varies according to a nation's prosperity or decay. When material resources fail, mechanical arts fall into neglect. In olden times China had no lack of mechanical appliances, but as her national prosperity gradually declined, her people fell into idle and thriftless habits, and mechanical arts gradually died out. As, by a glance at what Europe now is, we may see what China once was, so by noting what China now is, we may learn what Europe will one day become. The time will arrive when Western workcraft, now so active and superior, will grow inept, and Western ingenuity give way to homelike simplicity. The fact is, the earth's productions are not sufficient to provide for the manifold wants of its countless people, and deterioration is one of nature's laws.

⁴ Two of China's early Emperors, who are regarded as the models of all wisdom and sovereign virtue.

IX. INTERVIEW WITH THE BRAZILIAN MINISTER.

His Excellency the Brazilian Minister called upon me and had a long conversation. Some days previously, I saw from the newspapers that Brazil contemplated sending some gunboats to China, with a view to negotiating a treaty and procuring coolies. The Minister opened the conversation by referring to the large extent of his country, which, he said, was nearly equal in area to the whole continent of Europe. Its productions were so abundant as to afford inexhaustible supplies to other countries. Its existence as a State dated only fifty years back, and its population, which then numbered only two millions, was now upwards of fifteen millions. It was by far the largest country in South America; had at one time been a dependency of Portugal, but was now an independent State. Its ruler was most anxious to enter into treaty relations with China, and the matter being one which had to be inaugurated without previous introduction, his Sovereign had instructed him to call upon the Chinese Minister in London to open negotiations. To this I replied that Powers in concluding treaties with China had always sent an envoy thither to meet a high officer deputed for the purpose by the Chinese Government, and that I knew of no instance in which the envoys of two countries went heedlessly to work and made treaties in the capital of a third nation. Not to mention a Minister, even an Ambassador had no such powers, and neither the Chinese Minister in England nor the one in America could assume such a responsibility. A good deal of somewhat troublesome discussion then ensued. He asked me if I would communicate to the Tsungli Yamén the fact that the Brazilian Government was desirous of concluding a treaty. I replied that it was my duty, as an envoy, to be the medium of communication between my Government and Foreign Powers, and that, if he addressed me officially on the subject, I would not fail to forward his communication, but that I could pronounce no opinion as to whether his request would be granted or not. He then asked, supposing I forwarded his inquiry, how long it would take to get an answer, and inquired whether a telegram could not be sent on the subject, so as to facilitate the immediate despatch of Brazilian ships to China. In reply, I pointed out that there was no need of such hurry at the opening of negotiations, and said that I could not telegraph on a matter of such supreme importance, and which required such careful consideration. He then asked whether Brazilian ships could proceed to China before the Yamén's answer was received, to which I replied that there would be no good in their doing so while friendly relations had not yet come under consideration. He seemed to quite grasp my meaning, but always kept going back to the subject of despatching ships, in a way which showed me that

there was some difficulty connected with the matter, and that the probability was that they were already on the way and could not now be stopped. If China should hereafter refuse to enter into treaty relations, gunboats will no doubt be sent to coerce her; whilst, if she consents to entertain the question, much wrangling and discussion will be the unavoidable result. As he was about to take leave, the Minister earnestly asked me whether I thought the Yamén would speedily make a treaty with his country. I replied that it was simply my duty to transmit his communication, and that it was for the Yamén exclusively to decide whether they would accede to the request. Looking, however, to the circumstances, I should say that it could not be granted quite at once. The period for the revision of most of the treaties concluded with Western Powers was now at hand, and as these treaties had been found to entail considerable inconvenience upon the Chinese people, they would probably require alteration in certain respects. If Brazil were to wait until after the revision of the treaties with other Powers, and base her proposed treaty⁵ upon the treaties as revised, she might hope by a single effort to secure a permanent and satisfactory result. If a hasty step were taken, while alterations were still being made in the treaties with other Powers, Brazil would have nothing to guide her course of action. I saw him to the door, when he again referred to the question of Brazilian ships going to China, and asked if any restrictions would be placed upon their entering and leaving the ports. I told him that there was apparently a great diversity of opinion about the value of Chinese labour. Cuba and Peru were anxious to procure coolies, while America was considering the expediency of driving the Chinese out of San Francisco. I did not know anything of the character and habits of the Brazilian nation, but if their ships engaged in the coolie traffic and did not comply with the Chinese regulation respecting emigration, not only China would refuse her sanction to such a course, but England, France, and all nations opposed to slavery would enforce the rules agreed upon within recent years in relation to the subject, and would exert their influence to put a stop to such proceedings. If, however, Brazil was guilty of no abuse in procuring the coolies, and treated them properly, China would no doubt extend the same treatment to her ships as she did to those of all Treaty Powers,

The Brazilian Minister had no great command of English, and both Macartney and I failed to catch all he said. His French being somewhat better, I called in the French interpreter to our assistance.

⁵ A treaty between Brazil and China has since been concluded.

X. FOREIGN LOANS.

I see from the newspapers that Tso Tsung-t'ang has borrowed 3,500,000 taels, to be applied towards defraying the expenses of the campaign in the north-west. I have no means of knowing whether the report is true or not, but two considerations arise in connection with this subject which give cause for deep regret. In the first place, such an excessive rate of interest as 8 per cent. is without precedent in Europe, and its effect can only be to sap the sources of China's strength for the enrichment of foreign countries. Again, the frequency with which China has fraudulently repudiated the loans contracted from her own people makes them dread the very thought of lending to the Government, and her only resource when an emergency arises is to apply to the foreign merchants. Now, it is not likely that the foreigner is going to bring his money all the way across the sea to supply the wants of China. No, a loan is issued and the money is collected from the Chinese people, but both the people and the Government suffer severely from such a vast amount of their own capital passing through foreign hands, as a large share of the interest is appropriated by the foreign agent. A fine scheme this, indeed!

I have been told that the Khedive of Egypt borrowed vast sums from France and England, which he employed, not in the construction of railroads, in opening mines, or other productive works, but squandered on frivolous objects. The money having been spent as fast as it was borrowed, there was no means of discharging the debt when the time for repayment arrived. The English and French, seeing the state of misgovernment into which Egypt had fallen, sent officers to take charge of the Khedive's affairs, and, with the very best intentions, advanced further sums to help him out of his troubles. No sooner, however, had the Khedive got the money, than he summarily dismissed the two officers charged with the management of his affairs, and showed a strong disposition to repudiate his liabilities. The British and French Governments are so enraged at the Khedive's action, that there is every likelihood of their making use of force to chastise him for his conduct.

China has ample means and abundant resources, and though these petty loans are not likely to cause her much embarrassment, still, for the material advancement of a country, there are other things more urgently needed than gunboats and armaments of war. It is a poor policy that leaves undone what ought to be done at once, and presses forward what might well be deferred.

XI. THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

On the 27th March, 1879, I called upon Beaconsfield. He is a man of marvellous attainments and great decision of character, and though over seventy years of age, shows no signs of physical decay. The English look upon him as the Great Wall of their country. I have been given to understand that during the struggle between Russia and Turkey, the Turks, conscious of their weakness, were prepared to sue for peace on any terms the Russians might wish to impose. Beaconsfield saw that it was against the interests of England to allow Russia to carry out her designs upon Turkey, and it was entirely owing to him that British troops were employed to assist Turkey and thwart Russia.

The high Ministers and Members of Parliament in England disapproved of the use of force, but Beaconsfield, not heeding their remonstrances, moved the troops and made such a demonstration of war that Russia took fright and finally accepted the English conditions. Beaconsfield's reputation was greatly enhanced by this stroke of policy. When he goes to the Houses of Parliament, old and young, women and children, flock thither to get a sight of him and hear his words. As they watch his dignified bearing, whispers of approval and respectful deference mark their admiration of the man. Beaconsfield, though far advanced in years, is so pressed with public business that foreign envoys wishing to see him have to arrange the time of meeting beforehand by letter, and so I followed the same course. His manner was gracious and courteous; his words few and impressive. Our conversation was confined to ordinary topics.

UNGRATEFUL IRELAND.

WHEN the English statesman or publicist of to-day washes his hands of the blood of Ireland, he admits with generous frankness that the country was infamously governed of old. All the land, he confesses, was taken away from the natives by confiscation after confiscation. Strangers were recruited not only in England and Scotland, but in Germany and Switzerland, to occupy their ancestral homesteads. They were long denied the protection of law for their lives or property, and were treated as outlaws in their own country. Their churches were burned down or transferred to congregations which for the most part only existed in the imagination of projectors and fanatics. Their industry was repressed, and their trade extinguished by laws made to secure a monopoly to Yorkshire. They were forbidden under stringent penalties to obtain education either at home or abroad. Whenever they resisted, fire, famine, and slaughter laid the country bare, century after century, down to times within the memory of men recently living.

All this he admits and deplures. He execrates—often in entire good faith—the merciless sword of Carew, the forged letters, the feigned friendships, the poisoned cup, and other infamous devices of the Tudors. He is ashamed of the violated articles of Limerick, which constituted Ireland's share in the 'glorious Revolution,' and of the Irish code in which the statesmen of the Augustan age of Anne anticipated the worst devices of the slave-drivers of Alabama and South Carolina. He cheerfully renounces Wentworth and Temple, Stone and Boulter, and all their works. He declines to defend the tortures and massacres of '98, or to justify the method by which the Union was accomplished. These ancient crimes he classes with the burning of Joan of Arc as a witch in the English camp, and the hanging of Sir William Wallace as a rebel in London, which Scotchmen and Frenchmen have consented to forget; and points with complacent triumph to the entire change of sentiment and practice which has marked his own day. From the era of the Reform Bill, he contends, English statesmen have laboured to govern Ireland for her own benefit. During the last fifty years measure after measure has been passed granting Ireland the same laws which England herself enjoys. Public men have competed with each other which should

be first to amend whatever was amiss, and to supply whatever was deficient. It is nearly four decades since Sir Robert Peel declared that no one must any longer be able to point to any distinction between England and Ireland, either in the spirit of the law or in its administration, and this he insists is the rule which has been adopted in modern legislation. As for the dead past, it is beyond human remedy, and sensible men make haste to forget it.

This song of triumph can scarcely be new to anyone. As other popular melodies which are daily ground on the hurdy-gurdy and the musical box began with the bassoon and the violoncello, it has slowly descended from Parliamentary debates, and the confabulation of party clubs, to be the commonplace of omnibuses and beer-shops. There is something like a general consensus of the English nation, high and low, that for half a century Ireland has been crowned with favours, and that they have all been granted in vain. If this sentiment were merely an impudent pretence or a cynical lie, as it has sometimes been in the mouth of Parliamentary gladiators, it would scarcely be worth debate; but it is impossible to doubt that it is the settled belief of many upright and enlightened Englishmen who desire to do what is right. Out of respect to this class I propose to invite them to look into the facts of the case a little, and see how far they bear out the current assumption. Any one who takes up the inquiry in a serious spirit will find effectual assistance in a work recently published by Mr. Barry O'Brien,¹ entitled *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, and written not only with much ability and research but with cautious fairness and accuracy. Only one of two proposed volumes is yet published, bringing down the record to the year 1840; but as the inquiry is fairly started I propose to make a flying survey of the half century at once, using Mr. O'Brien's assistance as far as it is available, and where it ceases having recourse to the original authorities. The reader who accompanies me will be able to determine for himself how far it is true that since the era of the Reform Bill Ireland has received the same laws as England, administered in the same spirit, and whether it be fair to affirm that she is ungrateful for that favour which touches all noble hearts—ungrudgingly just and generous treatment.

One of the first Irish questions to which the Reform Parliament turned its attention was the state of public instruction. Since the Reformation the Government had retained the control of education, public and private, through the agency of the Established Church, and after nearly three centuries of this monopoly, the cabinet of reformers found that over four millions of the population who lived by industry could neither read nor write. The steps by which this shameful result was reached are highly instructive data for the historical student, and the conscientious statesman.

¹ *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*. Sampson Low & Co., 1883.

When the property of the Catholic Church in Ireland was transferred to the new clergy by grants of Henry and Elizabeth, they were required to maintain a school in each parish for the education of the poor. For a long time we have no record of how this duty was performed or evaded. But after more than a century official inquiry came, with the fatal multiplication table in hand, and discovered that in more than nine-tenths of the parishes there was no parish school and no teacher, and that the incumbent who received the tithe did not devote any part of it to this purpose. Out of 833 benefices there were 764 without schools. In the remaining parishes, less than eighty in all, the incumbent paid forty shillings a year in aid of a parish school, which, allowing for the different value of money, was perhaps equivalent to the cost of educating one child. But a Parliamentary Commission reported that even this bounty was commonly applied to some other purpose than the ostensible one; it was generally paid to a person who was not a schoolmaster, but who it may be presumed performed more acceptable services. Under these circumstances the Irish Parliament came to the rescue. It made grants from time to time for the education of the poor, and practically transferred to the State the burthen which the Church had evaded; reserving for the latter the agreeable duty of spending the money which they would not contribute. After the Union, when the present century was in its youth, there was further Parliamentary inquiry, and it was found that there were not schools in half the parishes paying tithe, and it may be added that the schools which existed educated fewer children in the whole kingdom than are now taught in Dublin, Cork, or Belfast. The parish schools finally died out and gave way to other institutions. But a fact may be noted in relation to them which will be found universally true in the annals of the English settlement in Ireland, that whenever funds were taken from the property of the Irish nation to subsidise some English institution, they have been invariably wasted and plundered by the administrators to whom they were entrusted.

When the plantation of Ulster took place in the reign of James the First, liberal grants to establish free schools were made from the lands taken from O'Neil and O'Donnell. Here and there these institutions answered their purpose in an imperfect way, but the endowments were mostly wasted or misappropriated. There is still a claim in controversy between the municipality of Derry and the committee of London Corporators who call themselves the Irish Society, in which it is alleged, with much probability, that these London tradesmen have appropriated to their own purposes for more than two centuries, and still misappropriate, three hundred acres of land granted for the maintenance of Foyle College as a free school.

From the reign of Anne down to the Georgian era the education of Catholic children was strictly prohibited. To teach a Catholic to

read or write was an offence punished with as savage penalties in Munster as the slave-drivers in Alabama inflicted on the offender against the law which doomed the negro to perpetual ignorance; and to smuggle young Papists to France or Belgium, where they might make acquaintance with the four-and-twenty letters of the alphabet, was as difficult and dangerous a feat as to smuggle young niggers into Canada. For a century they had no schools except by stealth. Mr. O'Brien tells the old, old story with notable moderation.

Many a time in those dark days the smuggling craft which frequented the Irish southern coasts carried as part of their freight over the seas Irish youths who went to be 'educated and brought up' in the Popish seminaries scattered throughout the Catholic countries of Europe. At home Catholic priests risked life and limb to stand by faith and fatherland, often wandering through the country, sometimes disguised in the garb of herds, tending the flocks of Catholic farmers in the day, and when evening came, seated by the fireside under the shelter of some friendly and sympathetic roof, teaching the peasants of the surrounding neighbourhood to read, write, spell, and, perchance, telling them—what they were ready enough to believe, and had too much reason for believing—that Rome was their friend, and England their enemy.

Under the House of Hanover the English interest in Ireland was managed by a succession of bishops, and it began to be mooted that a better method of disposing of the Papist children than leaving them in ignorance would be to catch them early and drill them into good Protestants. Primate Boulter, one of the most notable of these ecclesiastical Undertakers, early in the reign of George the Second proposed a prodigious scheme for establishing the Reformation permanently in Ireland. The Catholic children were to be removed from the influence of their parents, housed, clothed, and fed in well-guarded cloisters; after a time they were to be apprenticed to a trade with a Protestant master, and in the end granted a small sum to begin life, provided that they remained faithful to the doctrines of the Established Church. The scheme promised so well that a royal charter was easily obtained; the King contributed 1,000*l.* a year out of his private resources, many of the great landowners followed his example, and after a time the Irish Parliament gave an annual grant towards so good a cause. The schools were, of course, placed under the control of the Church, which had managed the parish schools with such notable results. Prelates and nobles were among the patrons and directors of the system, and each school had attached to it as a catechist a minister of the Church of England. Even the Catholics were not shut out from all share in the enterprise. The humble pursuit of hawker and pedlar, which was not worth competing for, had fallen chiefly into the hands of Papists, and it was thought good sport to levy a license-fee from Popish pedlars in aid of the Charter schools, as Primate Boulter's institutions were named. When the reformed Parliament took up the question of Irish education the Charter schools had received upwards of a million

of public money, and a munificent sum in donations and bequests. What they had done with it furnishes another illustration of the common fate of Anglo-Irish endowments. When the schools were half a century in existence, John Howard, known to posterity by the honourable title of 'The Philanthropist,' visited Ireland to inspect the public prisons, and naturally included these prisons for young Papists in his survey. He discovered an organised system of chicanery and fraud. Mr. O'Brien must tell the story—

Of Count Cagliostro, Carlyle said that 'it was not so much that he told lies as that he himself was a lie.' It may be said of the Charter schools that it was not so much that lies were told and frauds perpetrated in connexion with them, as that the whole system was one vast lie and fraud. The masters of the schools lied to the catechists, the catechists lied to the local committees, the local committees lied to the Committee of Fifteen, the Committee lied to the Parliament, and Parliament, by voting supplies for the maintenance of those schools, on the strength of the statements furnished by their managers, published those lies as truths to the world. The very children obtained admission to the schools by virtue of a lie which the society made their parents tell.

Mr. Howard's testimony justifies Mr. O'Brien's description of the system. The number of children for whom the directors obtained aid from Parliament was nearly double the actual number in their institutions. Described in official reports as 'well-cared-for, well-fed, well-clothed, and well-taught,' they were in a disgraceful condition.

'The state of most of the schools which I visited,' says Mr. Howard, 'was so deplorable as to disgrace Protestantism, and to encourage Popery in Ireland rather than the contrary.' The instruction, cleanliness, and health of the children had been grossly neglected; they had not been allowed sufficient food, clothing, or other necessities; in many schools they were half-starved, half-naked, and covered with cutaneous disorders, the effect of filth and negligence; while, he added, 'in some of those schools the children of the masters and mistresses appeared fresh, clean, and in good health.' 'The children in general,' said Mr. Howard afterwards, before a committee of the Irish House of Commons, 'were sickly, pale, and such miserable objects that they were a disgrace to all society; and their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for the masters.' At Longford he found twelve 'sickly boys, almost naked;' and thirteen 'miserable objects' at Clonmel. At Innisshannon he found the children 'very dirty, and their clothes in rags.' 'Several had the itch, and some had scald heads.' On the day on which Howard saw these things, the doctor of the school, who was also a member of the local committee, reported 'all the boys now healthy.'

Even the primary purpose of the system was sacrificed to greed and apathy. At Castlebar 'the children had never been at church,' the apprentice fees and the bonus for remaining good Protestants were seldom paid, and morality seems to have been as little cared for as religion. At Loughrea the girls were entrusted to 'a drunken mistress.' In one school-house the committee-room was a granary for the oats of the catechist, the local clergyman; in another, where everything was in disorder, the master was only seventeen of eighteen years of age; in a third, the teacher, who called himself an apothecary,

had been lately paid six guineas for medicine, and as Mr. Howard slyly suggests, there was naturally 'uncommon mortality among the children.'

At Castle Carbery there was no appearance of a school-room; part of the window was stuffed with a turf-kish and dung, and there were about twenty-four ragged shirts and shifts. There were eighteen girls and fourteen boys in the school, most of them sickly, wretched-looking creatures, covered with the itch; two only could read, and all order appeared to have been neglected; but the masters' and mistresses' apartments were comfortable and well-furnished, and likewise the parlour, which served as a committee-room.

This exposure, it may be fancied, killed the system; but not at all. It went on with consummate effrontery for another generation, growing yearly worse and worse. To filth, discomfort, and disease, cruelty and greed were added. Forty years after Howard's report a Royal Commission looked into the system and found all its original sins increased. The children were sometimes worked and lashed like slaves. As many as sixty and a hundred lashes were inflicted on boys for errors in arithmetic, and in one case cruel torture and laceration for the offence of 'looking at two policemen playing at ball.' But as the crimes were so disproportionate to the penalty, the offenders had perhaps been indolent workers on a farm of 130 acres, on which they were habitually employed for the master's profit.

Their progress in secular and religious knowledge may be imagined; but we are not left to speculate in the dark.

'They were found able to repeat the catechism,' the Commission reported, '... but attached little or no meaning to the words they repeated. . . . They had never heard of St. Paul, and half of them had no idea whether the word Europe meant a man, a place, or a thing; and only three boys in the school could name the four quarters of the world.'

The scheme of wholesale proselytism proved a complete failure, and all subsidiary schemes (of which there were several) except, perhaps, among two helpless classes who were permitted no loophole of escape. If a poor Catholic soldier or sailor died fighting for the empire, the State seized upon his orphan children, shut them up in a military or naval school, and educated them in the established religion. There was a hospital in Dublin where a couple of baskets hung out night and day to receive foundlings without any question asked. Parliament provided funds by which they were to be clothed, educated, and finally apprenticed to a trade, on condition of receiving a strictly Protestant education. But this institution, like the others, was worked for the benefit of the managers chiefly. A Parliamentary inquiry disclosed the tremendous fact that out of 52,140 foundlings received into the institution in thirty years, 41,524 died, 6,339 were in hospital when the report was made, and upwards of 400 had succeeded in running away. Of the survivors it was stated in evidence

by a Protestant clergyman, who was not, it may be assumed, prejudiced against a purely Protestant institution, that 'most of the girls turned out profligates.'

The failure of proselytism led to an experiment which, had it been honestly conducted, would have amounted to a social revolution. In 1811 a society for promoting the education of the poor of Ireland, afterwards known as the Kildare Street Society, was established on comparatively fair principles. It was to be placed under the joint control of Catholics and Protestants, to appoint Catholic and Protestant teachers, and to countenance or permit no attempt at tampering with the faith of the children. Reading the bible was made part of the daily course, but to satisfy Catholic scruples it was ordered that the teacher should offer no comment on the text. So desperate was the need of education that O'Connell, already a representative man of his race, became a member of this society, and the Catholics gave the system a fair trial. The society struggled on for three or four years without Parliamentary assistance, and seems to have been fairly managed. At length, Parliament gave a liberal grant, and with the official loaves and fishes, the vices which had rendered former schemes abortive speedily reappeared. The pledge against proselytism was broken. The board placed many of their schools under societies which were notoriously and professedly established with a view to convert the natives. As many as 400 schools of this character were assisted out of funds granted for the purpose of joint education. They had selected as teachers both Protestants and Catholics, but when a return was called for, it was found that out of 148 schoolmasters 123 were Protestants, and out of 56 schoolmistresses no less than 48 were of that favoured class. It was a puzzle that a mixed board should have permitted these abuses; but when the constitution of the board was examined, it was discovered that the mixture was practically a fiction. In the joint management professing to represent the entire nation, there were twenty-four members of the Church of England, two Presbyterians, four members of the Society of Friends, and on behalf of the bulk of the nation two Catholics. After these disclosures O'Connell withdrew from the society, the Duke of Leinster and Lord Cloncurry left it at the same time, the Catholic children abandoned the schools, *en masse*, and the Catholics were again left to their own scanty resources.

A reader of this generation will hardly realise what such a contingency implied. The mass of Catholics at that time had lived when it was unlawful to open a Catholic school, for it was only after the American colonists had shaken off the control of England, and the Irish Volunteers were ready to follow their example, that the Parliament of Irish landlords sitting in Dublin could be induced to repeal the penal laws against education. And the concession, when

it came, was made in the niggard spirit which has rendered so many concessions bootless. The Catholic who proposed to open a school must first obtain a license from the Protestant bishop of the diocese. Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Lowe in our own day are supposed to have performed an unparalleled feat in passing a Relief Act for Irish tenants, of which no soul ever availed himself; but the Education Act which proposed to give the selection of Catholic teachers to Protestant bishops was nearly as barren. As the Catholics were organised, however, at that time under the lead of John Keogh, and the sky looked stormy, Parliament removed all restrictions in 1792. From that date they were free to establish schools, if a population which had been robbed of their lands and churches, which had long been shut out of the learned professions and from many prosperous trades, and forbidden to hold land on a profitable tenure, could afford to do so; but Parliament did not grant a shilling of public money to aid the experiment. A diocesan seminary or two was founded by the labour of individual bishops, but no general system of education was possible. It was only after the present century began that a congregation of lay Catholics, known as the Christian Brothers, opened the first Catholic schools publicly established since the battle of the Boyne. They were excellent primary schools; but they were confined to a few of the great towns which could furnish the necessary funds; the small towns and the rural districts were left to the chance of a man who had failed in some more profitable pursuit turning schoolmaster, and out of a population of seven millions and a half more than four millions could neither read nor write.²

These were the wrongs which Parliament had to redress. What ought to have been done in strict justice scarcely admits of debate. The example was close at hand. In England the education of the poor was a religious education, directed in the case of the majority by the National Church, and for other denominations by their respective clergy. In Scotland the education of the poor was also a religious education, directed by the National Church, a different

² I have spoken only of Poor Schools, as the system established in 1831 was intended for the poor, but the education of middle-class Catholics was in a condition quite as shameful. When the reformed Parliament took up the question there was but one Catholic grammar school in the province of Ulster. That this was a practical, not a sentimental, grievance, I have good reason to understand — *moi qui vous parle*. In my native town and county, when I was ten years of age, there was not a Catholic school where I could learn the rudiments of classics or mathematics. My guardian, a Catholic clergyman, had the courage to send me to the school of a Presbyterian minister, where I was the first Catholic who had ever made his appearance. Had he not done so, all my life would have been widely different. But to the Dublin University, where young men entered as good Catholics and came out so often as bad Protestants, he would not consent that I should go, and the intervals of a busy life for a quarter of a century were employed in supplying deficiencies which sprung from the circumstance that I was a Catholic living under English law, in a country where men of my name had been notable before the landing of the first Englishman.

Church indeed, but the undoubted Church of the nation ; the minority being also adequately provided for. If the intention was to extend the same laws to Ireland, and to remove all invidious distinctions, the proper course is plain enough. The funds ought to have been divided in proportion to the population, and expended under regulations by which an adequate religious and secular education would be secured. It cannot be alleged that Ireland was indifferent on the question ; she had made unexampled sacrifices for the creed of her choice, and Catholics still more than Protestants, regard moral and dogmatic instruction as the essential basis of education. Any system which was not intrinsically unjust, would manifestly have put the people of Ireland on the same footing as the people of England and Scotland.

But after all the *placebos* about equal justice, the fact remained that no Government dare face the prejudice of bigots on the question. The first of the concessions which were to reconcile Ireland to the empire (and which perplex Englishmen by having failed to do so) had to deny to the Irish people what the English and Scotch people possessed—the right of spending their own money, derived from their contribution to the public exchequer, in educating their children according to their conscience.

The Reform Government probably did all that was possible in the circumstances of the case. Mr. Stanley—the Lord Derby of later years—framed a compromise which was as fair as a compromise involving questions of conscience could well be. He proposed that 30,000*l.* a-year should be placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant for national education ; that he should be empowered to appoint a board of commissioners, composed of Catholics and Protestants, who should select the teachers, sanction the books to be used in the schools, and generally direct and control the system. Parliament accepted the proposal, and the new commissioners were instructed to utterly forbid proselytism, but to provide for the religious instruction of the children, by setting apart at least one day in each week when their respective clergymen might have an opportunity of teaching them their religious duties.

Though the scheme was far from perfect the Catholics received it with general satisfaction ; but it was met with a roar of disapproval from the Established Church and the Synod of Ulster, representing the Irish Presbyterians. Their opposition was countenanced by the majority of the English as well as the Irish bishops, and sustained by petitions and public meetings in England and Ireland. The gist of their complaint was that the new system differed from those which preceded it, by not making the daily reading of the bible imperative. They knew that this was its *raison d'être* ; that Catholics considered the use of the bible as a school-book impaired the reverence in which it ought to be held, and that it was perilous to allow children to

interpret for themselves the mystic and symbolical language of scripture. But this knowledge seems to have given fresh zest to the demand. They were told by the Government that "a day was set apart for religious instruction, which might be occupied exclusively in reading the bible if they thought proper." But this, they insisted, was not enough; it must be read every day. A modification of the practice was then introduced, by which an hour was set apart each day, before or after secular duties, for religious instruction. But even this was not sufficient; it was a stigma on the word of God not to have it always accessible; and a special hour for religious instruction when priests of Rome might teach their fatal errors could not be tolerated. The agitation went on for years; it obtained wide sympathy in England, and by degrees the regulations designed to secure fair play to Catholics were one after another altered or relinquished, and the reasonable scheme approved of by Parliament mutilated and debased. At length the very key stone of the system was struck out. One of the chief safeguards against proselytism was a rule which forbade the attendance of any children except those of his own communion when a clergyman was giving religious instruction. It was a rule of manifest fairness, and one essential for the protection of Catholic children against the perverse influence of landlords and landladies, who had compelled rack-rented tenants to send their children to the Kildare Street Schools. But after years of agitation, in 1847, when Ireland was distracted by famine and disaster, this rule was abrogated, and children were no longer to be withdrawn from any religious instruction which they could be induced to attend. The result designed naturally followed. In a few years the inspectors of the Board found that in some of the northern counties the Presbyterian minister gave religious instruction to all the children together, as under the old and corrupt proselytising systems, and it was discovered that no fewer than twenty-two thousand Catholic children were in the habit of attending the scriptural classes of Presbyterian ministers.

The gradual debasement of the system had long escaped attention, but after this discovery it met a decisive exposure. It sprang from the original constitution of the Board, on which the bulk of the nation were left in a perpetual minority. The commissioners were seven in number, of whom one was an Englishman, Dr. Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin; another a Scotchman, Rev. Mr. Carlisle, a Presbyterian minister; and these two constituted the motive power of the system. Associated with them were the Duke of Leinster as an ornamental figure-head, the Provost of Trinity College, an eminent Unitarian barrister, and, on the part of the Catholics, two old men engrossed with other duties—Dr. Murray, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Mr. Anthony Blake, the Chief Remembrancer. The system in all its parts and developments took its character from Mr.

Carlisle, the sole paid commissioner. The model schools were placed under the management of his *protégés* exclusively; of the five professors three were Scotchmen, one an Englishman, and one a German, and all were Presbyterians. Of the inspectors, sub-inspectors, and the working staff at head-quarters, a decisive majority were selected in the same spirit. The books used in the schools were all written or edited by Mr. Carlisle, or by Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irish Presbyterians, selected by him or Dr. Whately. The preparation of a single volume was not entrusted to any Irish Catholic. As a natural consequence, it was found that the entity most carefully excluded from the class-books of the Irish National system was Ireland. Shameful and ludicrous cases were cited from them in which Scotland was exalted and applauded, and Ireland depressed or ignored in identical circumstances. The Books of Lessons in their first issue contained extracts from Walter Scott and Thomas Campbell, which were probably considered unobjectionable as the work of Scotchmen; but when it was discovered that they taught patriotism and love of country they were deliberately expunged as unfit for Irish children.³

The effect these disclosures produced may be conceived. A national agitation sprung up which would have left the schools as empty as the barracks of Primate Boulter, had not effectual amendments been made. After nearly twenty years of mismanagement a new Commission was appointed, a moiety of the members being Catholics, the school-books were amended, and proselytism repressed. The system with all its drawbacks has effected wide and substantial good, and has educated millions of Irish children. The great majority of the schools at present are in effect denominational, Catholic in three provinces, and largely Presbyterian in the fourth. But from their foundation to this hour they have been depressed and starved by Parliament. The teachers receive the wages of English grooms, and funds for their adequate training, in order that they might teach effectually, have been systematically refused. At the close of last session (1883) Lord O'Hagan, one of the present commissioners, presented this significant contrast for the consideration of his peers:—

In England the State afforded a subsidy of 110,500*l.* to support 42 colleges, with 3,160 students for training schools. In Scotland 27,000*l.* was given for 7 colleges, with 851 students, while in Ireland for the only subsidised college, the amount was 7,755*l.* and the number of students 220. That was the state of the case after twenty years' work. The matter had been again and again pressed upon the attention of Parliament, with the result that he had just stated. . . . It was a shame that in this United Empire there should be that monstrous inequality between one portion and another.

³ Scott's

'Lives there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself has said

'This is my own, my native land,'

was among the dangerous and objectionable extracts expunged.

This was the first concession ; the beginning of the policy of fair play by which Ireland was treated in the same spirit, and, on the same footing, as England. If Englishmen would be content with a national system of education where the bulk of the commissioners were Catholics, where all the books for the instruction of their children were edited by an Irish priest, or his nominees, who carefully purged them of English history and biography ; a system where the professors and the bulk of the staff were Catholics, where even foreign Catholics were preferred to Englishmen ; a system where the necessary agencies and instruments of instruction, plentifully supplied to the neighbouring island, were denied to England ; if such a system would seem to them just and reasonable in their own case, they are entitled to be amazed at the perversity of Irishmen who regard it as a shameful evasion of justice and fair play.

The next boon to Ireland was Parliamentary Reform. England obtained the abolition of rotten boroughs and the representation of great towns by aid of Ireland ; the original proposal of Lord Grey having been rejected by the members for England and Scotland, and only saved by the votes of Irish members. It was now to be seen what justice and gratitude would concede to Ireland. There was a huge arrear of wrong to redress. Since responsible government had been founded, after the Revolution of 1688, Ireland had only enjoyed a liberal franchise for a brief moment. During the reign of William the Third the Catholics still voted at elections ; but in the succeeding reign they were deprived of all the rights of citizens, and, among others, the right of sending representatives to Parliament. Under the first and second George, though Ireland had a Parliament, no Catholic sat in it, or could vote for a member to sit in it. When the French Revolution and the American Revolution alarmed the aristocracy and the Government, some scanty concessions were made to Catholics, but the franchise was stubbornly refused. The Volunteers who made the Irish Revolution of 1782 declared for the complete emancipation of their fellow subjects, but the great proprietors, the holders of the forfeited estates, who commanded majorities in both houses, declined to assent. Ten years after the Declaration of Independence had rendered the Irish Parliament supreme in Irish affairs, a petition from the Catholics praying for political liberty, and another from the northern Protestants supporting their claim, were rejected by a majority of more than two hundred to a minority of less than five-and-twenty. Only Grattan, Curran, Denis Browne, and a few of the Volunteer leaders supported the claim.

At that time the northern Presbyterians, who had been treated with systematic injustice and contempt by the Protestants of the Establishment, and who had sympathised with the American Revolution and the French Revolution, were plotting a revolution of their own. The United Irishmen, founded at Belfast, aimed at a separa-

tion from England, and strove to obtain the assistance of the Catholics. If north and south were united it was believed that they would be strong enough to defy England. The younger Pitt, then prime minister, was no bigot; and Edmund Burke, who knew Ireland intimately, and who feared revolutionary principles as the chief danger to England, gave him advice of which time has vindicated the wisdom and insight. 'The Catholics,' he said, 'are not naturally revolutionists, but you will make them so by continued oppression. They ask for the franchise; you will have to grant it to them some time or other, whether you like it or not; grant it now when they will be thankful, not hereafter when it will be forced from you, and there will be no thanks. By delay you inevitably throw them into the arms of the United Irishmen.' Pitt was impressed with this counsel and disposed to act upon it. The Lord Lieutenant was instructed to feel his way towards the concessions; but the Privy Council in Dublin, the leaders of the minority who monopolised all the advantages from which the Catholics were excluded, feared that if political power were given to the nation they would soon object to supporting corporations in which they were not permitted to sit, a Church which scorned and libelled them, and perhaps call in question confiscations which had taken place so lately as within the lifetime of men recently living. They alarmed Pitt with the menace which the Irish gentry have always employed when their monopolies were assailed from that time down to our own day; they muttered nationality. The Irish Protestants, they said, would not consent to be a garrison for England, except on condition of enjoying the pay and plunder they had always received. Volunteering, they alleged, had revived in Down and Monaghan, and the Protestant interest would soon prove a worse embarrassment to England than the Presbyterians or the Catholics. To evade this danger the Government in London abandoned their good intentions.

Burke's predictions were speedily fulfilled. When the Catholic petition was rejected, and the hopes held out by Pitt suddenly withdrawn, John Keogh, a prudent, sagacious, and vigorous man, who was leader of the Catholics at that time, determined on measures of reprisal. As a guarantee of fellow-feeling he offered the post of paid Secretary of the Catholic Committee to Wolfe Tone, the young Protestant barrister who had organised the United Irishmen. The two forces thus brought into close relations embarrassed the common enemy by constant sallies. At Belfast the Northerners became more open and vehement in their revolutionary principles, and Keogh on his side projected a measure of singular courage and wisdom. Instead of a self-appointed committee in Dublin, which managed the interest of the Catholics at that time, he determined to summon a Catholic Convention to which members should be elected from every county and considerable town in Ireland. It was the era of the

Jacobin clubs, and such a design was full of menace and terror. The Castle officials declared that it must be put down by law if there was law available; if not, by a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant supported by force. If a convention, representing the bulk of the nation more adequately than the exclusive assembly which legislated in College Green were permitted to sit, the franchise would have to be yielded, and to yield the franchise was a project fatal to Protestant ascendancy, which must be resisted for ever, and to the death. Pitt was disturbed by these continued remonstrances, and the Irish Government were authorised to forbid elections to the convention.

But there was a factor which played a more decisive part in European affairs at that era than Pitt—the French Republic. The kings of Europe had united in a confederacy to crush democratic France, and to encounter them the Republic sent forth an army of new levies under a general of limited experience, whom Edmund Burke in his fanatical hatred of the Revolution described as a buffoon at the head of a troop of strolling players. But the buffoon, who was a soldier of singular ability long repressed by the aristocratic system which crippled the French army, defeated the royal confederacy in a great battle, and carried the tricolour in triumph from the Alps to the Apennines. Dumourier's success was not less a victory for Ireland than for France. It was received with public rejoicings from Belfast to Cork, and Catholics and Presbyterians rivalled each other in recognising it as a great stroke struck for human freedom. The immediate result was an order to the Irish officials not to interfere with the convention, and a significant warning that if the franchise had been granted when it was asked it would have been concession enough; but now, thanks to their unreasonable resistance, it would no longer be enough. The elections were conducted with order and dignity, and the convention when it met was a genuine Catholic Parliament. Tone, who was sometimes a caustic critic on Catholic shortcomings, says of it in his memoirs, 'twas the noblest assembly he ever saw.'

Hitherto the Catholics had only sought limited concessions: the convention adopted an address to the King praying for immediate and complete emancipation. And, rejecting the practice hitherto pursued of sending their petitions through their enemies at the Castle, a deputation of four leading Catholics was appointed to carry their prayer to the foot of the throne. The Catholic delegates went to London by way of Belfast, where they were received with enthusiasm, entertained at a public breakfast, and their carriages drawn in triumph through the streets followed by enthusiastic crowds. Fresh from the rejoicings at Belfast they were admitted to the presence of George the Third, who received them graciously, it is alleged, and the Government promised that their prayer for the franchise, at any rate, should be immediately granted. Within a month after the next meeting of the Irish Parliament, within six months after Dumourier's victory,

and twelve months after the contemptuous rejection of their petition, the Catholics were at length admitted to the franchise.*

The concession so bitterly resisted was destined to be long valueless. The Union, which abolished the Irish Parliament half a dozen years later, rendered Irish votes of little use for national ends, and the Catholic peasants who had become freeholders voted at the dictation of their landlords. It was more than a generation later that this new power first struck an effectual stroke. In 1826 John Keogh was dead, and the Irish Catholics were led by O'Connell and Sheil, through the agency of the memorable Catholic Association. The new leaders advised the people to refuse their votes to any candidate who would not support their claims to emancipation; and in Louth, where the Fosters and Chichesters had been supreme since the battle of the Boyne, in Monaghan, where the Leslies and Blayneys could return their led captains or lacqueys to Parliament, and in Waterford, where the Beresfords—who governed Ireland as the Dundases governed Scotland—were long undisputed masters, the forty-shilling freeholders elected candidates recommended by the association. To the party of Protestant ascendancy this result was like the news of a mutiny in the fleet or the army. To individual landlords it was as portentous as a revolt of serfs, or an insurrection of negroes. These first successes were followed by one more impressive and memorable. Two years later the forty-shilling freeholders of Clare chose as member for that county their leader and idol, Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic forbidden by law to sit or vote in Parliament; and these elections were the immediate cause of Catholic emancipation. The Duke of Wellington, then prime minister, explained specifically to his colleagues and to the King, that if he saw any method of maintaining what he regarded as the just influence of property, he would not concede the Catholic claims. But he reminded them that the men who had voted at the instance of their leaders might at the same dictation refuse to pay rent till their claims were conceded. History scarcely records an instance of more generous courage than that of these poor peasants, who defied their taskmasters for an abstract good in which they had scarcely an appreciable share. That they were fighting for a just cause nobody now disputes; and it was manifest even then to the meanest capacity from the fact that Parliament granted all their demands. But no sooner was the just concession made than Parliament proceeded to disfranchise the men whose gallantry had won it. The forty-shilling freehold was abolished, a franchise five times as high substituted, and the electors of Ireland at one fell stroke reduced from 200,000 to little more than twenty thousand.

These were the wrongs Parliament had to redress, and which

* They were admitted at the same time to the magistracy, and to grand juries, and gentlemen were authorised to carry arms, and to endow a college at their own cost for the education of their children.

they redressed, we are asked to believe, in a spirit of generosity deserving eternal gratitude. This is what they did.

They refused to renew the forty-shilling freehold, though a forty-shilling freehold was maintained and is still maintained in England. A ten-pound franchise limited by various qualifications, on which it is not necessary to enter, was established in towns and counties, and it was estimated that the electors of Ireland under this beneficent reform would scarcely reach 30,000 out of a population which approached eight millions. In England the franchise was given to one man out of every five; in Ireland it was given to scarcely one man out of every twenty. Manchester has more voters at present than all Ireland enjoyed under the second boon of the reformed Parliament. It was shown in a conclusive manner in debate, that Ireland on population, territory, and resources was entitled to 125 members; the number was fixed by Parliament at 105, being an addition of five to the existing members, and of these five, one was given to 1,500 graduates of Trinity College, mostly clergymen of the Established Church, who had already a representative. To 750 Protestant graduates there was granted a member, and to the rest of the nation a member for every 60,000 of the population.

The shameful unfairness of the settlement was stated afterwards with great clearness and force by O'Connell, when he made it one of the grounds of insisting on a repeal of the Union. A national Parliament was a necessary measure of defence, he contended, since it was manifestly impossible to obtain fair play from England in the simplest transaction under the existing system.

It was not enough (he said) that the Parliament sat in England, under the spell of English influence and opinion, but it was deliberately packed with an unfair English majority. The county of Galway had a larger population than Worcestershire; but Worcestershire had four members and Galway only two. The Protestant county of Down was no better treated than the Catholic county of Galway; it had a larger population than Northamptonshire, but only half the number of members. But this was not all; the county of Cork had nearly as large a population as the principality of Wales; Wales had twenty-eight representatives and Cork had two. So with boroughs; Totnes and Honiton, Harwich and Monmouth, with a population in each case under 5,000, and sometimes a long way under it, had two members each; while Bandon, and Athlone, Dundalk, and Kilkenny, with an average population above 10,000, had but one member each. The same deliberate injustice ran uniformly through the whole scheme.

The third boon forms a climax to the two which preceded it. Of Irish grievances the most aggravating was the tithe paid by the Catholic peasantry to the Established Church. A reformed Parliament might well have been impatient to abate so shameless a wrong; but Parliament did not broach this question, it was thrust on its attention by the people. A series of formidable agrarian disturbances, still remembered as the Tithe war, began in 1830, and were not entirely suppressed for more than half a dozen years.

Tithes had never been popular in Ireland; they were first established after the English invasion, and were paid chiefly to transplanted Englishmen. After the Reformation, when the new clergy for the outlying island were recruited like Falstaff's levies, and when there was not even a pretence, in the majority of cases, of performing what was supposed to be the corresponding duty, the anomaly became more flagrant. But if the Irish Catholic complained of any wrong, however special or oppressive, he was denounced to England as a rebel conspiring to break away from the connexion. When he objected to excessive tithes, troops were called out, and the impost was collected like the king's revenue as a primary duty of the State. The burthen fell chiefly on the Catholics, but the great proprietors, for whose benefit the Establishment existed, holding the best lands in their own hands as domains and home farms, necessarily paid something, and were impatient of the task. Early in the last century the Parliament in Dublin passed an Act relieving their domains, and all pasture land of tithe, and levying it exclusively on the men who held the plough. But the Presbyterian farmers in Ulster liked the system as little as the Catholics, and 'being Protestants with arms in their hands,' were in a better position to resist it, and a fierce opposition to the new Act broke out. To conciliate the Northerners a law was passed which cannot be paralleled in human legislation. Potatoes, which paid tithe in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, were relieved from tithe in Ulster. Flax, which was unknown in the southern province, and was the staple product of the north, was also relieved. The burthen was thus effectually laid on the shoulders of the Papists. Such a law necessarily begot discontent and disorder, for the people (as Mr. O'Brien observes) in resisting tithe on potatoes were literally fighting for their lives. The landlord seized the cereal crop for rent; if the parson got the bulk of the potatoes, the peasant starved. Tithe riots and the torture or murder of tithe-proctors (generally Catholic peasants) were common incidents between the Union and the reformed Parliament. When Lord Melbourne, then Mr. William Lamb, was Chief Secretary in Ireland, he expressed his contempt for this bootless and abortive war on each other. 'Why the d—l,' he demanded, 'don't the blockheads shoot a bishop?' The proximate cause of the Tithe war of 1830 is described by Mr. O'Brien:—

The parish of Graigue lies on the confines of the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny. The population numbered 4,770 Catholics and 63 Protestants. The rector, Dr. Alcock—who was much respected in the parish—had, owing to ill-health, taken up his residence at Cheltenham, appointing Mr. MacDonald to do duty for him. Mr. MacDonald was unfortunate in his relations with the parishioners, Catholic and Protestant. As a tithe-proctor and a proselytizer he naturally became obnoxious to the Papists. But even as a magistrate and a new reformer, he contrived to displease and annoy the members of his own class and creed. He quarrelled with the magistrates, who ultimately refused to sit on the bench with him, and he quarrelled

with the members of his own congregation, upon one of whom he committed an assault in the church.

After these beginnings it is not to be wondered at that Mr. MacDonald should have fallen foul of the parish priest; of whom Dr. Alcock had never during his residence in the parish demanded tithes, adopting in this respect a practice followed by many clergymen of the Established Church. Mr. MacDonald does not seem to have approved of this practice. He determined that both priest and peasant should contribute to his support and maintenance as Protestant curate of Graigue; and he accordingly demanded tithes of the parish priest, Father Doyle. Father Doyle refused to pay, and MacDonald seized his horse. The news of this demand and seizure quickly spread throughout the parish, and the peasantry, rallying round the priest, struck against the payment of tithes.

From Kilkenny the resistance spread to Carlow, Tipperary, and Wexford, and speedily throughout the entire south. There is no part of Mr. O'Brien's book in which the narrative is so spirited and elastic as in this tithe campaign, but it does not lie within my purpose to follow it into detail. It was a contest in which the people lavished time, money, and life, but their purpose was gained, the payment of tithe was universally refused. In Graigue, where the resistance began, an English colonel with six hundred men under his command, after two months' constant campaigning, retired leaving two-thirds of the tithe uncollected. The people had baffled him by locking up their cattle when the police approached, the law having provided for distraint only in the open field. In Newton Barry, where a number of cows seized for tithe were offered for sale, the people met in immense numbers, but without arms, and rescued the cattle by the mere pressure of the multitude. The local yeomanry, consisting of Protestant farmers and shopkeepers, who had been called out for the occasion, fired on the peasantry. Twelve men were shot dead on the instant, twenty were dangerously or fatally wounded, and the sale had to be abandoned. To kill nearly thirty men in executing a civil decree for a small debt was too much even for Ireland; an inquiry was ordered by the Government, and a bill for wilful murder against the captain and sergeant in command were sent to the grand jury at the next assizes. But the law, as it was then administered, was simply another weapon in the hands of the ascendancy.

The grand jury (says Mr. O'Brien) threw out the bills, but suggested that if bills charging manslaughter were sent up they would 'find' them. Bills charging manslaughter were then sent up, whereupon the grand jury found a true bill against the sergeant, but threw out the bill against the captain. The sergeant was put on his trial, but no witnesses came forward to prosecute and he was discharged.

Another dangerous affray took place in Tipperary. Archdeacon Cotton, of Thurles, in a communication to the Government, describes the condition of his parish, in terms which may be accepted as an epitome of English rule in Ireland at that time:—

The greater part of this parish is the property of Lord Llandaff, who has no residence here, nor gives employment, nor spends money in the place. The other

proprietors are almost wholly absentees. The town, which formerly contained several distilleries, now swarms with paupers, among whom the land is subdivided, and that at a rent often very high. Under these circumstances you will feel no surprise when I mention that I have to look for my tithes from about 650 occupiers, most of whom are in a needy condition, some of them having to pay so small a sum as *fourpence*!

Archdeacon Cotton proceeded to collect his groats; the people attempted to seize the tithe-proctor, the police fired on them, and the ground was strewn with dead bodies. O'Connell and the popular leaders entreated the reform Government to pause in the collection of tithe, and stop the massacres, till Parliament met and could deal with the question, but Mr. Stanley, who had charge of Irish affairs, was haughty and arbitrary, and he peremptorily refused. The only duty he saw clearly was to defend the Church.

The next conflict occurred in the parish of Knocktopher, where the Catholics were fifty to one of the population. The parson had raised the tithe which was 350*l.* in the time of his predecessor to 1,700*l.*, but the people, who seemed to have no special antipathy to him, proffered to pay his demand if he consented to a reduction of five per cent.—probably as an admission that the question must be looked into. The Archdeacon refused this concession, and Captain Gibbons with a party of thirty-nine police was sent out on a bleak November morning to serve tithe-processes. On the third day the people, who had watched the proceedings sullenly from the beginning, gathered by sound of horn under an appointed leader, and confronted the police in a 'boreen' (or narrow lane) fenced with stone walls. They demanded that the tithe-proctor should be given up to them. This demand was of course refused, but the people reiterated it, and declared they would not retire till it was complied with. Captain Gibbons, who seems to have lost patience, drew his pistol, shot the leader of the peasantry dead, and ordered his men to fire into the thick of the crowd. But the patience of the people also was exhausted; Gibbons was knocked dead from his horse by the blow of a stone, and the peasantry closed on the police in a hand-to-hand struggle, scythes and pitchforks against bayonets and muskets. The conflict lasted an hour, and ended in the total rout of the police, eleven of whom were killed and seventeen dangerously wounded. This was the affray of Carrickshock.

Parliament was called together in December, and a committee was immediately appointed by each House to inquire into the subject of tithe. To many men the question appeared sufficiently plain without further inquiry. There were eight millions of people in Ireland, of whom about three-quarters of a million were Protestants of the Established Church, and the other seven millions and a quarter were assessed to support a religious establishment less for their convenience than for their glorification. In many parishes in the south

there was not a single Protestant, in some there were only the parson, the clerk who read the responses, and the agent who collected the landlord's rent. But there was generally a church taken from the native population, or built at their expence, and glebe lands from which their forefathers had been expelled. The clergy who were enjoying these liberal endowments among the poorest peasantry in Europe were seldom content to enjoy them in quiet; they were often violent and offensive traducers of the people by whom they lived. The majority of the bishops were millionaires, absentees, or if resident, often living in a luxury which was a public scandal. There was but one thing to be done with such an institution—to abolish it. The boon which Parliament provided, however, was different. It made a grant of 60,000*l.* to the clergy—to which no one would have objected, for they were suffering sorely from having their resources suddenly cut off—and authorised and directed the Government to levy this advance in the name of the Crown, from the defaulting peasantry who had baffled the Church.

The conflict immediately recommenced. O'Connell answered this insulting denial of justice by opening a Repeal Agitation, which has outlived tithe and the Establishment; and the peasantry, in their despair of Parliamentary succour, flew to the Ribbon lodges, and agrarian offences increased in an alarming ratio. The tithe-owners also took the field, and there were renewed conflicts with the people. In the parish of Wallstown, where there were 3,163 Catholics and one Protestant, four of the peasantry were killed and many seriously wounded in resisting a new tithe valuation. In Rathkeeran where, according to the popular version of the affray, the police fired on the people without provocation, twelve men and a young girl were shot dead. A jury, for whose respectability the local Tory journal vouches, found a verdict of wilful murder against the inspector of police. 'He was committed to prison,' says Mr. O'Brien with significant brevity, 'for three days; he was then released and no further proceedings were taken against him.' The law officers whom the reform Government maintained in Ireland were Tories and bigots of the worst type—Blackburn and Jackson, who are still remembered in common with Norbury and Foster—and their spirit pervaded the whole system. There was not a single Catholic judge, stipendiary magistrate, or inspector of police in all Ireland, and of thirty-two sheriffs only one was a Catholic. Justice in a political prosecution, Lord Cloncurry declared, was at that time entirely unattainable by a Catholic. In this state of affairs a general election took place, and the question was referred to the limited and comparatively conservative class who enjoyed the franchise. The verdict of this class was as significant as the passionate wrath of the people; eighty-three members were elected who declared against tithe, and only twenty-three who supported the impost. The Government were forced to do some-

thing. To satisfy the party with whom their law officers were associated they proposed a Coercion Bill of extraordinary severity, extinguishing the right of public meeting and establishing courts-martial for the trial of rioters; and to content their Radical supporters in England, who were of opinion that the Establishment ought to be abolished, they proposed a reform of the Irish Church, chiefly for the Church's proper benefit. The bishops were to be reduced from twenty-two to twelve, the archbishops from four to two, and the savings so effected were to be applied as a substitute for Church cess, which it was proposed to abolish. The discontented peasantry had no interest in the reform of the Church; what they wanted was to be relieved from an exaction which they could not afford, and for which they received no return. It was of little more importance to the English Radicals, who were impatient to see the right of the State to dispose of Church revenues applied to so flagrant a case of abuse as the Irish Establishment. To gratify this active party the Bill embraced a proposal to apply 60,000*l.* a-year of the expected savings to secular purposes, as a recognition of the power of Parliament in the premises. But before the Bill left the Commons this provision was struck out at the instance of the Government itself. And when it reached the other House a clause authorising the suppression of any benefice where no service had been performed for three years prior to 1833, was extinguished by a proviso which renders the satire of *Gulliver's Travels* commonplace: the funds of the suspended benefices were ordered to accumulate for the purpose of building a church and glebe-house in the parish where there was no service, and presumably no congregation. The Radicals met this defection by a resolution pledging Parliament to apply the surplus revenues to State purposes; the Government opposed the motion, which was defeated by a majority of more than three to one, the minority including Hume, Grote, Cobbett, Ward, Roebuck, the Bulwers, and the bulk of the Radical party.⁵

⁵ Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer, in resisting the general scheme of the Government, made a prediction which time has largely justified, and is likely to justify still more amply. 'I am sure,' he said, 'that no people on the face of the earth can be governed by the system His Majesty's Ministers propose. To-day coercion—to-morrow concession. This system, at once feeble and exasperating, of allowing the justice of complaint, and yet stifling its voice—of holding out hopes and fears, terror and conciliation, all in a breath—is a system that renders animals and human beings alike, not tame but savage, is a system that would make the most credulous people distrustful, and the mildest people ferocious. . . . I think that an open rebellion is the least evil to be feared. I fear more a sullen, bitter, unforgiving recollection, which will distrust all our kindness and misinterpret all our intentions; which will take all grace from our gifts; which will ripen a partial into a general desire for a separate legislature, by a settled conviction of the injustice of this, so that at last the English people themselves, worn out with unavailing experiments, wearied with an expensive and thankless charge, and dissatisfied with a companionship which gives them nothing but the contagion of its own diseases, will be the first to ask for that very dismemberment of the empire which we are now attempting to prevent.'

Notwithstanding the Coercion Act, the Government found the collection of tithe arrears to be a task beyond their power. The people still resisted, but passively now rather than actively, and after a campaign lasting over a year the executive had only collected one-fifth of the amount claimed, and it was estimated that they had collected it at a cost of ten times the sum obtained. The expense of collection approached 60,000*l.*, the sum advanced to the clergy was 60,000*l.* more, and in return for this 120,000*l.* expended the amount received only reached 12,000*l.* The clergy also renewed the collection of current tithe, but they had been more unsuccessful than the Government, and if Parliament had not come to their aid by a fresh loan, this time of a million sterling, they would have been starved into submission.

The contest, in and out of Parliament, went on for six years. It led to the retirement of Mr. Stanley and some of his friends from the Government, and finally to the break-up of the Grey administration. Their successors under Lord Melbourne proposed to settle the question by reducing the tithe of Ireland by twenty per cent., and changing the residue into a rent-charge, to be collected by the landlords; but the House of Lords rejected the compromise. In the end the King got rid of the Melbourne Government by a *coup d'état*, and called Peel and Wellington to office. The party of Protestant ascendancy were enraptured at the statesmanship of the Lords and the courage of the King, and immense Orange meetings were held in Ulster to sustain them; but the collection of tithe became no easier. At Rathcormac, where Archdeacon Ryder had a claim of forty shillings against a poor widow, the peasantry resisted the soldiers and police 'with such determined bravery,' one of the military officers declared, 'as he had never before seen.' They were defeated, however, and the archdeacon got his forty shillings, but only after having killed twelve of the peasantry and wounded eight dangerously, and twenty more or less seriously.

Peel dissolved Parliament, and when it met again he brought forward a Tithe Bill nearly identical with the one his party in the Lords had thrown out the previous session. He proposed to abolish five-and-twenty per cent. of the impost, amounting to 180,000*l.* a year, and to convert the remainder into a rent-charge, to be collected by the landowners, who would be gainers of the entire amount diverted from the Church. His plan was five per cent. better than the Whig proposal, but Lord John Russell immediately capped it with a resolution pledging Parliament to apply the surplus revenues of the Establishment to purposes by which 'the moral and religious improvement of the people of Ireland might be advanced.' This was in effect the Radical proposal which Lord John had successfully resisted a year before. But the contest was at bottom one for office, in which the interests of Ireland were no more regarded than the

interests of Lear in the competing offers of Regan and Goneril. The Radicals outnumbered the Whigs in the new Parliament, and the Whig leader, who was a party strategist not a statesman, eagerly seized on their rejected proposition as a weapon to drive Peel from office. The motion was carried; Parliament affirmed the justice and necessity of applying the surplus funds of the Church in the manner proposed, and Peel, who would not consent, retired. Lord John Russell sat in the new cabinet under Lord Melbourne, but the session passed, the Parliament, the entire generation passed, without a shilling of the Church surplus being applied to the 'moral and religious improvement of the people of Ireland.' A Tithe Bill with an appropriation clause was indeed proposed, but when the House of Lords had thrown it out in two successive sessions the Government quietly acquiesced, and in 1838 submitted a Bill without an appropriation clause. This Bill, which was identical with Peel's proposal three years before, except that it granted as a gift to the Church the entire sum of a million sterling advanced as a loan, commended itself to the Lords, and became law. Tithes changed their name; they were collected by the landlords instead of the tithe-proctors; the arrears which no one could collect were paid by the State, with a prodigality reserved for its favourites, but the peasantry, who suffered and bled to abolish the unjust impost, received no benefit whatever. They got nothing but bullets and bayonet thrusts as their share of the compromise, and their want of gratitude for this generous settlement has been a puzzle to Englishmen from that day to this.

The history of the Irish Corporations would furnish an additional chapter to *Candide* or the annals of Laputa. After the Invasion, Dublin and the great towns of the south got charters, in the ordinary fashion of the period, for some acceptable service or some timely bribe to a king or lord deputy; but there was no municipality in Ulster before the Reformation, except in the garrison towns of Carlingford and Carrickfergus. When James the First granted a free Parliament to the whole nation it was found that, however skilfully the elections were managed, the Undertakers would be in a minority. To preserve the influence of the Crown, James called into existence in one day forty electorates, bogus boroughs as they would be called in our time, each of which was entitled to send two members to Dublin. They consisted almost exclusively of townships where towns were projected but not built, or of groups of cottages occupied by half a dozen families of new settlers from England and Scotland. The institutions so planted were fostered by successive kings and deputies, and obtained endowments of confiscated land and grants of money from Parliament. From the reign of Queen Anne down to the era of the reformed Parliament they were exclusively in the hands of Protestants. The right of election commonly resided in some powerful patron with a little ring of clients. In Dundalk the

electors were forty, in Belfast twenty, in Monaghan nineteen, in Armagh sixteen, in Maryborough nine, in Newtownards eight, in Cavan six. A commission appointed by the reform Government to inquire into their condition reported that they had in every instance plundered the property entrusted to them. Sometimes they allowed the patron to turn it into his private estate, sometimes they divided it amicably among themselves; but spoliation was the invariable rule. The English and Scotch corporations were found, when their affairs came to be scrutinised, to have behaved much in the same fashion, but with a little less cynical contempt for opinion.

Parliament took the question in hand, and the English corporations were brought under the control of the general body of rate-payers. Every borough was preserved, and the franchise was extended to every ratepayer, however small his rating. The new municipalities were granted control over the police, the administration of local justice, and the effectual government of their districts. Scotland was treated in the same manner. Then the case of Ireland was taken up. The Government proposed a measure of the same general character as those already passed, but with shameful inconsistency provided a higher qualification for electors in the poorer country, and deprived a people among whom law had been made a by-word by partisan officials, of the appointment of police magistrates, and the local administration of justice. The Bill was introduced too late in the session of 1835, and was never sent to the Lords, but in the ensuing session it was submitted anew. The imperfect scheme of the Government was too liberal for the Opposition; they met it with a proposal to abolish corporations in Ireland. The privileged minority had misused and plundered these institutions, and the suitable punishment, they conceived, was to deny them to the bulk of the nation who had no share in the offence.

^v Sir Robert Peel (says Mr. O'Brien), was in favour of a policy of equality for the Irish Catholics, but it was to be the equality, not of freemen, but of slaves. Rather than permit them to be lifted to the level of their Protestant fellow-subjects, he was resolved to pull the Protestants down to their level; rather than allow the masses of the Irish people a share in local self-government, he was resolved to destroy the principle of local self-government altogether.

The House did not accept this policy, and the measure was sent to the Lords. There the will of the Opposition was speedily accomplished; it was transformed into a Bill to abolish Irish Corporations, and, after a brief struggle between the Houses, the Government* dropped it for another session. In 1837 the original Bill was reintroduced with one concession to the Opposition; the Lord Lieutenant was given a veto on the sheriff selected by any town council. It passed the Commons by an increased majority, but the Lords got rid of it by the ordinary parliamentary device of fixing a remote day for its consideration, and it was lost for another session.

At length the Whigs proposed to settle the question as they had settled the Tithe question, by abandoning their own opinions and accepting those of their opponents. In 1838 Sir Robert Peel expressed himself willing to partially enfranchise eleven Irish corporations on condition of the other forty-seven being abolished; and Lord John Russell eagerly grasped at the compromise. A measure was sent to the Lords in which the county towns of Monaghan, Armagh, Dundalk, Wexford, Carlow, Ennis, Tralee, Cavan, Wicklow, and Longford, and thirty-seven smaller towns, were deprived of municipal institutions, and only eleven corporations retained. But there was still a dispute on the subject of the franchise. In the disfranchised towns a power was reserved by which the majority of the ratepayers were empowered to apply to the Lord Lieutenant for a charter of incorporation, and if it were granted the Government proposed to fix the qualification in such boroughs at a 5*l.* rating, but the Opposition insisted upon 10*l.* To secure this trifling amendment, which proved in the end of no practical importance, the Lords again defeated the measure. In 1839 the Government retreated from a 5*l.* to an 8*l.* qualification, but the Lords would not yield, and the Bill was again lost. In 1840, after five years of wanton delay, an Act was at length passed in which Galway was added to the list of abolished corporations, and the franchise was fixed in all cases at 10*l.* except with respect to the freemen of the old exclusive corporation of the metropolis, whose privileges were preserved. They and those inheriting from them, or apprenticed to them, were retained as voters for the city of Dublin without any property qualification whatever. The boon so tardily conferred on Ireland has been described in these terms:—

There were sixty-eight elected corporations in the hands of the Protestant minority, and with respect to fifty-eight of them, the new law stripped them of their privileges and their property—where any property had escaped plunder—and extinguished them rather than let them fall into the hands of the majority of the nation. The ten corporations which were not destroyed were effectually maimed. The treatment of Dublin will sufficiently illustrate the system pursued. In England every ratepayer was a burgess, though he only paid a shilling; in Ireland he must inhabit a house rated at 10*l.* under the Poor-Law, to attain this right. In England the payment of a single tax qualified a man to be on the burgess-roll; in Dublin it was necessary to have paid twelve local taxes, and in some districts more than twelve. The corporation created under this system was deliberately shorn of some of the most important privileges which the old dishonest corporation enjoyed. The appointment of the recorder, the sheriffs and the resident magistrates, and the control of the police, were taken from the municipality and transferred to the Government. • It was not empowered to light, cleanse, beautify, or keep in order the streets of the city, or to control its port or its public buildings. Its functions consisted in managing the water supply, making regulations for markets, and in imposing a rate on the citizens to pay a heavy debt inherited from the old corporation, and to compensate its superannuated officers. This was the boon for which ungrateful Ireland did not fall into ecstasies of gratitude. It must be confessed that she even clamoured for more—which is an awkward habit of claimants who are put off with less than their due.⁶

⁶ *Young Ireland*, p. 189.

When the new Act came into operation the reasonableness of the fears entertained of the majority, and of the favour extended to the minority, were brought to a practical test. In Dublin O'Connell proposed a compromise by which a Catholic and Protestant should be alternately appointed Lord Mayor, and for more than a generation this compromise was faithfully executed, though it sometimes carried bitter enemies of the people to the chief magistracy. The most influential of the Dublin journals exhorted the people to leave the minority a fair share of the representation, and to so use the power conferred upon them as to shame those who distrusted them. In Belfast, the Rochelle of the minority, but half a dozen Catholics have been permitted to make their way into the corporation during forty years, one at a time, and the mayor has been uniformly a Protestant, and in every case but two a Tory.

The history of the Irish Poor-Law transcends the history of the Irish corporations for cynical injustice. Down to the reformed Parliament there was no provision for the poor, except hospitals and infirmaries to prevent them infecting their betters with their plebeian diseases. In no civilised country was distress so universal, were famines so common, were the people fed, clothed, and lodged so miserably. In no country on the face of the globe did the landlords take so much from their dependents, and return so little; but for three centuries after a Poor-Law had been established in England they refused to make any legal provision for the age, infirmity, or poverty of the peasantry. They had so exercised the rights of property that in 1833 nearly a third of the population were in need of assistance to avoid starvation. At that date a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the subject. It consisted of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the Protestant Archbishop, the Moderator of the Synod of Ulster, and eight other Irish gentlemen, mostly land-owners and Protestants. After more than two years' inquiry they reported that the bulk of the poor consisted of able-bodied men, willing to work, and that the most suitable provision for them would be remunerative employment. They recommended that County Boards should be established, empowered to present reproductive public works, as well as to authorise the improvement of private estates, and that a rate should be levied from real property to repay the cost. This reasonable scheme was supplemented by a proposal which has always found favour with their class—State aid to enable the peasantry to quit their native country. But the Government paid no attention to the recommendation of their own commission. They appointed a young man who was a Poor-Law official in England to report anew; and after he had made a hasty survey of a country of which he previously knew nothing, they accepted his rival scheme, carried it into law, and appointed him Chief Commissioner to establish and administer it. Edifices called Workhouses were

built, where able-bodied paupers who were eager to be usefully employed were sent to swelter in perpetual idleness, for in the work-houses there was no work. The scheme so insultingly projected was managed in the same spirit. When it was a few years in operation its merits were summed up in these terms in a Parliamentary debate :—

In administering the Act as well as, in framing it, it seemed to have been recognised as a principle that entire ignorance of Ireland was the best recommendation. Mr. Nichol as chief commissioner possessed almost absolute power ; and there were six Englishmen assistant commissioners under him, and only four Irishmen. The architect was an Englishman, the chief clerk and all the officers in his branch were Englishmen ; Irishmen were only employed where the duty and salary were lowest. Was it surprising that the people of Ireland, when they found their most important local affairs so contemptuously and clumsily treated, should have concluded that the British Parliament was incapable of legislating for them ?⁷

These were the boons granted to Ireland by a Liberal Administration raised after long exile to the control of public affairs ; and here Mr. O'Brien's first volume ends. I propose to take a flying survey of later reforms, the work of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Gladstone, in another article.

C. GAVAN DUFFY.

Nice.

⁷ Speech of Mr. Smith O'Brien (then a Unionist) in the House of Commons, July 4, 1843.

RACHEL.

IN his clever and brilliant volume entitled *Rachel et la Tragédie*, Jules Janin describes a meeting between himself and the great tragic actress in 1836, when she was a plain, insignificant child of sixteen, and he was the successful and all-powerful critic of the *Débats*. 'C'est moi que j'étais au Gymnase,' said the future representative of Phèdre. 'J'y étions,' he answered equally ungrammatically. Between this and the year 1858, when Alphonse Karr retails with painful minuteness the 'vente après décès de Mademoiselle Rachel,' lie all the years of triumph and success, and all the years of disappointment and suffering, through which the great actress passed.

Although not quite subscribing to the accuracy of M. Janin's statement with regard to her want of education and grammar, there is no doubt that Rachel is one of the most remarkable instances of natural genius on record. She might, like Pasta, to the observation, 'Vous avez dû beaucoup étudier l'antique,' have replied: 'Je l'ai beaucoup senti.' It was this innate dramatic apprehension that, while as yet the names of Tancred, Helen, Hermione, or Pyrrhus presented only vague symbols to the mind, induced her to lie awake at night in the wretched garret occupied in common with her sisters, studying the stately verses of Racine. It was this vehemence of appreciation and intellectual power that enabled her to change the voice that was pronounced grating and disagreeable by her first master, Chorion, into the most flexible, penetrating, and passionate dramatic organ ever heard. It was this absorbing earnestness that endowed her with energy, when the time came, to throw off the shabby garments she had worn as a girl, and don the diadems, the draperies, the sandals of antiquity, wearing them with incomparable grace and dignity.

Victor Hugo and Balzac, representatives of the romantic school, were all-powerful when this child, unaided and alone, stepped forward, and endeavoured to obtain a hearing for Corneille and Racine. Doña Sol had been played by Mlle. Mars; Dorval had appeared in *Marion Delorme*; Frédéric Lemaître had been 'delighting every one in *Ruy Blas*. How was it possible to induce the public to listen

to poets who, almost two centuries before, had recounted the tragedies and greatness of ancient Greece and Rome?

It is said that the memory of the first friendship they have formed, or the first woman they have loved, dies out from the hearts of men, but that they never forget the first, great actor or actress they have seen. Whether this be true or not, the theatre, even when, by the passage of the years, we have become rationalist and unromantic, has shortened many a dull hour, and exorcised many a sad thought, recreating and stimulating our jaded spirits. Do we not owe a debt of gratitude then to those who have sung to us, or played to us, and ought we not constantly and faithfully to endeavour to clear their memories from the accusations cast at them by a carping crowd?

Above all, Frenchmen owe a debt of gratitude to her of whom we write. In her frail weak person this young girl embodied what their poets had conceived. She was the transformation into active force of all the tragedy and pathos, the love and sorrow, that had lain dormant in men's hearts and brains. She became the mouthpiece of the ages that had passed when she recited Corneille and Racine; the mouthpiece of the ages to come when, wrapped in their tricolour flag, she chanted the Marseillaise. 'One felt in the air,' said Madame Louise Collet to Béranger, 'like a mighty breath of hope, that bore along with it all youthful desires.' That beautiful apparition, pale, menacing, was no longer a woman; she was the Goddess of Liberty calling on her countrymen to arm.

In the Paris of France, the Athens of Attica, one might have hoped they would have spared this radiant Greek-souled artist, but she was by turns petted and blamed. When, as was often the case, a difference of opinion with the Théâtre Français, or her delicate health obliged her to refrain from appearing, the public took her reputation and flung it into the arena to be torn to pieces by the wild beasts. She was avaricious, she was hard-hearted, she was immoral!—all this, and much more that had no foundation in truth, was told and believed. 'Do not let us, patient sculptors of that hard marble called verse,' exclaims Théophile Gautier in his sketch of Rachel, 'envy in our poverty and solitude the applause, the wreaths, the showers of gold, or even the immense funeral processions of these poor comedians, unhappy queens of tragedy! They are but the playthings of the populace, to jibe at or caress.'

We do not intend to write a biography, however slight, of Rachel; enough has already been done to satisfy the curiosity of the crowd. We only wish, aided by the correspondence published recently in Paris, to clear her memory of some of the worst charges brought against her, and to prove, at least, that she was an affectionate daughter, a loving sister, and a devoted friend. M. Heylli, who has collected these letters, says in his preface: 'I seek to let the world know the character of the great tragedian in intimate life, *en dés-*

habillé, divested of the pomp and pageantry behind which so many qualities of heart and intelligence were hidden.'

Rachel had a large circle of correspondents, and few women of her time wrote so much, or with so 'facile' and natural a pen. It is indeed surprising that a person whose early education was almost nil, and who never learned French or spelling thoroughly, should be able to express her thoughts so simply and gracefully. None of the letters are disfigured by blots or erasures, although very often faulty in orthography and grammar. Her mother was evidently the member of her family to whom she most frequently confided her trials and troubles. 'On ne remercie pas une mère,' she says, 'des ennuis, des fatigues qu'on lui cause; on l'aime, et jamais on ne s'acquitte envers elle—et voilà !' One of the first letters of the series is written to her parents when she was but eleven years old. It will hardly bear translating:—

Chers Parents,—Il n'est impossible de vous exprimer toute la joie que j'ai ressentée en recevant de vos nouvelles. Je commençais à craindre qu'il arrivât quelque chose, car voilà longtemps que vous m'avez écrit, je me réjouis à l'idée que j'aurai bientôt le bonheur de vous voir et montrer les progrès que j'ai fait. M. Choron est assez content de moi et a pour nous mille bontés. Je ne puis éprouver toute ma reconnaissance qu'en cherchant à 'm'appliquer' afin de toujours contenter M. Choron autant que je le désire. Adieu mes bons parents, recevez l'assurance de tout mon respect. Votre fille soumise vous embrasse sans oublier mon petit frère Raphaël et ma sœur Rebec.

ELISA.

It was on the 1st of May, 1837, that Mlle. Rachel Félix was announced to appear on the stage of the Gymnase Theatre in a new play in two acts, called the *Vendéenne*, founded to a certain extent on Sir Walter Scott's novel, *The Heart of Midlothian*. A poor girl, daughter of Thibaut, a peasant who has been condemned to death during the insurrection in La Vendée, travels alone and unprotected to Paris for the sake of imploring Josephine, wife of the First Consul, to use her influence in saving her father's life. She is successful in her suit. The Emperor inaugurates his reign by an act of clemency, and pardons Thibaut. There were two stanzas in particular which the young actress chanted rather than sang:—

Je croyais encor l'invoquer :
Vers moi soudain elle s'avance,
Et du doigt semble m'indiquer
Une ville inconnue, immense.
Un seul mot rompit le silence :
Paris ! Et puis elle ajouta,
Comme en réponse à ma prière :
'Vas-y seule, à pied—car c'est là
Que tu pourras sauver ton père.

Jules Janin tells us how

some years afterwards, one winter evening, Rachel, then very ill, was lying on the sofa in her 'entresol' of the *Chaussée d'Antin*, the rain was beating outside, the thunder rolling, the wind blowing. The guests in the darkened room were

sitting silent, every one depressed by the sadness of the young actress, over whom the shadow of death had even then fallen. Suddenly, with her deep yet sonorous voice, she began singing this couplet, and made us shiver by the expression she gave to the words:

‘Une ville inconnue, immense,
Paris
Vas-y seule—à pied—car c’est là
Que tu pourras sauver ton père.’

Her voice died away in a sob, and she burst into tears.

Poor, eloquent, unhappy Rachel with her passionate heart and erratic genius! It was the dirge of her past misery and approaching death that she sang that evening. Unaided and on foot she had wandered to the scene of her triumph, to the goal of her fame, and felt the prize turning to dust and ashes in her hand.

Rachel was the child of a travelling Jew pedlar, Abraham Félix, and was born in the little village of Mumf, canton of Arau, Switzerland, on the 24th of March, 1821. The only record of the event that remains is an entry made by the burgomaster of Arau, to the effect that the wife of a pedlar had been confined of a female child in the village of Mumf. Neither the family nor nationality of the parents is mentioned, and the birth was not recorded in any civil or religious register. She was given the name of Elisa, changed afterwards to Rachel for theatrical purposes. The family consisted of one brother and four sisters, who all took to the stage with more or less success. Sarah, the eldest sister, gave it up later, however, and made a fortune by the sale of the celebrated ‘Eau des Fées.’ Dinah and Lia still survive.

For ten successive years after Rachel’s birth, the family wandered through Switzerland and Germany, until at last they settled in Lyons, where ‘Maman’ Félix opened a small secondhand shop, while Sarah and Rachel went from café to café singing. In the year 1830 the family removed to Paris.

We all of us know the story of Choron, the head of the Conservatoire, pressing through the crowd on the Boulevards who had gathered round to hear the sisters sing. He saw a little girl of ten or twelve, thinly clad, standing in the snow, the very picture of desolation. With her benumbed fingers she held out a wooden bowl for a sou. Choron dropped a silver coin into it. His heart was touched, and the deepest feelings of interest for the child were awakened. ‘Who taught you to sing so well?’ he asked. ‘Nobody, sir,’ was the answer; ‘I have learnt as I could.’ ‘But where did you learn those airs you sang just now?’ ‘I picked up a little of them everywhere. When I go about the streets, I listen under the windows to those ladies and gentlemen who sing, and try to catch the tune and the words, and afterwards arrange them the best way I can.’ ‘You are cold and hungry; come with me, and I will give you food and clothing.’ Choron led her away, and little Rachel never appeared on the Boulevards again. So runs the story as it is told by most of her biographers. Later

the great tragedian took a pride in showing the guitar to which she and her sister had sung in those days. Enemies said she sold several of these mementos for large sums and replaced them with others. However this may be, she was never ashamed of recurring to her early days of poverty and privation.

Rachel's first appearance at the Théâtre Français, goal of her ambition and desires, was in *Les Horaces* on the 12th of June 1838. The heat was excessive. All the literary and fashionable world was absent from Paris, and except for the pit and gallery, crowded with Jews who came to hear their countrywoman, the young beginner acted to an empty house. Joanny, who appeared with her, has rather an amusing entry in his diary of this date: "I played Augustus. I played well and was recalled. That little * * * has something in her, however!" That little Threestars was Mlle. Rachel. To Dr. Véron, author of *Les Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, belongs the honour of first recognising her genius. He thus describes his first sight of the great actress:—

It was on a lovely summer evening that, in search of shade and solitude (everything can be found in Paris if one knows where to look for it), I entered the Théâtre Français between eight and nine o'clock. There were four spectators in the orchestra; I made the fifth. My looks were riveted upon the stage by a new face, a face full of expression, the brow prominent, the eye dark, deep-set, and full of fire, the figure fragile in the extreme, but graceful in the attitudes and gestures, gifted moreover with a rich-toned, sympathetic, and cleverly managed voice. All my attention, which was more disposed at the moment to indolence than admiration, was immediately roused. This new face, this deep-set eye, this fragile figure, this cleverly managed voice, belonged to Mlle. Rachel.

By the end of August of the same year, Jules Janin, the redoubtable *feuilletonist*, the man who could make or mar any artistic reputation, was back in Paris, and, having seen Rachel at the Français, immediately rang her praises to the world. 'We possess the most astounding, miraculous little girl that the present generation has ever seen on the stage. This child's name is Rachel.' He then goes on in his paradoxical brilliant style to inform his countrymen of the treasure they possess. Before the end of the autumn of that year little 'Threestars' was reigning—a sovereign, where lately she had sued—a suppliant. Joanny was right; she had something more in her, however, than even he surmised. 'Depuis la loge du portier jusqu'à la mansarde elle était l'objet de tous les entretiens.' The receipts of the theatre were doubled and trebled when she played; the triumphant days of Talma and Mlle. Mars when at the zenith of their fame were surpassed. She had worked so many months, acting to empty houses, that she hardly could realise her success now that it came with such brilliant completeness; the great actress, however, never grudged those months of trial that had helped to mature her talent.

Not only on the stage but in society she was now courted and

made much of. Every moment was taken up, recitations, visits, fêtes, 'hardly time to eat left her;' as she says in one of her letters, 'On ne mange pas toujours quand on veut, lorsqu'on a l'honneur d'être la première tragédienne de sa Majesté le peuple français.'

She became a favoured guest amongst Mme. Récamier's select circle at the Abbaye-aux-Bois, and the whole of fashionable Paris was thrown into a ferment because, on her introduction to the Archbishop, she recited the celebrated lines in *Polyeucte* ending with 'Je vois, je sais, je crois,' from which fact they inferred that she meditated renouncing the Jewish faith and becoming a Christian. A close intimacy also sprang up between her and the De Girardins; she later acted several rôles written for her by the gifted and beautiful mistress of the house. Louis-Philippe broke through his rule of never going to the theatre, and paid her the great compliment of honouring the Français once or twice with his presence when she acted. She had an interview also with M. Guizot, the minister. 'Les ministres m'intimident tant soit peu,' she writes, and then adds, with a little touch of sarcasm: 'Au reste il a parlé beaucoup; cela m'arrangeait assez.' In later days she makes the sweeping assertion in regard to M. Fould that 'Napoleon the Third may make ministers, he cannot make gentlemen.' Her respect for eminent officials had diminished by that time.

In the midst of all her popularity and gaiety she did not forget her own people. 'Thank goodness,' she writes to her mother, 'I have done. The theatre is satisfied with the good-will I have displayed; the public has emphatically testified its approbation. I am happy and content. After hard work comes play and rest. I have arranged, therefore, a picnic, an improvised dinner in the woods, such as we used to have a few years ago in less happy times. I invite you to honour me with your presence, and undertake to lay the cloth and fry the potatoes. You shall warm the soup.'

The following letter, written at the same time, shows her generosity and good heart. 'I cannot tell you the impression poor Saint-Edmé's death has made upon me. I read his pitiable confession in the papers. If I had only known in time of his terrible position, I could have been of use to him. This sad end of my first biographer makes me perfectly miserable. . . . It seems that he had not even money enough to buy a pistol. . . . Unfortunate man! he leaves five children, and he had the courage or the weakness to die. . . . Find out where the children are; I wish to send them five hundred francs, my profits yesterday in *Camille*. I have been in such low spirits the last three days. I should like to go away and travel for a time.'

We find the young siren, now confident in her powers of fascination, thus writing with light-hearted contempt of the formidable phalanx of critics before whom every artist in Paris trembled:—

Diable! il paraît que je suis en disgrâce, si ce que Houssaye me dit est fondé. Nous jouons mercredi, pour sûr. Demain, lundi, après la répétition générale, je

mettrai ma petite capote rose et j'irai voir cinq ou six des ogres principaux, en commençant par le gros Janin, qui, dit-on, est celui qui criera le plus fort. Ma capote rose, entendez-vous? Je vous assure qu'ils sont frita, car je l'ai essayée, comme Cléopâtre ses poisons sur ses esclaves, et l'effet est sûr. Lorsque je l'ai étrennée, l'autre semaine, avec une robe de velours noir et 'bouffante,' le jeune X— en était tout hébété. Il l'est resté depuis, et on m'a dit qu'il l'était même avant, par provision, sans doute.

At the beginning of her career Rachel was declared ugly by the general public, but those who had once been under the spell of her wondrous genius soon reversed this hasty judgment. Théophile Gautier, who did not number himself among her ardent admirers, and yet was sufficient artist to appreciate the grace and harmony of her appearance, thus describes her:—

Rachel's beauty, for she was adorably beautiful, had nothing coquettish, pretty, or *French* about it. For a long time she was considered plain, while artists were studying and reproducing as a perfect type the contour of her face, copied from the mask of Melpomene herself. What a brow made for the gold circlet and white veil! What a deep and fateful gaze! What a pure oval! What lips disdainfully raised at the corners! What a gracefully set-on head!

Rachel's influence was certainly an argument in favour of the party in Paris who have lately raised the cry of 'Point de décors.' As soon as she appeared the 'colonnes plus ou moins antiques, ces portiques plus chinois que romains'—some of which had not been renovated at the Français since Racine had been acted there before—were forgotten, and the audience were transported into the ancient world of Greece and Rome. Acting is the most direct and responsive of all arts; a look, a word, will compel the audience, and, as M. Alexandre Dumas says, 'the less surroundings of artistic furniture and magnificent decoration there is on the stage the better; it only distracts the attention from the central movement of feeling and passion. The most ignorant and uncultured audience never yet accepted a bad play because the upholstery was good, and the pit is only rendered impatient and out of temper between the acts by the delay necessary to produce elaborate scenic effects.'

As a proof of Rachel's great personal influence over her audience, we will quote two different accounts given of her appearance in England in 1841. The first is from one of the admirable letters contributed to the *Times*:—

Hermione makes her first appearance in the second act, and the impression made by Mlle. Rachel was immediate. During the first act there had been nothing but bad and feeble declamation. There was no descent of the curtain, but she entered immediately after the cessation of the infliction, and the contrast was marked. The melody of her voice, the dignity of her manner, the firmness of her delivery, the clearness of her articulation, gave the stamp of superiority at the very first line. . . . It should be observed that she alone was successful, for she was wretchedly supported. The other actors excited no emotion whatever, except Orestes, who uttered his last speech amid roars of laughter and showers of hisses.

Another eye-witness tells us :—

She stalked silently upon the stage, approached the front, and remained gazing at the audience. Not a word did she speak, her hands hung by her side, she stood motionless. But her eyes were ablaze, her gaze intent, fierce, savage. She was meditating murder! A hush came over the immense audience, women involuntarily turned away from that glance, men breathed more heavily, and wished that she would break that painful silence. At last, subdued by the power of that fierce look, the awful reality of vengeful anger which it expressed, the audience perceptibly shivered and grew uncomfortable. Then, when the silence seemed wholly intolerable, the pent-up rage, the anger of the wronged woman, burst forth with the irresistible force of a torrent. The tall figure drawn to its utmost height, the heaving breast, the swaying arms, the pale face, the firmly compressed mouth, were all so indicative of the fierce mood to be represented, that one forgot the actress and her artificial surroundings, and deemed it true.

Rachel had the persistence of purpose which is the test of true genius. The child of fourteen, who had determined to scale the heights of the classic drama, developed into the complete artist, who, once she felt assured of her capacity or incapacity for certain parts, never allowed applause or blame to change her opinion. The first check she received in her career of triumph was on the 23rd of November 1838, when she appeared in Racine's tragedy of *Bajazet*. She was coldly greeted by the audience, and next day the press, including her friend Janin, was unanimous in declaring she had made a failure. Vedel, secretary of the theatre, not knowing what to do, rushed off to see Janin and endeavour to modify his judgment. While they were discussing the question, the young actress was announced. She was evidently moved, embarrassed, and hung her head, like a criminal before his judge. Janin received her warmly and courteously, but declined to change his opinion. Poor Rachel wept bitterly, like a scolded child. The great art-critic consoled her as well as he could, but begged her not to play the part again. On getting into the cab with Vedel, she turned quietly and said, 'In spite of them all I will play *Bajazet* the day after to-morrow.' And she did, in spite of her father, in spite of the critics, in spite of the public. The result was one of the greatest successes she ever enjoyed on the stage; the applause was almost delirious. It was on this occasion that they tell the story of her going up to Provost (one of her teachers at the Conservatoire, who had once in a fit of irritation told her she would never be fit to do anything but sell flowers in the street). Holding out her tunic full of bouquets, she asked him with a curtsy if he would consent to be her first customer, as she was *only fit to sell flowers*.

In an eloquent article contributed to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* Alfred de Musset defended her on this occasion from the attacks of the critics :—

While she, who can hardly yet believe in her success, is struggling to be understood, is it your place to treat her with such severity? Do you not know that you

may discourage her, and turn her from her great purpose? Is it not a sufficiently touching spectacle, this young girl, who, undisturbed by the crowd or the bad acting of her colleagues, appears before us with the simple serenity of great art, and tells us what is in her heart?

Not long afterwards, one evening in the month of May, the susceptible poet met Rachel coming out of the Français, where she had been acting *Tancred* to a large and enthusiastic audience. She invited him, with some other friends who accompanied her, to come to supper. A curious account of this supper was published in his *Œuvres Posthumes*:—

After we had arrived at the house, Rachel discovered that she had left her rings and bracelets at the theatre. She sent the only servant of the establishment to fetch them; no one was left therefore to cook the supper. Rachel rose and disappeared into the kitchen. A quarter of an hour afterwards she returned in a dressing-gown and night cap, a foulard handkerchief tied under her chin, looking beautiful; in her hand she held a dish on which were three pieces of beefsteak that she had cooked herself. She placed the dish in the middle of the table, saying, 'Help yourselves.' Then she returned to the kitchen, and presently reappeared, a soup-tureen full of smoking soup in one hand, in the other a saucepan containing spinach. That was our supper, no plates or spoons; the servant had the keys with her. Rachel opened the buffet, found a salad-bowl full of salad, took the wooden spoon, fished out a fork from somewhere, and began eating. 'But,' said the mother, who was hungry, 'there are tin plates in the kitchen.'

De Musset then goes on to detail the conversation that takes place between Rachel, her mother, and sister, Rachel making fun of Sarah because she considered herself too fine to eat off tin. 'Figure to yourself,' says Rachel, addressing the poet, 'when I was acting at the Théâtre Molière I had only two pairs of stockings, and every morning—'

Here Sarah began to chatter German so as to interrupt her sister. Rachel, however, went on:

'No German here! Why should she be ashamed? I had only two pairs of stockings, as I told you, and I was obliged to wash one pair every morning—it hung in my room on a string while I wore the other.'

'And you did the housekeeping?' I asked.

Rachel. I rose at six o'clock every day, and by eight o'clock all the beds were made. Then I went to the Halle to buy the dinner.

I. Were you extravagant?

Rachel. No, I was a very honest cook. Was I not, mamma?

The Mother (her mouth full). Yes.

Rachel. Only once I robbed for a month; when I had bought four sous' worth of goods I put down five, and when I had paid ten sous I put down twelve. At the end of the month I found myself the happy possessor of three francs.

I (severely). And what did you do with those three francs, Mademoiselle?

The Mother (seeing that Rachel was silent). Monsieur, she bought Molière's works.

I. Really?

Rachel. Yes indeed. I already had a Corneille and a Racine; I wanted Molière. I bought it with my three francs, and then confessed my sins.

Meantime the other guests began to drop off. The servant returned with the jewels, four or five thousand francs' worth, bracelets,

rings, crowns ; she laid them on the table among the salad, spinach, and tin plates ; the character of the scene then changed. De Musset and Rachel began talking about the relative merits of Corneille and Racine. He asked her what rôle she was studying.

Rachel. We are to play *Mary Stuart* this summer, and then *Polyeucte* ; and perhaps——

I. Well ?

Rachel (*putting down her little fist emphatically upon the table*). I will play *Phèdre*. They tell me I am too young, I am too thin, and a hundred other stupidities. I answer, it is Racine's finest conception. I am determined to play it ; the critics, the public, no one shall make me give it up. Instead of encouraging me and helping me, they invent things to injure and annoy me. Yes, I have read articles sincere and conscientious ; there is nothing better for the artists, but there are others who kill one's soul with pin-pricks—I should like to poison them.

The Mother. My dear, you have done nothing but talk all day. You were up at six, and you played this evening. You will be ill.

Rachel (*quickly*). No, leave me alone ; I tell you it gives me new life. (Turning towards me). Shall I go and fetch the book ? we will read the piece together.

I. Certainly. Nothing could be more delightful.

She rose and went, shortly returning with the volume of Racine in her hand. There was something solemn and religious in her walk—like a priestess carrying the sacred vessels to the altar. She sat down beside me, and snuffed the candle. The mother went to sleep smiling. Rachel opened the book almost with awe, and bending over it said : ' How I delight in this man ! When once I put my nose into this book, I could willingly remain without food or drink for days.' We began to read *Phèdre*, the book lying on the table between us. At first she recited in a monotonous tone like a litany. By degrees she became more animated. We exchanged remarks, ideas, on every passage. At last we reached the great scene. She stretched out her right arm on the table, her head resting on her left hand, and gave herself up to her emotion. Still she only spoke in an undertone. Fatigue, excitement, the lateness of the hour, an almost feverish agitation that coloured the little cheeks surrounded by the nightcap, red and white by turns, some charm that emanated from her, those brilliant eyes challenging my criticism, a childish smile that irradiated her features, the table covered with dishes, the flickering flame of the candle, the mother asleep close to us—all made a picture worthy of Rembrandt, a chapter of romance worthy of Wilhelm Meister, and a memory of my artistic life which I shall never forget. At last half-past twelve struck. Her father came in from the opera ; he addressed one or two irritable sentences to his daughter, telling her to stop her reading. Rachel shut her book, saying under her breath, ' It is disgusting ; I will buy a candle and read alone in my bed.' I looked at her ; great tears stood in her eyes. It was indeed disgusting to see such a creature treated in so coarse a manner. I rose and took my leave, full of admiration, respect, and tenderness. . . .

The outcome of this was, that Alfred wrote a piece for her, but it never appeared on the stage. Disappointed, he dashed off the pretty stanzas which were not published until after his death, and which she never saw :

Si ta bouche ne doit rien dire
De ces vers désormais sans prix ;
Si je n'ai, pour être compris,
Ni tes larmes ni ton sourire :

Périssse plutôt ma mémoire,
Et mon beau rêve ambitieux !
Mon génie était dans ta gloire ;
Mon courage était dans tes yeux.

The sequel to the poet's daydream is found in the story related by Paul de Musset in the biography he wrote of his brother.

One day in the April of 1846, Rachel had invited him (Alfred) to dinner. The other guests were all men of position and rank. During dinner the person seated on the left of the mistress of the house remarked a beautiful ring that she wore. The ring was immediately passed round, all expressing their admiration. 'Messieurs,' said Rachel, 'since this trifle pleases you I will put it up to auction. How much will you give for it?' One of the guests offered five hundred francs, another a thousand, a third fifteen hundred. At one moment the bidding went as high as three thousand francs. 'And you, my poet,' said Rachel, 'why don't you make an offer? Come, what will you give me?' 'I give you my heart,' answered Alfred. 'The ring is yours!' With childish impetuosity Rachel threw the ring as she spoke into the poet's plate. After dinner Alfred wished to give it back to her. 'Dear poet,' she said, 'you have given me your heart, and I would not return it to you for a hundred thousand écus. Keep this ring as a pledge. If ever by my fault or yours you renounce the idea of writing the rôle for which I have expressed a wish so often, bring me the ring, and I will take it back;' he accepted it subject to these conditions.

Some years later, alas! we find her writing to a friend: 'Please persuade Léon Gozlan to write a short piece for me, Musset being dead—to literature.' We find him about the same time shutting up in his desk the piece he was writing for her, with these words: 'Adieu, Rachel; c'est toi que j'ensevelis pour jamais.' Thus ended the friendship between the greatest tragedian and the greatest poet of the day. They seemed destined to stimulate each other's powers; unfortunately something antagonistic in the two natures negated the possibilities of their genius.

It took Rachel three years to master Phèdre, her greatest rôle, and they were the happiest and best of her life, devoted to her art for art's sake, not for the remuneration she could obtain, living in a 'commerce plein de douceur avec les Muses,' undisturbed by the indecorum and self-seeking of her later years. Her letters to her master, Samson, prove the energy with which she was working, and disprove Janin's statement that Samson's lessons were of no use to her in her theatrical career. As an actor and author, Legouvé tells us, 'Samson was a man of distinguished talent; as a teacher he was a man of genius.' No one was more willing to acknowledge this than Rachel herself, and we find her, when studying a new part, always applying to Samson for his advice and assistance. 'Believe,' she writes, 'that my feelings towards you are ever the same, and will never change. Besides, do I not continually need your good counsels, which alone have inspired me with courage and assured me the favour of the public?'

Again:—

Mon cher et bon maître, je n'ai pourtant pas reçu encore un petit mot de vous. . . Il faut vous mettre tout de suite à votre bureau, prendre une grande feuille de papier, une bonne plume (si c'est possible), et commencer ainsi. . . Au fait, non, cherchez vous-même, survu que ce soit bien tendre et bien bon, une

longue lettre, entendez-vous, une longue lettre ; et Roxane commande, il vous faut obéir.

Ne vous plaignez pas de ce ton bref ; c'est vous qui me l'avez appris.

Another time she tells him : 'I have studied my sobs (in the fourth act of *Phèdre*). I do not dare boast yet of their effect for the second representation, but I am sure they will come at last.' The old man's delight in his pupil's genius is most touching. He was a great deal too modest to arrogate to himself the entire honour of her success. After an enthusiastic description of her personal appearance, he says:—

But how to give an idea of this wonderful talent to those who never heard her ? I who taught her for so many years am forced to acknowledge how incapable I am of making any one understand her power. . . . The actor's genius descends to the grave with him, and the memory he leaves behind, imperfect at the best, fades away by degrees, and perishes at last with the generation that loved and admired him.

It is interesting to compare Mr. Irving's and Rachel's opinion of what the life and aims of an actor should be, and might both with advantage be laid to heart by many of the young aspirants who at present crowd the stage. The following is written by Rachel to her young brother, Raphael Felix, in 1843, when she was still animated by a sincere and enthusiastic love of her art :—

Now, dear brother, tell me of your work and your projects for the future, for you have no time to lose. You will soon be a man, and you ought to remember 'quo l'habit ne fait pas le moine.' If, as I imagine, your vocation is for the theatre, try at least to elevate the art. Devote yourself to it conscientiously, not for the sake of making a position, as is done with a girl who is married merely for the privilege of dancing six times at a ball instead of three, but for love of it, and for admiration of those works which sustain the soul and guide the heart. . . . A woman may attain an honourable position, without having perhaps what the world calls education. . . . but a man ! All that a woman cannot know becomes the necessary language that a man requires for every day : with this knowledge he augments his pleasures, diminishes his troubles, varies his joys, and asserts his position as an 'homme d'esprit.' Think of this, and if the beginning seems difficult, remember that you have a sister, who will be proud and happy in your success, and will cherish you with all her heart.

Mr. Irving tells us :—

To efficiency in the art of acting there should come a congregation of fine qualities. There should be considerable, though not necessarily systematic, culture. There should be delicate instincts of taste cultivated consciously or unconsciously to a degree of extreme and subtle instinct. There should be a power at once refined and strong of both perceiving and expressing to others the significance of language, so that neither shades nor masses of meaning, so to speak, may be either lost or exaggerated. Above all there should be a sincere and abounding sympathy with all that is good and great and inspiring. That sympathy must certainly must be under the control and manipulation of art, but it must be none the less real and generous, and the artist who is a mere artist will stop short of the highest moral effects of his craft.

Rachel paid two visits to England, one in 1841, the other in

1855. On both occasions she was greeted with frantic enthusiasm. 'Sa Majesté la Reine regente' (*sic*) received her at Windsor Castle the first time, and presented her with a bracelet, on which was inlaid in diamonds—

To Rachel,
QUEEN VICTORIA.

There is a curious letter in the correspondence from the Duke of Wellington, written in French, the spelling of which is almost as faulty as Rachel's own :—

Le Maréchal duc de Wellington présente ses hommages à Mademoiselle Rachel; il a fait prévenir au Théâtre qu'il désirait y retenir sa loge *enfin* de pouvoir y assister à la représentation pour le bénéfice de Mademoiselle Rachel, &c.

In 1854 Rachel experienced the first real grief that had as yet darkened her life. Rebecca, her young sister, who had been her colleague on the boards of the Français, her hope and consolation at home, died of consumption at Pau, whither she had gone for the benefit of her health. The elder sister never got over this sorrow, and her own death from the same disease followed soon after. Her letters to and concerning Rebecca are among the most charming of the series. The following is a specimen :—

Ma chère Mère !—Hélas ! la pauvre Rebecca en tombant a déchiré sa robe ; elle est triste, et j'ai compris la profondeur de sa mélancolie. Alors je lui ai dit que j'allais intercéder en sa faveur pour cette manche en défaillance, et pour aider à son pardon, je lui donnais ma robe de soie. Elle a souri, elle est sauvée. Adieu.

Here again we see the elder sister thinking lovingly of the younger one. It is dated from London, during her triumphal visit there :—

I send you a dozen of English stockings; I marked them with my own white hand. As to the petticoats, I am told they are nicer in Saxony, and I will send you some from Dresden. I hope you, as well as the family, are well. Our health is first-rate. That is all the news of the day. A thousand kisses.

She prepared her little sister for the stage, and even corrected her spelling, this great tragedian who spelt so badly herself.

My dear little Duke of York,—Learn your rôle properly, or take care ! On my return if you cannot repeat it correctly I will be a Gloucester or a Tyrrel, but, if the Duke of York is a good boy, I will be his brother Edward with something in my pocket for him. I am very pleased with your writing; it is like mine when I take pains of course ! I hope, dear Duke, that you have not two hearts; that would be dreadful. The *s* which I find at the end of a word written by your own little hand, made me for a moment fear that it was so. Please reassure me on this point. I am rather anxious about it, for I prefer one good heart to two medium ones. I embrace your Royal Highness on both cheeks, with the respect I owe you, dear Duke.

The following well-known letter, written by Rachel in 1855 to Emile de Girardin, shows how surely she felt then the advances of the disease that killed her :—

Houssaye tells me that it was he who gave you the little Louis Quinze watch that you have arranged so nicely by changing the glass through which you could see the entrails of the beast, and putting in an enamel with a naked likeness of your humble servant. I think, and so does Sarah, the lower part of the face a little long. But enamels, or rather 'émaux,' for there are 'maux' everywhere, are not to be changed once they have been through the fire. It is only a thing to be worn after my death. I am so 'to pieces' I don't think that is far off now. If Mme. de Girardin would write the rôle of an historical consumptive patient, supposing there is one to be found, I think I could act it to draw tears, for I would weep myself. It is all very well to tell me I am only suffering from nerves; I feel there is something wrong. We were speaking of the watch; it is as if you had turned the key too hard—it goes 'crac.' I often feel something going 'crac' in me when I wind myself up to play. The day before yesterday in Horace when giving Maubant his cue I felt the 'crac.' Yes, my friend, I was breaking to pieces. This is between ourselves, because of my mother and the little ones.

Rachel had two children by Count Alexander Walewski, Minister of Napoleon III., and President, for a short time, of the Corps Législatif. The eldest bears his father's name, and at present occupies an honourable position in Paris. The second was called Gabriel Victor Félix, and is an officer in the French navy. Rachel was a tender and considerate mother, and in her last illness her sons were never absent from her thoughts.

In 1855 the great actress was induced to undertake the ill-fated expedition to America. Some said it was because of Ristori's success in Paris. The plaudits that the fickle crowd bestowed upon her rival may perhaps have first made her contemplate the idea, but her correspondence proves that the 'quelques poignées de louis' was the principal reason. Jenny Lind had completed a triumphal tour through the United States, and Rachel thought to follow her example. She did not remember that the Americans could appreciate Jenny Lind's shakes, but were not likely to care for long tragedies in a language they did not understand. The expedition was a financial failure. Twenty years later an actress inferior in every particular, Sarah Bernhardt, made more in one representation of Adrienne Lecouvreur than Rachel made by three representations of Phèdre, her great rôle.

'N'allez pas! m'a-t-on dit, et moi je suis venue!' she writes. 'Ah! a "pauvre petit bout de femme comme moi" soon gets used up travelling over the world like this.' Then come heartbroken, despairing letters, when she feels her strength giving way. At one of the representations in New York she caught a violent cold, which developed the seeds of the disease that killed her two years later.

My friend (she writes), I am very ill. . . . I am going to take my departure, not for the other world yet, but for a warmer climate than this. . . . Ah! pauvre moi! ce moi dont j'étais si fière, trop fière peut-être, le voilà aujourd'hui si affaibli qu'il en reste vraiment bien peu de chose! . . .

Good-bye, my friend! This letter will perhaps be my last. You who knew Rachel so brilliant, who saw her in her luxury and splendour, who so often applauded her in her triumphs, you would hardly recognise her now in the spectre she drags about with her all day long.

In the spring of 1856 she returned to France, and the doctors then knew that she was doomed. As the autumn advanced they recommended a change to Egypt, but the quiet and monotony of her life there was more than she could bear.

Je ne mourrai peut-être plus de la poitrine, mais bien certainement je mourrai d'ennui. Quelle solitude morne s'est faite autour de moi ! . . . Ces ruines amoncelées de temples merveilleux sont trop lourdes à supporter pour des êtres faibles, des esprits abattus.

'Pauvre femme ! ah la pauvre femme !' Déjazet was heard to murmur as she laid a bouquet of violets in Rachel's open grave. She knew of what an actress's life is composed—struggles and privations, applause and triumph, death and oblivion ! Rachel's sufferings now became so great that she longed for this death and oblivion she had dreaded in the zenith of her fame.

'Patience and resignation have become my motto; God alone can help me,' she writes to her old comrade, Augustine Brohan. The day before her departure for La Cannelle, from whence she knew she never would return, the dying woman determined to bid adieu to the two theatres that had seen the beginning and end of her career. Deaf to the entreaties of her friends, who feared the exertion, she entered her carriage at six o'clock in the morning. The weather was cold and misty; silence reigned over the city. Passing by the Gymnase, where as a little girl, hungry, half-clothed, she had so often waited shivering behind the stage, she drove on to the Français, scene of her triumphs. Leaning out of the carriage she gazed sadly at the deserted, silent theatre, and then, throwing herself back, closed her eyes, and allowed herself to be taken away to the station.

On the 1st of January some of her most intimate friends in Paris received a little box of flowers and a letter addressed by the hand that was so soon destined to lie cold in death. Emile de Girardin, who was the recipient of one of these tokens, kept his letter as a precious heirloom. 'I embrace you this New Year's Day. I did not think, dear friend, to be still able in 1858 to send you the assurance of my sincere affection.'

She died on the 3rd of January, 1858.

Rachel Félix might have exclaimed with Adrienne Lecouvreur : 'O triomphes du théâtre ! mon cœur ne battra plus de vos ardentes émotions ! Et vous, longues études d'un art que j'aimais tant, rien ne restera de vous après moi. Rien ne survit à nous autres—rien que le souvenir.'

NINA H. KENNARD.

A RECENT VISIT TO THE BOERS.

I LEFT Dartmouth with my friend, Mr. A. K. Loyd, in the 'Grantully Castle' on the 15th of August, and on the 7th of September, half an hour after midnight, we let go our anchor in Table Bay. I was rather sorry to miss the first view of Table Mountain, but glad to quit the ship, which, good as she is, I had become somewhat tired of. Such, however, was our high opinion of her merits, and such our confidence in our friend Captain Young and his excellent staff of officers, that we secured our return passage in the 'Grantully.'

After landing and settling ourselves comfortably at Poole's Hotel our first move was to call on Lieutenant Bower, Secretary to the Governor. He at once plunged us into the maze of Cape and South African politics, and, with the help of maps, expounded to us some of the endless South African complications, connected with the Basuto question, the Cetewayo question, and the question relating to the land of the Bechuana natives beyond and west of Griqualand, recently occupied by the Boers of the Transvaal.

It takes but a short time to see plainly that the affairs of South Africa are in fearful confusion. Heaven knows whether they can ever come right without a desperate convulsion, though it is to be hoped that the good sense of the inhabitants, both Dutch and English, will, in the long run prevail, and avert any catastrophe that might tend to loosen the bands that unite them to the mother country.

We soon made acquaintance with several members of the Cape Parliament, who were in the habit of dining at Poole's Hotel, among them Mr. Merriman, the Commissioner for Crown Lands and Works; Mr. Pearson, member for Port Elizabeth; Mr. Rhodes, member for Berkeley; and Mr. Uppington, the leader of the Opposition. They all showed us much civility, and we attended some debates in the House, which are carried on partly in English and partly in Dutch.

The session was drawing to its close, after which the present Parliament will be dissolved, and a new election will take place. It will, it is generally believed, result in the return of a Dutch majority, whose policy will in all probability be out of harmony with English views. The discussions are likely to turn chiefly upon the financial condition of the colony, which is far from satisfactory, owing in great

measure to the heavy cost of the recent Basuto war, which was undertaken for the purpose of disarming the natives, in which endeavour the colony signally failed.

Everything in Cape Town is fearfully dear. Oranges which grow in the place are twopence each, eggs threepence each; wheat is imported, and so is butter and cheese. Lodging too is very costly. People grumble desperately, and think the colony is ruined. Great hopes are founded on gold discoveries which are expected to be largely made in the Transvaal. The reports of experts and engineers are most favourable, and the *on dit* is that gold will be found in large quantities in the Transvaal and the native territories beyond.

Among the pleasantest incidents of my visit to Cape Town was the taking up, after a lapse of nearly thirty years, of a very warm thread of friendship with General Leicester Smythe, now Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and, during the absence of Sir Hercules Robinson, acting also as Governor of the Colony. We had been brother aides-de-camp at head-quarters in the Crimea, and from those days we had never met, owing to curious circumstances, till I walked into his room at Government House, Cape Town, when the twenty-eight years' interval seemed at once to vanish. He and Mrs. Smythe made us free of their house, where we passed much of our time most agreeably.

The first Sunday after our arrival, after morning service at the cathedral, we took the train for Wynberg, in compliance with an invitation we had received from Mr. Mackarness, a barrister, and son of the Bishop of Oxford, and his wife. The railway runs round and at the foot of Table Mountain and the Devil's Peak, and in the pleasant villages through which we passed, people make their suburban retreats. Our friends live in a villa near the Wynberg station, from whence they have a splendid view of the Hottentot Holland mountains, fifty miles distant, with snow-covered peaks.

After an excellent luncheon we and our hosts embarked in a Cape cart, a capital vehicle, on two wheels, drawn by two little horses with the pole between them, curricie fashion.

Being the spring-time of the year in this hemisphere, the green buds were just beginning to put out their shoots on the oak trees, while the beautiful evergreen 'silver tree' which covers the hill-sides was in full leaf. The air was extraordinarily light and transparent, making the mountain peaks in the distance look quite close.

We drove through fertile and pretty country to visit one of the great Dutch families, the Cloetes, of Constantia. Their residence is a fine Dutch house, magnificently situated, overlooking the bay with the whole range of Hottentot Holland mountains, and around them their own orchards and vineyards, which latter produce the finest wine in the country.

The Cloetes themselves are people of the highest consideration, belonging to a family of Dutch colonists of the most aristocratic

descent in the country. They are rich and prosperous, but they live much like yeomen of the olden time, and are simple in their manners and very hospitable.

The Dutch population in the colony is more numerous than the English, but less energetic and enterprising. The Dutch are the old landed aristocracy of the country. They occupy the best and richest land in the colony. They own the best vineyards and the best sheep-farms, and the choicest spots belong to them. They seldom sell, and most scrupulously keep the land in their own families.

As they advance into the interior of the country they are found to be less polished, rougher in their habits and more primitive in their mode of life. The Boers, those of the Transvaal especially, possess an Old Testament bloodthirstiness towards their enemies, and would like to retaliate upon natives, for their raids, by turning the heritage of the heathen into their own possession. These sentiments, which exist in full vigour among the independent Boers of the Transvaal, are shaded down gradually from black to white in the civilised Dutch community of the Cape Colony. But all are alike unable to comprehend what *they* consider the sentimental policy of England towards the natives.

They hold the opinion that legislation of a nature suited to a highly civilised people is unsuited to the as yet totally uncivilised races of South Africa. Whatever hopes may be entertained for the far future, the present inferiority of the black population of South Africa cannot be denied, and it seems not unreasonable to demand that legislation should be of a nature adapted to the actual condition of their wants and requirements. There are wise and humane men in South Africa who could indicate and carry out a line of policy suited to the natives—a policy of firm guidance and strict rule, combined with paternal protection.

Unrestricted liberty is a doubtful blessing to a native population; it leads not to their advancement, but to their degradation, and to the enriching of grog sellers and brandy merchants, among whom the strongest advocates of unlimited freedom for the blacks are to be found. Never were natives more prosperous than those under the Moravian missionaries of the last century, who exercised physical restraint as well as moral authority over them; and the same good result is now seen in the native industrial settlement at Edendale, in Natal. Works of public utility at the Cape, such as railways, storage of water, &c., might surely be advantageously carried on by gangs of natives under officers duly appointed for their proper supervision. There exists in South Africa a vast population of men of the finest physique, capable of any amount of work if properly directed; and yet the great want of the country is adequate labour, to enable the fertility of the land to be fully utilised.

We were anxious to see as much as possible, during our short stay,

of the interior of the country, and our friends all recommended an expedition to Griqualand West, which is the most remote province belonging to the colony, and is the most recent in point of acquisition. It adjoins the Orange Free State, to which it belonged up to 1871.

All the interest in Griqualand West is centered in the Diamond Fields, which are at Kimberley, or close adjoining it. It was a good deal owing to Mr. Merriman's description of the Diamond Fields that we were induced to go there; and though the travelling was rather hard and the fare somewhat rough, I got through the journey very well, and shall never regret having made it.

Our friends cautioned us that we should have to submit to a rough time of it as soon as we got beyond the reach of railways. Furnished with a select basket of provisions from Poole's Hotel, we started on our expedition at eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 11th of September; in a railway carriage, with sleeping accommodation attached. The first sixty or eighty miles traversed after quitting Cape Town are the most picturesque of the journey; you are then passing through the first or coast-line of mountains.

During the early stages you see beautiful pine trees (Norfolk-Island pines) growing in the hollows and along the sides of the mountains. As you advance farther, the mountains become arid, and the plains look like sandy deserts. You find yourself in a country of a geological formation which is quite new to you. The mountains are flat-topped, some few being conical, but all of them seem to be, and actually are, disintegrating into the plains. The hollow places are rising and the mountains are subsiding. In fact, this has already happened to such an extent that you may positively witness that which for want of a better name I will call the skeletons of mountains—dry stones, with every particle of sand-stone, and lime-stone, and soil, in short everything which held them together and clothed their sides, and made them stand up, washed out.

After rising to a great height over a range between three and four thousand feet high, you expect to descend to valleys and plains beneath; but no, you find yourself on a wide sandy plain, which formed possibly an immense lake in ages gone by. Far in the distance you see a low range of hills, or rather a line of stone heaps. United with them there is what is called here a Nek, or Pass. Once through this Pass you surely expect that there will be a descent; but no, again you find yourself on another enormous plain, wider and higher, and more apparently arid, than the last. Such is the character of the country in South Africa even up to the subtropical regions, where the climate is tempered by the high altitude of the plains. Kimberley is four thousand two hundred feet above the sea. The nights are cold, and the changes of the temperature are very sudden. There is ice in winter. Kimberley is about the same latitude south, as Cairo is north, of the equator.

Victoria West is the present terminus of the railway system; we reached it about mid-day on Thursday. About three o'clock the same afternoon the coach was to start on its forty-four hours' journey. Our seats (three insides) had been secured at Cape Town. On looking inside the conveyance the prospect was not encouraging. Two ladies and four gentlemen were already seated, and had established themselves with rugs and private pillows, which indicated them as old stagers, well inured to the trials of the journey. Partly on their account, but mostly on my own, I determined to leave them, at all events for a time, in peaceful possession of the inside, and so I climbed on to the outside of the coach, where Loyd and John Cooper had already seated themselves. I squeezed in between the two coachmen, that is to say, between the man who held the whip and the man who held the reins. When I say that the team was a ten-in-hand affair, it will be no matter of wonder that two coachmen were needed. An enormous nigger had charge of the reins and a Dutch Boer handled the whip. The decision as to which track was to be used along the velt rested with the man with the whip; he was also the guard of the mail, and the chief bugler of the coach. Punctually at three o'clock the mail started; the little horses, rough, but evidently well bred, had been standing harnessed two and two in a long line in front of each other, apparently fast asleep. They no sooner heard the nigger give a sort of screech than they started off as if possessed by so many mad devils racing to perdition. The coach swayed from side to side, and jolted fearfully. Gradually, however, the team seemed to recover their reason and settled down to their ordinary speed, which is a good spanking pace of eight or nine miles an hour. These mad rushes occurred again and again during the journey. I thought them most disagreeable, but they seem to be cherished institutions amongst the South African driving community, and they will probably never be dispensed with as long as niggers are the recognised coachmen. Probably the present race of little wild horses would refuse to start on their journey unless they were 'rushed off' in some such fashion. One of these bulky coaches, not long ago, when springing along with a team of ten horses, turned over on its top. A gentleman sitting outside, who had some of his bones broken, brought an action against the coach owner, but it was proved that one of the passengers had clutched at the reins, and so his action failed.

Before night came on I abandoned the box, and faced the inside with all its horrors. Ever afterwards I clung to my seat, through all vicissitudes, to the end of the journey. Loyd manfully stuck to his seat behind the driver till he was overcome by want of sleep and abundance of dust during the second night of the journey. My servant, Cooper, also braved it out on the outside with great fortitude. Inside, a thick-nosed Jew had a blanket over his head, and snored fearfully. At each stage, wherever we outspanned, we relieved our misery for a few

moments by stretching our limbs and drinking hot coffee, which tasted excellent under the circumstances. Out-spanning and in-spanning is a process, so far as I am aware, only practised in South Africa. The same harness serves all through the journey, it goes with the coach or waggon. The horses come up to the vehicle as bare as the Zulus themselves; in a moment they are inspanned. At the end of the stage, as if by magic, the harness falls off them, and in less than no time the whole team is rolling in the sand, grunting and wriggling on their backs with every sign of satisfaction. After a roll, a South African horse is said to be so refreshed as to be able to start on another long stage. I never, however, heard of a South African horse assenting to this economical doctrine. Horses which do hard work in South Africa are fed upon what is here called 'forage.' This is a name given to bundles of unthrashed oat straw, and better food for cattle could not be desired. The soil is very suitable for growing oats, the straw of which is hard and full of silica. English horses thrive splendidly on it, and I never saw a broken-winded horse all my time in South Africa. Cape horses do their work with more ease than English ones; after the longest stage, in the hottest weather, the stage horses were neither blown nor hot. An Englishman who had been several years in the colony, and had made many a long journey on horseback, assured me that a small Africander horse will outlast an English one on a journey. On the other hand, an English racehorse can give the best South African horse five stone in weight and gallop right away from him on a race-course.

Kimberley Mine, formerly called New Rush, presents the appearance of an enormous hole, nine acres in extent. It has been gradually lowered to a depth of four hundred and odd feet. In its original state, before it was hollowed out, the land was divided into a number of small individual holdings, thirty feet square in extent. These were called 'claims,' and they were again divided into a much smaller size, even down to the sixteenth of a claim. As the mine became deeper, you will readily understand that the sides, composed of valueless matter called 'reef,' began to fall in. The claims next the sides were first overwhelmed, and as the working gradually got deeper the drift threatened to cover the whole mine. Claims which were valued at fabulous sums, and for which enormous sums had been offered, and sometimes paid, are now depreciated to almost nothing. Most of the individual claims have been bought up by companies who have erected steam engines on the side of the mine.

The 'reef' is now got out in buckets, which are drawn up with wire ropes from the bottom of the mine. A certain amount of diamondiferous soil is obtained, but the chief work now done is hauling out the 'reef,' in the hope of eventually coming again upon the rich blue soil.

Some engineers maintain that the present plan will not answer, and that landlips will continue to smother the blue as long as the mine continues an open working.

• The first searching for diamonds was carried on in 1870, by people from Natal, amongst whom were Australian diggers, and one Brazilian, who was struck by the resemblance between the gravel bordering the Vaal River and the gravel which contains diamonds in Brazil.

Almost simultaneously with the development of the diggings in the Vaal River, diamonds were discovered within the border of the Free States; notably at Du Toit's Pan and on the farm at Bultfontein.

At first capitalists were unknown, the men employed were essentially diggers, and they looked after their own concerns and their own claims. The diggers framed rules and regulations for themselves. These rules and regulations to a great extent are still in force, although circumstances have greatly changed, and the individual digger has disappeared, making way for the capitalist with steam and working gear worth millions sterling.

The Kimberley Mine was at first called New Rush. It was so called on account of the rush made to it by the diggers at the Vaal River. The Dutch farmer who owned the land at Bultfontein sold it to a company. The company endeavoured to protect their rights, and refused to allow searching to proceed in this ground. But miners have a law of their own 'that claims must not remain unworked,' so they 'jumped' Bultfontein Mine, and the company were glad to take a small fee for granting miners' rights.

There are many conjectures which are given as an explanation of the phenomena of diamond mines. The most learned, however, are quite unable to reconcile themselves over the first difficulties. If the diamonds are the result of enormous pressure and of the effect of fire upon metals in the depth of the earth, how does it happen that in the vicinity of diamonds, and even touching them, are found pieces of carbonised wood, and small delicate shells, which could not exist under the action of heat? I purchased a small diamond as it was found, sticking in the blue earth, with a bit of carbonised wood adhering to it. I was present at the finding of many diamonds, but, to speak the truth, I did not covet any of them, and I bought nothing excepting this little stone of three carats weight. South African diamonds are often inclined to be yellow, a real brilliant of perfectly pure colour is indeed a *rara avis*. The Star of the South, the finest diamond ever found in South Africa, now belongs to Lord Dudley and weighs eighty-three carats.

Everything of interest connected with diamond-finding is carried on at the top of the mine. The blue rock is brought to the surface in the buckets which I have spoken of. The buckets travel on wire ropes, which are precisely similar to those used in steam-ploughing,

the extremity of the wire rope going round a drum at the bottom of the mine 400 feet deep. Before steam engines were used at the top of the pit, windlasses were in use, and gangs of Kaffirs were employed to work them; and very hard labour, indeed, it used to be. The plan adopted by the miners was to man the windlasses with alternate gangs of men of different tribes—Zulus, Korannas, and Basutos—and to stimulate one tribe against its rival tribe, who should wind up the windlass the quickest. Now, all the hauling is done by steam, and the Kaffirs only work in the mine, and also at the performance which is called the 'wash up.' The Kimberley Mine and the other mines, Du Toit's Pan and Old de Beer, are, shaped like irregular and old-fashioned chimneys. The sides of the mine are composed of black and yellow shale, in which diamonds are not found. In the middle of the mine, and filling up the shaft or chimney, the diamondiferous rock is found.

The question which agitates the anxious diamond-digger is to know how the blue rock comes there; and this is a practical question, more than a scientific one, in his mind. Does the blue come from below? and if from below, from what unknown depth does it come? On the other hand, has the diamondiferous rock entered the mine from above, running down in a muddy stream, carrying the diamonds, and the shells, and the carbonised wood along with it? Some, however, are not without hope that the diamonds come from below, and they flatter themselves that when they have dug down deeper they will come to bigger and finer stones as they approach the great source from which the brilliants are thrown up from the bowels of the earth. The descent into the mine in one of the buckets is an operation involving a large amount of dirt and a certain amount of danger. We did not go down into any of the mines.

When the rock is brought to the surface it is exposed for some weeks on the floor, as it is called. The sun, wind, and rain soften it, and prepare it to be operated upon by a machine in which wash tubs and sieves perform the chief part. The aim is to reduce the rock to mud, and to extract the diamonds without injuring them. In the lower part of the machine are drawers, which are kept carefully locked till the operation called the 'wash up' is concluded. Into these drawers the diamonds and the garnets, the crystals and the agates, which cannot be reduced by pulsating, find their way by reason of their weight. When the drawers are opened, the contents are spread out over a table in the open air. Some of the principal people, armed with common knives, begin to sort and pick out the brilliants. In an ordinary 'wash up' as many as a dozen or fifteen diamonds are found. I picked out three or four; you put them into the kick of a broken black bottle. The Kaffirs don't come to the tables, but otherwise there is but little restriction. All whites and blacks are searched, or are liable to be searched, on quitting the mine.

The Kaffirs are made to march through a room in a state of nature. They make no difficulty about this disrobing, for doubtless they feel much more at their ease without their garments than with clothes on. The natives are compelled when they enter a town to put on clothes. On the outskirts of a town they may be seen donning their garments, which on the march they carried on their heads.

Twenty-two shillings a week are the usual wages earned by Kaffirs. A native's object in working is to save money enough to get cows, and with cows (nine is the usual number) he buys a wife. A woman is not properly married unless cows have been paid for her. The modesty of a woman would be injured unless cows had been given for her. Missionaries accept the ceremony of exchange of cows for a wife as constituting legitimate marriage. If a Kaffir is fortunate enough to have daughters, his fortune is secured, for he gets cows and cattle in return for his daughters.

Kaffirs make good servants, and Zulu girls very good cooks, although Zulu women are seldom obtained. A raw Kaffir, fresh from his tribe, is considered likely to make the best and most honest servant. At our Kimberley Hotel there were three black boys—they are always called boys—Jack, Bones, and August, and a young Zulu, who came in to chop wood. This last was a splendid creature, I never saw such arms and legs, and his hands were as fine as a lady's.

A Kaffir, when he has a tough piece of work, throws off his garments and greatly improves his gentlemanlike appearance. Of the black men at Mrs. Jardine's hotel, August was the most trustworthy, although twice a year he disappeared for three or four days. He is believed to go into the Karroo to hide his money. Mrs. Hoskyns also had a splendid Zulu in her service, who was called Lord Tom, on account of his aristocratic appearance. Black servants have very odd names, which I don't know how they acquire. A little Koranna maid of ten years old was called Pillow-case.

At the Boer farms where we stopped on our way back from Kimberley, we were often waited upon by little black parlour-maids of eight or nine years old. In Griqualand West it is common for native children to be indentured as servants to Boers, and farmers for fifteen years. The Boers have the reputation of being very good to these children, who grow up and associate on equal terms with the little Boers.

Every black man in Griqualand West is obliged to be in possession of a ticket or pass descriptive of his employment, and naming the master for whom he works.

The laws about natives are more strict in Griqualand West than in the rest of the colony. This is owing to this province having been recently taken over from the Orange Free State. The Boers manage the natives better than the English settlers do. They are more severe with them, and at the same time are more kind, treating

them more like children. The Boers especially object to the Imperial legislation with regard to the natives.

During our journey through Hope Town and Griqualand, we laid ourselves out, as much as possible, to talk to the Boers, and learn as much as we could about them.

The market place at Kimberley, from six to eight every morning, is well stocked with big, bulky farmers. They come in with their waggons and oxen, bringing produce from the Orange Free State and the neighbouring country. The chiefs of the neighbouring tribes also send in waggons with firewood from Bechuanaland. This market place is a very striking sight as we saw it when we drove into Kimberley on our mail waggon at six o'clock in the morning, with hundreds and hundreds of oxen in spans of eighteen and twenty yoked to the waggons, which are mostly loaded with trunks and branches of camel-thorn and wild olive wood. These trees are beyond conception hard, and are quite as good for raising steam as the best coal, but unfortunately they are becoming very scarce, and the distance the waggons have to travel to find them is constantly increasing. Every stick within thirty miles of Kimberley has been cut down to supply the all-devouring steam engines.

The Boers possess qualities which Englishmen are usually willing to admire. If you wish to find out the good side of a body of men, there is no difficulty in discovering it amongst the Boers. They are very hospitable and good-natured; they are men of very fine appearance, and are immensely strong. An Englishman at Kimberley described to me how he saw a Boer drag a refractory young ox across the Kimberley market place, and 'inspan' him to a waggon. In the matter of hospitality the Boer is quite a gentleman; he gives you the best he has without any fuss. He is, in this respect, what we believe our ancestors to have been a hundred years ago, when inns were uncommon. A night's lodging and a meal are never refused by a Boer. But tales are told how the hospitality of the men has been abused by a certain class of Englishmen whose vulgarity and selfishness cannot be too severely condemned.

A Boer is, in a certain sense, very particular about his dignity, and on entering his house you must be careful not to seat yourself in the arm-chair, which is especially reserved for the head of the family. You must also partake of all the dishes on the table. A certain Englishman who was visiting a Boer, and was unaccustomed to the scarcity of crockery which prevails in these out-of-the-way farms, and was besides more particular than he need have been, fell into a sad scrape through his own sensitiveness. The farmer, who was bent upon being gracious, offered him coffee, which was gladly accepted, whereupon the Boer hastily swallowed down the contents of his own cup, and proceeded with care to wipe the cup clean with a large blue and well-used pocket-handkerchief. This

finished, he filled the cup half full of sugar, and adding coffee, handed it to his guest. The sensitive Englishman was quite at a loss what to do. Fortunately, as he thought, he saw the Boer turn his back for a minute, and promptly he threw the whole mixture out of window; but, as bad luck would have it, the Boer's wife was comfortably asleep just outside the window, and the hot coffee and the sugar took effect in the middle of her person, and trickled down over her gown. However, no offence was meant, and no offence was taken on this occasion. I believe the Boer's wife and the gentleman became very good friends, and a new gown was not objected to. It is behaviour quite different from this, however, to which I was alluding in speaking of the misbehaviour of Englishmen. It is to such things as outspanning your oxen and turning them into an inclosed garden for safety during the night. It is to men helping themselves to mutton out of a man's flock without leave given or asked. It is to such things I allude, things which are spoken of and told by Englishmen of their own countrymen. There is no portion of the world where you meet a greater mixture of men than in South Africa. Unfortunately you cannot eliminate the blackguard, and whether on horseback or on foot, whether he is dressed roughly or smartly, whatever his outer guise may be, his conduct is the same—that of an insufferable brute, bringing a bad name upon his countrymen.

At Kimberley there is quite a high-toned, high-class society; not large, of course, that could not be expected at so small a place, but a society of the best sort of Englishmen and of English ladies. To Loyd and to me the utmost kindness and hospitality were shown. Mr. Leigh Hoskyns is public prosecutor; he holds a Government office of importance, with a good salary attached to it. He was our principal entertainer and chief friend, on account of his Berkshire connection through his father, who is Rector of Upton, and through his wife, who is daughter of John Bowles, of Milton Hill. Mr. Rudd, another Kimberleyite, to whom I had letters, is a University man who has made South Africa his home. His experiences of the camp are most wide, embracing a time when he worked with a pick and shovel on his own claim. Mrs. Rudd is the possessor of some fine diamonds which were found by her husband when he was a digger in the mines. At the Diamond Exchange you meet men of all ranks. Officers of the Army and Navy, of course; they are always to be seen when adventure is to be encountered. University men, Eton and Harrow men, acting as time-keepers and secretaries on the works.

Kimberley is built of corrugated iron. The church, the clubs, the hotels—everything inhabited by man or beast—is roofed, and often sided, with corrugated iron. Appearance, you may well imagine, is not studied. Comfort, however, has been sought for and often found. Mr. Hoskyns has built an excellent house with a cer-

rugated iron wall, if you may use such an expression, round his garden and lawn-tennis ground. A good club exists, of which we were made members. Trees are now generally planted, and everybody has a gum-tree or two in his compound.

The most beneficent work in Kimberley is the water reservoir, containing over a million gallons, with pipes laid on to every part of the town. The water is pumped from the Vaal River, a distance of eighteen miles. Under the vivifying influence of this most blessed element, trees and flowers are springing up, and even couch grass is with great care made to grow. The best house in Kimberley belongs to Mr. Rudd. In his garden stands an ancient camel-thorn tree. Under this tree Mr. Rudd first pitched his tent, when Kimberley was innocent of corrugated iron and all other products of civilisation. This is the only tree now left standing in the place. In the meantime, Kimberley has grown up; the machinery connected with the mines is estimated as worth two or three millions of money; some of it, however, is rapidly going to wreck. Kimberley is in a depressed state. Claims which were worth thousands are now worth nothing.

The same depression has spread over the whole colony; a period has come when trade has altogether ceased to roar. Banks, which formerly lent money upon any and no security, now refuse to make the smallest advances. Some people lay the blame to one cause, some to another, and all hope for the return of the good days. It is quite likely that the period of apparent prosperity was only a period of inflation, when the trade of the country was kept going by unnatural means. Africa has two great disadvantages to contend against—the severe droughts, and the varied and different races which inhabit the country. The Boers help the trade of the country very little; their wants are small, and the wants of the coloured races are confined to one article of manufacture—namely, brandy. The people of the colony, with great courage and spirit, have started various industries—glass-making, shoe-making, soap-boiling, and cart and waggon building. This last is a trade which ought to flourish here, for the colonial wood is excellent, and the demand for carts and waggons incessant. Nevertheless, waggons and carts, and what are called ‘spiders,’ from America, are coming in and supplanting the home-made carts and waggons, which are made perhaps too solid and heavy, but they are famous carts for the country. They run on two wheels, and are made curricie fashion. The other industries are also going to the bad, and the people who started them are asking to be protected by the exclusion of the foreign article which competes against them—each in his own particular trade.

Cape prosperity will never revive in these trades. America and England must beat a small community like this which has no good coal, and scarce and uncertain labour. My advice to the Cape people

is to take everything they can buy from England as cheaply as they can get it, and then make the best they can out of the agriculture of the country—wine and tobacco growing, sheep and ostrich farming, and preserving and drying fruits, &c. The storage of water is wonderfully neglected, considering how well it has answered in cases where it has been tried. The State derives no direct revenue from the Diamond Fields. Thirty thousand pounds a year are derived from the sale of diamonds found upon illicit buyers, but all this money goes in maintaining the police service at Kimberley. A large detective force is kept up for the purpose of suppressing the illicit dealing, which, however, flourishes, although less than it used to do. Anybody found in possession of an uncut diamond is liable to be sent to hard labour. The way illicit dealers are caught is through natives, who are in the pay of the police, offering to sell them diamonds; when the sale is completed, the detectives who are on the watch pounce down upon the dealers and bring them to justice. Women are the worst offenders in many cases. One woman boasted that she had a basin full of diamonds where the police could not find them.

After four days at Kimberley we started on our return journey. I was anxious to avoid a repetition of the disagreeables of the Kimberley waggon, so we bargained with a certain Solomon to take us in his cart as far as Hope Town, seventy miles on the way. We departed soon after midday on Tuesday from Mrs. Jardine's hotel with our coachman Solomon and his horses—'Charley,' 'Diamond,' and 'Fly.' I mention these three names because most of the horses on the road were called after these designations. Our Kimberley acquaintances—Rudd, Fry, Foster, Hoskyns, and Bowles, now grown into warm and bosom friends—assembled to see us off. We started on our journey after many hand-shakings and expressions of regard, which I believe were equally genuine on both sides. • Our first resting place, where we passed the night, was a little hamlet called Honingkloof Nest. The Boer farmer and his family were all of them in bed, at least, I suppose so, for we never saw them. A small outhouse—compound of corrugated iron—stood open in close proximity to the stables. Encouraged by Solomon, we took possession of this apartment, and after visiting our prog basket we turned into two good beds, with which the spot was furnished, with the door open, and with hens and chickens feeding around us. We passed an excellent night, and slept soundly up to the fashionable hour of six. As the farmer and his family were still slumbering in bed, we had to depart in the morning from that honey nest without anything hot for breakfast, although Solomon had prepared something warm which he said was coffee.

There is a great sameness in the country in South Africa. It is apparently a treeless and waterless desert: treeless and often waterless it is, but a desert it ceases to be when rain falls. • Even in seasons of drought the leaves are succulent with moisture, and are

beaded over with drops of water like the ice-plant. In the province of Hope Town, where we then were, no rain had fallen for a year and two months, and the sheep were terribly punished. Mr. Finsham and his Dutch wife, who gave us a most excellent repast of mutton and coffee, told us that though he prayed for rain, yet when it came it would, he knew, kill half his flock, so weak and exhausted were they from the drought.

Six miles before reaching Hope Town, the Orange River is crossed by an iron bridge more than a quarter of a mile in length. We paid a toll of seventeen shillings. The Orange River flows 900 miles through South Africa, and falls into the Atlantic about three hundred miles north of Cape Town. When the rains have fallen it must be a magnificent stream. The roads, even the best, are the very worst I ever saw. Imagine the Downs of Berkshire—stony, and sandy, and denuded of grass, and in proximity to a farm, and you have the road to Kimberley. Sometimes your wheels sink into sand, and sometimes you bump over stones like loose cannon balls. Travelling in your own cart is much better than by the public conveyance, because you can stop when you please and examine the flowers and the shrubs, and look at the springboks, of which we saw numbers bounding along over the plains. The farmers course these antelopes with dogs crossed with a greyhound. We never got nearer than three hundred yards to a herd. Great vultures or Aasvögel are frequently seen swarming over the plains. A horse or an ox that dies in the road is immediately devoured. I counted sixty vultures sitting on and around a dead animal close to the road. They would hardly move away when we drove in amongst them. The skeletons of horses and oxen which have perished by the way are seen along the road; nothing but bleached, bare skeletons with horns and hoofs are left undevoured. I have often heard the question discussed as to whether it is the sense of sight or of smell that enables vultures and such like birds of prey to discover the carcasses which they devour. As we were travelling along the open 'velt' on Thursday morning we became very conscious that to windward there was a carcass lying in the sun. The wind carried the tainted air in a current through which we soon passed, and wafted it down a corry which extended a long way to the left of the direction we were driving. At first there were no vultures in sight; but presently far in the distance, working upward, and for all the world like well-trained pointers drawing on game, a pair of Aasvögel appeared, flying along the line of scent with unfailing instinct towards the object of their search, which, owing to the low level at which the vultures flew, could not possibly have been seen by them. This circumstance seems to me convincing proof that these birds are guided by their sense of smell in the wonderful faculty which they possess of putting in an early appearance at the funeral feast.

At the point where the rivers—the Modder and the Rist—join, we made our mid-day halt; this was the day before we crossed the Orange River. We unpacked our basket and shared the contents with an English engineer, Mr. Darke by name, who was building by contract the stone piers for the railway bridge over the Mod River. Our friend presented us on leaving with a dainty which we did not at first appreciate, but which afterwards we found to be really very good eating. It was a long strip of sun-dried springbok venison, called ‘biltong.’ It eats much better than it looks, and is most convenient food, because it can be carried so easily, and is also very nourishing. Mr. Darke, who seemed a thorough Britisher, gave us the history of how he came to be lodged in the ‘Tronk’ at Hope Town, because he wanted to punch a Boer’s head for refusing to join him in singing ‘God save the Queen’ after the battle of Lang’s Nek. He told us that the Boers, who were the most close-fisted people in ordinary life, were very liberal in their expenditure upon church building, and also upon head stones or monuments for their departed relations.

At Hope Town we made the acquaintance of a Boer who interested us very much. His name is De Meillon, he was one of the Transvaalers who was present at Lang’s Nek and Amajuba Hill. He talked with a great deal of rough eloquence of his own feelings and those of his comrades after their victory. There was no doubt about his complete conviction that the success of the Boers was owing to direct Divine interference in their favour. He said, ‘How can I doubt this when we know that we were especially protected at Colley Kop, where thousands of bullets were fired, and only one Boer was killed?’ I asked him whether he and his comrades were greatly elated after the victory. He said, ‘No,’ that they proceeded at once to a quiet ‘kneel down,’ as he expressed it. De Meillon asserted that the Boers of the Orange Free State and those of the Cape Colony would have joined the Transvaal Boers if the war had continued. There is no question more hotly argued all over South Africa, than the rights and the wrongs of the Convention with the Boers after the defeats of Lang’s Nek, Ingogo, and Amajuba. The action of the English Government is almost universally condemned by Englishmen in the colony. The Dutch take a different view, and maintain that nothing less than life-long bitterness and hatred between the English and Dutch would have resulted.

Of the three races which form the population of South Africa the most numerous by far are the coloured race; the most permanently established on the soil are the Dutch Boer race; the most active and enterprising are the British. With these qualifications, each in his own esteem the most important, the various races, the Boers, the British, and the Blacks, all regard themselves as possessing claims for paramount legislative consideration. The coloured races outnumber the other two, in the proportion of four to one in the

Cape Colony, and fourteen to one in Natal, and their numbers are steadily increasing.

The general desire of the coloured people is to become the direct subjects of the Queen, for whom they have the most reverential feeling. The conquered people of Zululand are quite unable to understand how it is that they have not come under the Queen's dominion and under her protection. The native tribes in Bechuanaland have the same feeling. The Chief Mankoroane, who was our ally in the Transvaal war, speaking in the figurative language of his people, declared that he clings to the Queen his mother as a man clings to the central pole of his tent or hut, but that he finds it very hard work to hold to it in these times. What is it he hopes for? He hopes the Queen will become his Sovereign, and he will pay taxes to her. What is it he fears? He fears the Transvaal Boers, who covet his land, will take possession of it. And what is his grievance? It is this: that he and his people are left unarmed and defenceless before the rifles of the Boers, because the Colonial law forbids arms and weapons being sold or brought into the territory of the natives.

The tendency of the Boer farmer is to push forward in whatever direction he finds there is food and water for his flocks and herds. No effort of cultivation is needed, and no process of civilisation is required for a dozen Boer farmers to occupy many hundred thousand acres of land, and to claim the land and the country, to the exclusion of natives and British, on the strength of having trekked out with their waggons and oxen. The process going on in Bechuanaland is similar to what took place in the Transvaal. The Cape Colonists are uneasy under the process now going on, because the main roads leading into the interior of Africa, from whence come merchandise, corn, and ivory, and wood, pass through Bechuanaland on the way to the coast, and the Transvaal Boers might interfere inconveniently with the traffic. Sound policy in the interest of the colony and good faith to the natives alike point out the decision which ought to be come to with regard to the Bechuana question. The decision of her Majesty's Government should be that England will not permit any further invasion by the Boers of the land of a Bechuana native. An appeal to the Home Government has been made, to prevent farther extension of Transvaal Boer annexation, and it is confidently expected at the Cape that the answer will be favourable to the appeal.

I have said that the Dutch Boers are the race which is the most permanently established on the South African soil, and of this, I think, there can be no doubt. The best land in the Cape Colony belongs to the Dutch settlers, and the best and most fertile states, the Orange Free State and Transvaal, also belong to them. They are essentially the landholding community of South Africa. The better class and

superior people of English race, who have settled in South Africa, have never cut themselves off from a possible and even probable return eventually to England.

The man who calls himself an *Africander*, and who has cut himself off from English sympathies and English connection, is generally of the poorer class, either a small tradesman or a clerk in some business, and is of no great importance or weight in the country. If the Boers own the land, and coloured races possess the vast majority in numbers, the English race may fairly claim to be the promoters of the energy and enterprise of South Africa. It is Englishmen who have started, and who now maintain by their trade, the two splendid lines of ocean steamers, the 'Union' and the 'Castle,' which run between South Africa and London, each company having eighteen steamers, every ship being over 3,000 tons burden. It is Englishmen who have opened up the diamond fields, and the gold fields, and the ostrich farming, and the railways, and who have improved the breeds of horses, sheep, and goats. It is Englishmen who have brought money to South Africa in a hundred different ways. It is through Englishmen's enterprise that the Dutch Boer has been able to send his produce to a hundred good markets instead of a few bad ones, as in former times. Sheep of twelve months old are selling for twenty shillings a head, and vegetables in the neighbourhood of towns are fetching fancy prices. But if profit has come to the Boers, restraint and restrictions have also been imposed upon them, especially in their dealings with the native races. The cost of labour has also greatly grown. Estimating the good then with the bad, both of which are due to the Englishman, it is the latter which in the opinion of the Boer greatly predominates, and it is this conviction which will move him at the impending election to return a majority of Dutch Boer farmers to the new Parliament at Cape Town. It was the same conviction which acted on the minds of the majority of the Boers in the Transvaal. English profits and English progress are all very well, but English progress taken in conjunction with English restrictions cannot be accepted; and however much the people in the Transvaal towns wished for the profits, the majority in the country determined to forego them rather than take them in company with curtailment of liberty and the obligation to pay taxes.

It appears to me that, on the whole, South Africa possesses a larger share of difficulties than any other British colony. There is no doubt that a population of black savages outnumbering the civilised community by fourteen to one in Natal, and four to one in the Cape, is a tremendous drawback, and I am not the least astonished at the alarm with which the colonists regard the constantly increasing numbers of the coloured races, together with the very uncertain and changing policy of the Imperial Government towards those races.

THE REVIVAL OF THE WEST INDIES.

How vague are the ideas generally prevalent regarding our West Indian possessions! The remark, attributed to a Secretary of State, that Demerara was an island, is perhaps a fair illustration of the ignorance of the English people as to these interesting colonies. When the West Indies are spoken of, the only place called to mind is probably Jamaica, and the prominence given to this colony is owing, no doubt, to its having been associated so much in the past with English party warfare, and, more recently, with the Gordon riots during the administration of Governor Eyre; also, perhaps, from the controversies over the problem of the position which the negro was to take up for himself when freed from the bonds of slavery, a problem which has been worked out in Jamaica under less complex conditions than elsewhere, and, unfortunately, with results which have not corresponded with the sanguine expectations of many.

If Jamaica is the single geographical idea of the West Indies possessed by the English people, the main, and perhaps the only, historical one is the abolition of slavery. The responsibility for this institution is supposed to attach entirely to the West Indies, whilst the credit for its abolition, and for the sacrifice in money of carrying out that abolition, we usually arrogate to ourselves.

It is perhaps hardly profitable to attempt to apportion the responsibility for the existence of slavery; suffice it to say that it certainly cannot be entirely laid at the door of the Colonies. But let us see on whom fell the lion's share of the sacrifice involved in the emancipation.

At the time of the emancipation the Government Commissioners estimated the value of the slaves at 43,000,000*l.* sterling. To this must be added the value of the plantations, works, and machinery, estimated at 86,000,000*l.*, exclusive of the value of the property in towns. A total value of actual property is therefore reached of 129,000,000*l.*, which practically disappeared with emancipation. As is well known, the sum of 20,000,000*l.* was voted by Parliament, by way of compensation to the planters, but only 18,669,401*l.* was actually awarded, of which the West India proprietors received 16,401,000*l.* Had even this amount really found its way into the

hands of the planters it might, by enabling them to provide themselves with labour-saving machinery, and in other ways, have materially assisted them, and have averted, to some extent, the ruin which followed. But, in point of fact, the money went almost entirely into the hands of mortgagees in England. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the planters, at one stroke, found the value of their property almost annihilated and themselves penniless.

Is it matter for surprise, then, if the planters, who lost so much by the emancipation of their slaves, hesitated to join in the pæans of self-laudation in which we, perhaps, have been too ready to indulge, over the enormous sacrifice made by this country, a sacrifice which sinks into insignificance when compared with that which they were called upon to make?

During the twelve years succeeding the emancipation, the position of the employers and employed was completely reversed. The employed dictated their own terms, and worked as little as they pleased, while the employers were thankful to get any work they could from them.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that production languished, much land went out of cultivation, and what land was still cultivated left a loss instead of a profit to the proprietors. Still they persevered. The planters struggled on, and, protected as they were against competition with slave-grown produce, matters gradually improved.

In 1846, however, another blow fell upon them. In that year it was decided by Parliament that the differential duty on slave-grown sugar should be considerably lowered, and be gradually reduced to the same amount as that on free-grown, the actual equalisation to take place in 1851.

The result of this decision was so important, and in some respects, as will be explained directly, so unfortunate, that it is not without interest to consider how it was brought about, and what were its results.

The political world at the close of the year 1845 was unexpectedly startled by the news that Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, which was looked upon as one of the most powerful Cabinets that had existed for years, had resigned. It transpired that the destruction, from disease, of a large portion of the potato crop in England and Ireland, had forced upon Sir R. Peel the conviction that the Corn Laws ought to be no longer maintained. The question became the subject of much debate and difference of opinion in the Cabinet, and the conclusion was arrived at that the Ministers should tender their resignations to the Queen. Lord John Russell was then sent for, and at once undertook to form a new Ministry. After considerable delay and negotiations, however, owing to causes which it is not necessary now to discuss, the attempt to do so was found to be impracticable,

and it became necessary again to entrust the government of the country to Sir R. Peel.

The end of the year 1845, therefore, again found Sir R. Peel in office, with the whole of his former colleagues except the late Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, who retired, and whose place as Minister for the Colonies was accepted by Mr. Gladstone. :

The Government, however, barely lasted six months, and having been beaten in the House of Commons on a Bill for the protection of life in Ireland by a majority of 292 to 219, again tendered their resignation to the Queen.

During this six months was passed one of the most important measures ever brought before Parliament, viz. the Abolition of the Corn Laws, and the overwhelming interest excited by this measure was perhaps not altogether favourable to a satisfactory consideration of other questions.

Once more Lord John Russell was sent for, and this time he succeeded in forming an Administration.

The first measure proposed by his Government was the abolition of the distinction between free- and slave-grown sugar, by the reduction of the existing prohibitory duty of 63s. per cwt. on foreign muscovado sugar to 21s. per cwt.—the duty on British colonial sugar being 14s. per cwt.—to be gradually reduced to 15s. 6d. per cwt. in 1851, after which the duty on all muscovado sugar was alike to be 14s. per cwt.

There does not at first sight seem anything in these propositions bearing hardly upon the West Indies, neither perhaps would it be generally expected that such a measure would result in inflicting the horrors of slavery upon thousands who would otherwise have been free, and in causing an amount of misery to a large portion of the human race which can hardly be over-estimated.

It is necessary here to explain, that, with the exception of our own colonies, the most important sugar-producing countries at that time were Cuba and Brazil, in both of which countries slavery was in full force. The equalisation of the sugar duties therefore meant that our own colonies, with free labour, very little of it, and that little entirely disorganised and unavailable, were forced to compete for the home market with Cuba and Brazil, unlimited in their command of slave labour.

It is hardly necessary here to discuss the economic question of slave *versus* free labour. There can be little doubt that where labour is abundant, and wages are regulated only by the cost of living, free labour is cheaper, and in every way more advantageous to the employer than slave labour; but situated as employers and labourers were in our West Indian colonies—the population scanty, and, except in Barbadoes, under little or no natural pressure to work—the advantage which the slave-owner possessed in having an unlimited command of labour was overwhelming.

So long as the prohibitive duties remained in force, the profit of the Cuban and Brazilian slave-owners was limited, owing to their having only a limited market; when, however, the English market was opened to them, they found their profit enormously increased, and with this increase a larger demand for slaves sprang up, resulting in a rapid increase of the slave-trade.

There seems good reason to believe that at the time of the passing of this measure, so anxious were the Cuban planters to obtain access to the English market, they would have been willing to abolish slavery as a condition of obtaining it. In fact, the largest mercantile house in the Havana had petitioned for the remission of slavery, on the ground that if slavery were prohibited, their sugar would be admitted to the British market, the best market in the world. On the passing of the measure, however, all idea of abolishing slavery was blown to the winds, and Havana was illuminated.

But to return to the House of Commons. West Indians have always complained that this policy of admitting sugar produced by slave labour, on equal terms with that grown by free, was adopted by this country, not because the majority of the House of Commons thought it wise, but because it came before them as a question of sacrificing our West Indian colonies, on the one hand, or Lord John Russell and the Government on the other. They decided in favour of Lord John.

It is certain that without the support of Sir Robert Peel the measure would not have been carried; and it is equally certain, from a perusal of Sir Robert Peel's speech on the occasion, that although he supported Lord J. Russell, he did so, not because he thought the measure a good one, but because he did not see his way to resume the government if Lord John were turned out. Sir Robert Peel indeed stated that he would have proposed a measure very different from that of Lord John, one which would have given greater encouragement to the admission of free-labour sugar, and would have continued the exclusion of the slave-grown sugar. He had always felt that the question of admitting slave-labour sugar was excepted from the category of free trade. We were in a special relation to our West Indian colonies. We had emancipated their slaves and had given them an apparently magnificent compensation, but whether an adequate one was matter of doubt. He was therefore of opinion that considerable time ought to have been allowed to the West Indies before they were called on to compete with slave-labour sugar. Nevertheless, entertaining such opinions and having considerable apprehensions of the measure proposed, and fearing it would give great stimulus to the slave-trade, he had come to the conclusion, though not without great hesitation and reluctance, that he must give it his support. He then reminded the House that those who should compel Lord J. Russell to abdicate power were bound to ask

themselves whether they were prepared to take it. Two Governments had existed in the last three weeks! Should a third be now formed? He said 'No.' Should the Protectionists be restored to power? The House and the country both said 'No.' He wound up by saying that he had come, though not without reluctance, to the conclusion to support the Government in principle.

Mr. Gladstone took no part in the debate, neither did he vote; but he had already in the previous year expressed his strong disapproval of the policy which the proposed measures inaugurated.

The effect upon our colonies of the measure was soon seen. Within two years, fifty large houses connected with the West Indies had failed with liabilities exceeding 6,000,000*l.* Out of six great firms in the Mauritius trade, five had failed with liabilities of nearly 3,000,000*l.*

The ruin and distress in the West Indies was extreme, and some idea may be formed of it from the following extract from a Report on the condition and prospects of British Guiana, by Special Commissioners appointed by the Governor, Sir H. Barkly, in 1850:—

Proceeding up the east bank of the river Demerara, the generally prevailing features of ruin and distress are everywhere perceptible. Roads and bridges, almost impassable, are fearfully significant exponents of the condition of the plantations they traverse. . . . The district between Hobaboe Creek and 'Stricken Heuvel' contained in 1820 eight sugar and five coffee and plantain estates, and now there remain but three in sugar, and four partially cultivated with plantains by petty settlers; while the roads, with one or two exceptions, are in a state of utter abandonment. Here, as on the opposite bank of the river, hordes of squatters have located themselves, who avoid all communication with Europeans, and have seemingly given themselves up altogether to the rude pleasures of a completely savage life.

Similar accounts were received from the other West Indian colonies. The Governor of Trinidad, Lord Harris, wrote:—

It is impossible for me to express too forcibly the extent of the present distress; but I will give an extract from a communication lately made to me by Mr. Rennie, the very intelligent manager of the Colonial Bank. . . . 'The position of the colony is at the present moment most deplorable; bankruptcy and want stare everyone in the face, and an extensive abandonment of the sugar estates appears inevitable, after the present crop, unless bold and immediate measures of relief are speedily afforded. Real estate is now perfectly valueless, and cannot be realised at any sacrifice; money has disappeared, and credit is entirely at an end; mercantile engagements can no longer be met, and parties of the highest probity, possessed of ample assets in houses and landed property, are cruelly forced into insolvency, owing to the inconvertibility of real estate.'

The condition of the Labour Question is also well illustrated in the Report previously quoted. Alluding to some estates in the neighbourhood of Georgetown, the Commissioners say:—

From their vicinity to town, a supply of labour can always be obtained, but of the irregularity with which the villagers work, plantation Ruimveld affords a striking example. This estate, in common with its neighbours, is almost entirely

